

## Hell in the Byzantine World

The imagery of Hell, the Christian account of the permanent destinations of the human soul after death, has fascinated people over the centuries since the emergence of the Christian faith. These landmark volumes provide the first large-scale investigation of this imagery found across the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world. Particular emphasis is placed on images from churches across Venetian Crete, which are comprehensively collected and published for the first time. Crete was at the centre of artistic production in the late Byzantine world and beyond, and its imagery was highly influential on traditions in other regions. The Cretan examples accompany rich comparative material from the wider Mediterranean – Cappadocia, Macedonia, the Peloponnese and Cyprus. The large amount of data presented in this publication highlights Hell's emergence in monumental painting not as a concrete array of images, but as a diversified mirroring of social perceptions of sin.

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# Hell in the Byzantine World

## A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean

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### **Volume 1**

Essays

Edited by

ANGELIKI LYMBEROPOULOU

The Open University

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### **Volume 2**

A Catalogue of the Cretan Material

ANGELIKI LYMBEROPOULOU

The Open University

REMBRANDT DUITZ

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**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108474153](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108474153)

DOI: [10.1017/9781108564656](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108564656)

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First published 2020

Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN – 2 Volume Set 978-1-108-69070-6 Hardback

ISBN – Volume I 978-1-108-47415-3 Hardback

ISBN – Volume II 978-1-108-47416-0 Hardback

Additional resources for this publication at [www.cambridge.org/9781108690706](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108690706)

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*To Sir Alex Ferguson*  
*The Ultimate (Red) Devil*

*To Ole Gunnar Solskjær*  
*The Ultimate (Red) Devil Apprentice*

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- 106 Church of Saint Paraskevi, Communal Punishments, first half of the 16th century, wall painting (north wall), Episkopi (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [734]
- 107 Church of Saint Paul, Individual Sinners, 1303–4, wall painting (west wall, lunette), Hagios Ioannis (Pyrgiotissa), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [738]
- 108 Church of Saint John the Baptist, Individual Sinners, 1291, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [742]
- 109 Church of Saint John the Baptist, Communal Punishments, 1291, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [743]
- 110 Church of Archangel Michael, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1430(?), wall painting (west wall), Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [748]



- 111 Church of Archangel Michael, Communal Punishments, c. 1430 (?), wall painting (west wall), Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [749]
- 112 Church of Christ the Saviour, Individual Sinners, end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Kassanoi (Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [752]
- 113 Church of the Virgin Kera, Individual Sinners and the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins, first half of the 14th century, wall painting (south wall), Kardiotissa (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [755]
- 114 Church of the Virgin (Dormition) and Saint John the Baptist, the Rich Man and Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Mathia (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [760]
- 115 Church of Christ the Saviour, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, last quarter of the 14th century, wall painting (west and north walls), Potamies (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [764]
- 116 Church of Christ the Saviour, Individual Sinners, last quarter of the 14th century, wall painting (north wall), Potamies (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [765]
- 117 Church of Saint Phanourios, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1431, wall painting (west wall), Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [769]
- 118 Church of Saint Phanourios, Communal Punishments, 1431, wall painting (west wall, north door reveal), Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [770]
- 119 Church of the Virgin Kardiotissa, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, beginning of the 15th century, wall painting

- (west wall), Voroi (Pyrgiotissa), Herakleion, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Herakleion Ephorate of Antiquities [775]
- 120 Church of the Transfiguration (Christos Afentis), the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, first half of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Chandras (Panteli, Siteia), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [779]
- 121 Church of the Holy Apostles, Last Judgement, first decade of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [784]
- 122 Church of the Holy Apostles, Individual Sinners, first decade of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [785]
- 123 Church of Saint George, Last Judgement, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (west wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [788]
- 124 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [789]
- 125 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (west and south walls), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [790]
- 126 Church of Saint George, The female Gossiper, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [791]
- 127 Church of Saint George, The Woman Who Does Not Give Offerings to the Church, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [792]

- 128 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (south wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [793]
- 129 Church of Saint George, Those Who Sleep on Sunday, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [794]
- 130 Church of Christ the Lord (Afentis), Last Judgement, late 14th century, wall painting (west end of the church), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [800]
- 131 Church of Christ the Lord (Afentis), Last Judgement (detail with the Rich Man, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and the Weighing of the Souls), late 14th century, wall painting (north wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [801]
- 132 Church of Saint John the Baptist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1389/90, wall painting (west wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [805]
- 133 Church of Saint John the Baptist, Individual Sinners, 1389/90, wall painting (west wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [806]
- 134 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1347/8, wall painting (west wall), Kroustas (Lakkoi, Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [813]
- 135 Church of the Virgin, Last Judgement, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Lithines (Siteia), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [817]
- 136 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, 15th century(?), wall painting (north wall), Meseleroi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete.

Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [821]

- 137 Church of the Virgin, Hell, last quarter of the 13th century to first half of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Voulismeni (Vigli, Merambello), Lassithi, Crete. Photo: author with the permission of the Lassithi Ephorate of Antiquities [825]

## Preface

In the summer of 2001, I visited my colleague, Prof. Dr Vasiliki Tsamakda, in Heidelberg, to discuss our collaboration in examining the representation of Hell in the monumental art of Venetian Crete (1211–1669). Our original aim was to research the relevant wall paintings in 14th- and 15th-century churches in the area of Selino, the south-western Cretan province, with the largest concentration of Byzantine churches on the island. The Leverhulme International Networks presented us with the opportunity to expand the scope of the project by incorporating the whole of Crete as well as comparative material from the wider Mediterranean (Cyprus, Cappadocia and the Balkans). Hence, a more ambitious version of our original plan was born. We invited a team of subject experts (Rembrandt Duits, Charalambos Gasparis, Diana Newall, Athanasios Semoglou, Dionysios Stathakopoulos, Rainer Warland and Annemarie Weyl Carr) to explore the respective areas; we submitted a successful application to the Leverhulme Trust with the title ‘Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)’; and we were successful in securing funding for three years, which was eventually extended to four. The project started on 1 October 2010 and officially ended on 30 September 2014.

Due to unforeseen circumstances, Prof. Dr Vasiliki Tsamakda sadly opted not to contribute to this present publication; at the same time, two further colleagues, Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Panayotis S. Katsafados, joined us with a crucial contribution on Hell scenes from the Peloponnese.

During the course of the project, the Leverhulme ‘Hell’ Team organised workshops, conferences and field trips that allowed scholars to address issues of the representation of Hell in Early Modern Mediterranean societies. We had the opportunity of viewing and discussing wall paintings *in situ* and, as part of this process, we visited wonderful places, enjoyed gorgeous food, drink, weather, spectacular scenery and the humbling hospitality of the locals. To paraphrase team member Annemarie Weyl Carr, if the project were a lavish

meal, this part would have been a mouthwatering dessert.<sup>1</sup> We had the privilege of savouring every single tiny morsel.

<sup>1</sup> The first workshop took place at The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK, 21–2 March 2011; the second workshop and first field trip took place in Chania, Crete, Greece, 4–6 September 2011; the third workshop and second field trip took place in Herakleion, Crete, Greece, 31 March–3 April 2012; the fourth workshop and third field trip took place in Thessaloniki and Northern Greece, 21–4 August 2012; the first conference took place at King's College London and the Warburg Institute, London, UK, 31 May–1 June 2013; the fourth field trip took place in Cappadocia, Turkey, 31 August–5 September 2013; the second conference took place at the University of Mainz, Germany, 4–5 October 2013; and the fifth field trip took place in Cyprus, 12–17 April 2014.

## Acknowledgements

The research project, which examined the representations of Hell on Venetian Crete and comparative material from the wider Mediterranean (Cyprus, Cappadocia, mainland Greece and the Italian west), would not have been possible without the generous funding and support of the Leverhulme Trust International Networks. We are indebted to the Leverhulme Trust for enabling us to materialise our project 'Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)'. Special thanks to Nicola Thorp, our direct contact with the Leverhulme Trust, for her help, patience and understanding in clarifying issues.

A number of colleagues in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK, were also instrumental in achieving our goals in the project, providing us with ample help and guidance. We would like to thank in particular: Caitlin Adams, Sue Cocklin, David Flatman, Anne Ford, Paul Lawrence, Rose Mephram, Catherine Tuckwood, Susie West and John Wolffe.

We would also like to acknowledge and to express our thanks for the generous help we received to Antonis Katsigiannis, Ilias Mpeskenis, Georgios Mplatsiotis, Vicky Psaltaki, Nikoletta Pyrrou and the Municipal Library of Chania – in particular, to Areti Karveli and Theano Boraki.

The countless field trips on the island of Crete to locate and record the churches were true adventures combined with great pleasures: on the one hand, the team of four – Angeliki Lymberopoulou, Vasiliki Tsamakda, Rembrandt Duits and Diogenes Papadopoulos – tasted a slice of Indiana Jones, having to face bats, snakes, spiders and all sorts of creepy crawlies that had made many of the churches their loving home. On the other hand, the spectacular scenery of gorgeous Crete, the lovely food and wine (dinner was our only meal of the day, which we always felt that we had more than earned) and the genuine beauty of each and every church made us feel enormously privileged every time to have been the recipients of the Leverhulme Trust's funding, which made all this possible.

It is really unfortunate that Vasiliki Tsamakda, due to personal reasons, decided not to participate in the publication of the project after the end of

its research period; nevertheless, we are grateful for her enthusiasm and engagement during the course of it, as its co-manager.

We are fully aware that, despite the generous funding and our determination, this project would have never been accomplished had it not been for the kindness, help, hospitality and big-heartedness of the local people. Cretan people embraced us, guided us, served us coffee, water, food, sweets and (of course) Cretan raki, truly proving that the spirit of the ancient Greek god, Zeus, is still very much alive: according to ancient Greek mythology, the head god was raised on the Cretan mountain Ida and, ever since, has not only protected travellers but also demanded from the locals that they show them regal hospitality – something which they never ever fall short of. This pagan belief coexists in perfect harmony with Christian Orthodoxy. In fact, among our greatest benefactors were bishops and local priests. The extremely few exceptions that we met over the course of four years were just that – mere exceptions that verified the rule of extreme kindness and generosity of the proud inhabitants of this historic island.

The list of people which follows is a very small token of the immense gratitude we feel and we would like to express here towards all those who helped us. The list follows the four prefectures of Crete in the same way we have constructed the catalogue of the churches (from west to east: Chania, Rethymnon, Herakleion, Lassithi); within each prefecture the people are listed alphabetically, starting with the priests and followed by the laymen and women).

### **Prefecture of Chania**

Club of retired Air Force Officers, for hosting and facilitating the second Leverhulme ‘Hell’ project workshop, which took place in Chania on 4 September 2011: Retired Air Force Officers’ Club, 8 Partheniou Kelaidi Street, Chania 73100, Crete; Mr Kampianakis, Antonios (president); Mr Kouratoras, Konstantinos (finance); Mr Lymperopoulos, Konstantinos (vice president); Mr Mpourdakis, Michael (catering); Mr Mountakis, Nikolaos (technical support); Mr Kampianakis, Nikolaos (technical support); Mr Mpouchlis, Michael (filming); and the whole of Greek Airforce base of Chania (115PM) for their support  
 Brother Roussos, Nikolaos (Monastery of the Franciscan Capuchins of Chania)

Father Kapetanakis, Ioannis (Pemonia)

Father Loupasis, Stylianos (Kakodiki)

Father Paraskakis, Dimitrios (Platanias)



Father Petros (of the Catholic Cathedral Church of the Dormition of the Virgin)

Father Sartzetakis, Fragkios (retired priest of Kandanos)

Father Vaidakis, Spyros (parish church of Vamos)

Mrs Atsalaki, Georgia (Elyros Travel)

Mr Chomitakis, Georgios (Vouvas)

Mr Chomitakis, Ioannis (Vouvas)

Mr Despotakis, Georgios (Kakopetros)

Mr Fragkostefanakis, Konstantinos (Chania)

Mrs Ieronymaki, Filenia (Asfentiles)

Mr Kapetanakis, Alexandros (Pemonia)

Mrs Karpadaki, Eutychia (Kakopetros, Papadiana)

Mr Kochilakis, Michael (Strovlis, Kalogero; we would have never found this church without the map he drew to guide us)

Mr Koukoutsakis, Antonios (Moni, Sougia)

Mr Koukoutsakis, Eutychios (Lucky) (Moni, Sougia)

Mr Koulakis, Stylianos (Kandanos)

Mrs Lymperopoulou, Eleftheria (Chania)

Mr Mpitsakis, Eutychios (Kadros)

Mr Ntaoudakis, Ilias (Achladiakes)

Mrs Patsarika, Paraskevi (Vamos)

Mr Sartzetakis, Iosif (Prines)

Sergentani family (Voutas)

Mr Sfakianakis, Ioannis (Platanias)

Mr Sifakis, Michalis (Stratoi)

Mr Tsigourakis, Nikolaos (Kopetoi)

### **Prefecture of Rethymnon**

Bishopric of Lambis, Syvritos and Sfakia: His Grace Eirinaios

Father Antonakis, Georgios (Petrochori, old name Aposeti)

Father Chaniotakis, Konstantinos (Lambini)

Father Diamantakis, Emmanouel

Father Frantzeskakis, Ioannis (Kato Valsamonero)

Father Frantzeskakis, Nektarios (Saitoures)

Father Kamaritis, Emmanouel (Erfoi)

Father Kyriakos (Vathiako)

Father Marakis, Enmmanouel (Spili)

Father Myrthianos, Georgios (Veni)

Father Stratidakis, Panagiotis

Father Tsirdinos, Nikolaos (Kissos)

Father Vamiedakis, Emmanouel (Meronas)  
 Lady whose name we did not record (with apologies) (Lambini)  
 Mrs Alevizaki, Garyfalia (Hagios Vasileios)  
 Mr Angelidakis, Michalis (Mourne for Diblichori)  
 Mrs Dafermou, Aphroditi (Axos)  
 Mrs Koutantou, Antonia (Axos)  
 Mrs Mpalasari, Thekla (wife of Father Tsirdinos, Nikolaos, Kissos)  
 Mrs Myrthianou, wife of the priest (Veni)  
 Mr Papavasileiou, Anastasios (Roustika)  
 Mr Theodorakis, Michail (Meronas)

### **Prefecture of Herakleion**

Bishopric of Arkalochori, Kasteli and Viannos: Sevasmiotatos Andreas;  
 Father Stylianos (Γενικός Αρχιερατικός)  
 Father Antonios (Potamies)  
 Father Christoforos (head monk, Valsamonero)  
 Father Kalaitzakis, Dimitrios (Mathia)  
 Father Kaniadakis, Michail (Arkalochori)  
 Father Karandinos, Ioakim (Chancellor (Πρωτοσύγγελος) of the Bishopric  
 of Gortyna and Arkadia)  
 Father Kasavetakis, Georgios (Ano Archanes)  
 Father Neokosmidis, Georgios (Avdou)  
 Father Nikiforos, Nikolaos (Αρχιερατικός)  
 Father Vlastos, Stylianos (Kassanoi)  
 Father Xenakis, Prodromos  
 Mr Charitakis, Antonios (Evangelismos, old name Mouchtaros)  
 Mrs Filia (first cafe at the entrance of Potamies)  
 Mr Mountakis (also surnamed Trevlakis), Georgios (Commissioner  
 (Επίτροπος) of Mathia)  
 Mr Pleurakis, Emmanouel (Arkalochori)  
 Sygkelakis family (Kato Symi): Mr Sygkelakis, Mpampis, Mrs Sygkelaki,  
 Eleftheria, Mr Sygkelakis, Alexandros

### **Prefecture of Lassithi**

Bishopric of Ierapytna and Siteia: His Grace Eugenios  
 Father Diamantakis, Kyrilos (Archimadrite, Chancellor (Αρχιμανδρίτης,  
 Πρωτοσύγγελος) of the Bishopric of Ierapytna and Siteia)  
 Father Fragkiadakis, Manolis (Chandras)  
 Father Gialouris, Leonidas (Kritsa)  
 Father Lepidakis, Manolis (retired priest of Chandras)

Father Mprokakis, Georgios (Kritsa)  
 Father Titos  
 Father Tsagkarakis, Antonios (Lithines)  
 Father Vardas, Georgios (Kroustas)  
 Head nun and all nuns of the monastery of the Virgin Kera Kardiotissa  
 Mr Adamakis, Ioannis (Chandras)  
 Mr Angelakis, Dimitrios (Voulismeni (Vigli))  
 Mr Kapantaidakis, Pavlos (Meseleroi)  
 Mrs Kasotaki, Niki (Kavousi)  
 Mrs Koufinaki, Maria (Kavousi)  
 Mr Manolarakis, Demetrios (Meseleroi)  
 Mrs Tsironi, Niki (Kavousi)  
 Mrs Tzanaki, Argyro (Kritsa)  
 Mr Vardas, Ioannis (Kritsa)  
 Mr Xenikakis, Ioannis (Chandras)

We, of course, also owe immense thanks and gratitude to institutions and individuals in places other than Crete, which are explicitly conveyed in the chapters devoted to those places. Last, but by no means least, special thanks to two young ladies, Anna-Ritsa Duits and Isabella Teodori, for being impeccable when their mothers were away on the Cretan field trips.

We are also immensely grateful to all the people who helped us put this publication together. Michael Sharp's impeccable professionalism, outstanding understanding and help have been flawless on every step of the way and he could certainly claim that he acquired a substantial feel of what 'Hell' feels (let alone looks) like in the process. We would also like to thank Jane Burkowski, Hal Churchman, David Cox, Mathivathini Mareesan, Marianne Nield and Sarah Starkey.

Special thanks are due to Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Panayotis S. Katsafados, who joined the publication with a vital contribution on the material from the Peloponnese, which did not form part of the original proposal but has, nevertheless, enriched the project's approach; to Eirini Panou, who proved to be a tireless and the most invaluable Research Assistant I have ever had the pleasure of working with; and to Mick McTiernan (various errands on Crete), Lea Viehweger (translation) and Andrew Watson (editorial).

The four Ephorates of Antiquities of Crete – Ephorate of Chania, Ephorate of Rethymnon, Ephorate of Herakleion and Ephorate of Lassithi – gave us permission to study, photograph and publish the Cretan Hell material. The paper trail and email communication of this

process was long, and we would like to thank all the colleagues involved in ensuring the process; in particular, Dionysios Achtypis, Thanassis Mailis, Chrysa Mpourmpou and Eleni Papadopoulou (Chania), Nikoletta Pyrrou and Anastasia Tzigkounaki (Rethymnon), Vaso Sythiakaki (Herakleion), Marianna Katifori, Georgia Moschovi and Chrysoula Sofianou (Lassithi). We would also like to thank Mrs Gerousi and Mrs Vlazaki (Ministry of Greek Culture, Athens).

Furthermore, the Ephorates of Antiquities of Crete, along with the Ministry of Greek Culture, gave permission for the Cretan material to be presented in a database, which will be hosted by The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK. Therefore, the final and last, but by no means least special thanks are reserved for Diana Newall, who was also the project's facilitator and populated the database; and to Mathieu D'Aquin, the 'father' of the database, his labour of love, to whom we are immensely grateful for working with us in creating it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The database will be accessible free of charge upon registration, via a password-protected link. Users will be able to access all the Cretan material illustrated in the present volume in multiple photographs and close-up details in full colour – watch this space: <http://ledaproject.org.uk>.

## Editorial Policy

The Greek inscriptions which accompany many representations of Hell in the material included in this volume are provided in the following ways: verbatim as they appear on the wall paintings; with the correct Greek spelling (if different), following *monotoniko* unless rendered in Byzantine Greek, where it retains its original accents; with a transliteration in Latin script; and with a translation into English.<sup>3</sup> The Greek names that appear in the sources from the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (ASV) have been transliterated to reflect as closely as possible their rendering in Greek. Moreover, in rendering the Greek names and place names mentioned in this volume the standard Anglicised forms have been used, where they exist (for example, Constantine instead of Konstantinos). In the remainder of the cases, following a trend that has been gaining acceptance recently, all names have been transcribed as literally as possible, avoiding the various Latinised versions (e.g. Komnenos instead of Comnenus). Obviously, in all publications cited in the footnotes and in the bibliography, the names have remained unchanged and appear as their authors intended. Maps indicating various locations mentioned over the course of this volume can be found at the beginning of each chapter examining the relevant geographic area (Cappadocia, the Peloponnese and Cyprus; all Cretan maps have been placed in vol. 2). In the Bibliography, for all Greek entries the single accent system (*monotoniko*) has been used, regardless of whether they predate its adoption in Modern Greek in 1982.

For indicating an era, BC (Before Christ)/AD (Anno Domini) has been chosen rather than CE (Common Era), on the basis that the former reflect better the understanding of time of the people who commissioned and originally viewed the monumental works the volumes explore.

<sup>3</sup> Because of the sheer amount of the material covered in Chapter 3 in this volume, an appendix (Appendix 3) has been included covering correct spelling and transliteration, to avoid unnecessary repetition in the text.



Ξενύχτησα στην πόρτα σου / και σιγοτραγουδῶ

Εδῶ εἶναι ο Παράδεισος / κι η Κόλαση εδῶ

(I spent my night at your doorstep / singing softly

Paradise is here / and so is Hell).<sup>1</sup>

The Greek song tells of a lover's despair, describing the doorstep of their beloved as at the same time the best and the worst place for them to be in this life. To convey the powerful feelings, the songwriter borrows the imagery of Paradise and Hell, the Christian account of the permanent post-mortem destinations of the human soul.<sup>2</sup> This imagery, still an important part of Western cultural and religious baggage today, has fascinated people over the centuries since the emergence of the Christian faith. This publication explores a significant part of that fascination, pertaining to the Christian place of eternal punishment for the souls of sinners: Hell.

The Greek word for Hell, Κόλαση, literally means 'punishment' in ancient Greek.<sup>3</sup> Christianity, relying on vivid passages gathered from various books of the Old Testament and the Gospels, portrays Hell as a nightmarish place where all the senses are subjected to brutal torments. Establishing belief in the existence of Hell served two main purposes: reinforcing the adherence to penal law by underlining that offenders, even if they were able to elude punishment in life, could never escape divine justice after death; and creating a powerful tool for conversion by threatening non-believers with eternal pain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Greek song written by George Kanelopoulos; music by George Chatzinasios; performed by Vicky Moscholiou.

<sup>2</sup> Christianity being, of course, only one of many faiths to offer a perspective on what happens after death. For a general overview see, indicatively, Davies 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Whiton 1878, 384.

<sup>4</sup> See Stathakopoulos, Lymberopoulou and Semoglou in this volume, Chapters 1, 3 and 6 respectively.

In the Byzantine world, the earliest surviving examples of the visualisation of Hell date to the 10th century.<sup>5</sup> Its iconography developed further as time progressed, but, exceptionally for Byzantine art, without ever acquiring a standardised form. No single region played a definitive role in shaping its representation; instead, it appears to have evolved in an interaction between different places – a cultural cross-fertilisation characteristic for the Mediterranean basin, vividly portrayed as the cradle of European civilisation by Fernand Braudel.<sup>6</sup> The focus of this publication is the island right at the heart of the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin, Crete. Radiating outwards from Crete, it looks – mainly – at monumental renderings of Hell: those that are most likely to reflect the collective religious, social and moral concerns of a wider community (rather than those of individual donors, presented in artefacts in more private media, such as manuscript illumination, panel painting and ivory).

Crete has been placed at the core of this publication because of its vast and unique collection of surviving churches with wall paintings, and the richness of archival materials that can be brought to bear on them. The great majority of the medieval churches on Crete date from the phase when the island was a Venetian dominion (1211–1669), overlapping with the Palaiologan era in Byzantium and the early post-Byzantine period, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The founding father of the study of the wall paintings of Venetian Crete is the Venetian historian and archaeologist Giuseppe Gerola (1877–1938), who travelled around on Crete in the early 20th century and recorded sacred and secular monuments from the Venetian phase. His Herculean research is presented in four large volumes, published between 1905 and 1932,<sup>7</sup> which to this day form the inevitable starting point for scholars who engage with the subject.<sup>8</sup>

The representation of Hell and the punishments of sinners was one of the two iconographic subjects that Gerola decided to address further in his volume two.<sup>9</sup> Despite Gerola's interest, however, only incidental publications have been devoted to the subject since, dealing with isolated aspects

<sup>5</sup> The first example was probably located in Constantinople; see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 119 and n. 7. The first surviving examples can be found in Cappadocia (see Chapter 5) and in northern Greece (see Chapter 6).

<sup>6</sup> Braudel 1972–3.

<sup>7</sup> Gerola 1905–17 (first three volumes, with volume one in two parts) and Gerola 1932 (fourth volume).

<sup>8</sup> A concise summary of the Byzantine (Orthodox) churches Gerola records in his publication is presented in Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961. Furthermore, volume two has been translated into Greek; see Spanakis 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 308–46. In this part of his publication, Gerola explores the artists mentioned in the Cretan church inscriptions (308–13) and provides a general overview of the



or single representations, and no further survey has been attempted.<sup>10</sup> The original list published by Gerola, slightly expanded later in Gerola–Lassithiotakis, formed the basis of a successful Leverhulme International Networks application that was submitted in 2010, to fund the research project into Byzantine representations of Hell of which the present double volume is the outcome.<sup>11</sup> Over the course of four years of painstaking field work (2010–14), further churches containing images of Hell were identified, and the expanded catalogue is presented in volume two of this publication.<sup>12</sup> The resulting corpus of wall paintings is so large (107 churches) that it even lends itself to a modest application of statistics, for which humanities publications rarely offer enough material.

The importance of Venetian Crete in the early modern Mediterranean context has been highlighted by scholarship since the middle of the 20th century.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the island with its dual population of native Greek Orthodox and immigrant Venetian colonists can be construed as a microcosm of our present multicultural society, demonstrating the interaction between groups of different ethnicity and with different religious beliefs, and the effects of this interaction on art, is a further incentive to make Crete the nexus of this study. Moreover, the richness of the surviving archival material related to Crete in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* and of other written sources pertaining to the island adds an extra layer to the research that is not available for other places. Thus, Crete offers what in Byzantine studies is a unique case study, combining a substantial amount of visual material with textual evidence that informs us about the religious and social concerns of the community that produced it.

The Cretan case study, however, cannot be investigated in splendid isolation. The first Byzantine representation of Hell, dating back to the 10th century, was probably located in Constantinople;<sup>14</sup> the earliest known surviving representations can be found in Cappadocia (Chapter 5) and in northern Greece (Chapter 6). Crete itself, as a Venetian dominion, was exposed to artistic ideas from Italy (Chapter 4), and other Venetian

iconographic programmes (313–26). From the programmes he then proceeds to analyse in depth the donor portraits (327–39) and the representations of Hell (340–6).

<sup>10</sup> See the extensive publication in volume 2. <sup>11</sup> See Preface in this volume, xxiii–xiv.

<sup>12</sup> It is entirely likely that more Hell scenes will be recorded on Crete over the coming years. Furthermore, a number of Cretan churches that included images of Hell have been lost; see, for example, Gasparis in this volume, 90, who mentions the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels painted by Angelos Apokafkos and located in the suburb of Candia, which included a Last Judgement.

<sup>13</sup> See, indicatively, more recently Lymberopoulou and Duits 2013; Lymberopoulou 2018a, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 119 and n. 7.

dominions offer comparative material: the Peloponnese (Chapter 7), and Cyprus (Chapter 8). Taking into account these wider connections of Crete expands the case study into a broader overview of Hell in the Byzantine world.

Just as Cretan Hell attracted the attention of Giuseppe Gerola, so have other examples of Byzantine Hell caught the eye of famous persons. For example, the Greek poet and Nobel Prize winner (1963), George Seferis (1900–71), during a visit to Cyprus in 1954, commented on the punishment of a sinner he saw represented in a church: the *Paravlakistis*, the Farmer who Ploughs over the Boundary Line, a figure frequently encountered being gruesomely punished in late and post-Byzantine art.<sup>15</sup> Hell in general is an eye-catching subject, and, as highlighted throughout the chapters in volume 1 of this publication,<sup>16</sup> often deliberately placed in locations where its representation *will* catch the eye of the congregation.

The ‘Chronological Arrangement of Cretan Churches’ in volume 2 of this publication makes it clear that the bulk of the Cretan wall paintings are dated and/or datable to the 14th and 15th centuries, with incidental examples from the late 13th and early 16th centuries. The wider time frame of the works is that of the Venetian rule over Crete, which lasted from 1211 to 1669.<sup>17</sup> The majority of the material discussed in the broader overview of Hell in the Byzantine world falls within these historical parameters, with some examples predating 1211, and none later than the 16th century.<sup>18</sup>

It is important to note that, while the fall of Constantinople forms a caesura in the Byzantine world in general in the middle of the period in question, Crete as a Venetian dominion was the scene of a continuous political, economic, social and intellectual development, which allows us to disregard 1453 as the cut-off point that it was for Byzantine art in other regions.<sup>19</sup> The development of Crete as a Venetian dominion was directly important for the Cretan wall paintings. Recent scholarship has shown that Venetian trade generated an economic boom across the island during the 14th and 15th centuries, which was translated, among other things, into the construction and decoration of village churches. The later 15th century saw a shift of the population from the rural regions to the main cities in the north,

<sup>15</sup> Tsiodoulos 2012, 47–8. <sup>16</sup> In particular Chapters 3 and 5–8.

<sup>17</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 60–7 (with further bibliography).

<sup>18</sup> The earliest example included in this volume dates from the 10th century (Cappadocia) and the last dates to the 16th century (Cyprus). Hell continued to be represented in the 17th and even in the 18th centuries in mainland Greece; see Tsiodoulos 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Lowenthal 1985, 219–34, esp. 222. See also Harris 2006, xxii.

where more employment opportunities were present. Consequently, the countryside became depopulated, which in turn resulted in a dramatic drop in church construction and decoration. This second phase coincided with the rise of the production of icons on panel, with which Cretan post-Byzantine art is virtually synonymous.<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the medium of the Cretan wall paintings, no systematic technical research has been undertaken. This omission extends to the majority of monumental works included in this publication; in fact, as Ioanna Kakoulli, Michael Schilling and Joe Mazurek have noted, ‘... there has until very recently been surprisingly little such [technical] study of the vast corpus of surviving Byzantine wall paintings’.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, the works described here are systematically referred to as ‘wall paintings’ and/or ‘murals’ rather than as ‘frescoes’. As far as the Cretan wall paintings are concerned, it is currently unclear whether they were executed in the proper *al fresco* technique, in a variant of *al fresco*, or *a secco* on the dried plaster. The durability of the scenes would suggest a variant of *al fresco*; many inscriptions on the paintings, however, have been (partially) erased, indicating that these were added *a secco*.<sup>22</sup>

In Byzantine art, Hell is generally shown as part of the Last Judgement. The reason to focus here on Hell rather than on the Last Judgement at large is threefold. In the first place, a significant percentage of Cretan churches includes representations of Hell outside of the context of the Last Judgement.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, Cretan representations of Hell are extraordinarily rich in showing individual sinners punished for transgressions that can be related to both literary sources (Chapter 1) and contemporary social life, including secular penal law (Chapter 2). Thirdly, the examination of the corpus of the material gathered in these two volumes makes it clear that, exceptionally, Byzantine images of Hell do not follow a well-defined iconographic pattern.<sup>24</sup> Byzantine art relied on reproducing images that did not deviate from established formulas (see Chapter 3), as the standardisation of cycles of the life of Christ, the Virgin and the saints demonstrates. Byzantine Hell seems to have escaped this rule; it could be argued that its ever-changing characteristics reflect the fact that while there is often just one way to be right, there are invariably many ways to be wrong.

<sup>20</sup> See, indicatively, Lymberopoulou 2010b. <sup>21</sup> Kakoulli, Schilling and Mazurek 2012, 313.

<sup>22</sup> See Duits in volume 2, Introduction, 427 and n. 42. Similar conclusions were reached during the technical examination of the wall paintings of the Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, Cyprus; see Kakoulli, Schilling and Mazurek 2012, 317.

<sup>23</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication for a further discussion.

<sup>24</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 3.

Additionally, the images of Hell on Crete employ a visually aggressive and provocative language. The brutal punishments and, in certain cases, shocking nudity have been described by some scholars as ‘inappropriate’ for a church environment.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that Byzantine art is no stranger to nudity; for example, the bare breasts of female saints are often visible in scenes of their martyrdom.<sup>26</sup> Yet, Byzantine art generally avoids depicting male genitals explicitly, as is clearly manifested in the Baptism of Christ, where the naked Jesus standing in the river Jordan is depicted sexless.<sup>27</sup> Such restrictions, however, did not apply to Cretan images of Hell.<sup>28</sup>

The endless variations in the images of Hell found across the Cretan churches examined in Chapters 1–4 of volume 1 and in the Catalogue in volume 2, and in the further comparative material examined in Chapters 5–8 of volume 1, make it difficult to maintain general theories that have been proposed about the Byzantine representation of Hell. It has been argued, for example, that Byzantine images of Hell present a segregation of punishments into individual and collective ones.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, in its most complete form, the iconography of Hell as found on Crete makes a distinction between what in this volume are labelled Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments. The concept of the Individual Sinners was probably derived from the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31); representations of the Rich Man suffering in Hell for refusing the Poor Lazarus scraps from his table are included in the majority of the examples examined in this publication. The repertoire of Individual Sinners was greatly expanded on Crete, comprising mostly representatives of various transgressions against the social, professional and religious order. Often, they are identified by the tools of their trade with which they have committed their sin, e.g. a plough for the Farmer who Ploughs over the Boundary Line, a millstone for the Cheating Miller, or a pair of scissors for the Cheating Tailor. As Dionysios Stathakopoulos argues in Chapter 1, these attributes were added for the benefit of a largely illiterate

<sup>25</sup> Maderakis 1979, 42.

<sup>26</sup> For example, the scene depicting Saint Paraskevi in the Furnace, in the Church of Saint Paraskevi at Melambes (Hagios Vasileios), dated c. 1320; see Spatharakis 2015, fig. 343.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Kapetaniana (Monofatsi), Church of the Virgin, 1401–2 (see Spatharakis 2001, fig. 138) and the far better-known scene at Pammakaristos, in Constantinople, dated 1303 (see Belting, Mango and Mouriki 1978, pl. V).

<sup>28</sup> No examples illustrated in this volume from Cappadocia (Chapter 5), the Peloponnese (Chapter 7) or Cyprus (Chapter 8) depict male genitals in such an explicit manner as is encountered on Crete.

<sup>29</sup> See Semoglou in this volume, 302 and n. 120.

congregation, serving preaching purposes.<sup>30</sup> The compartments of Communal Punishments, by contrast, show groups of anonymous heads, or even – strikingly – uninterrupted darkness.

Named individuals, however, are found only in what in this publication is identified as the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire; they are mostly heretics and a few ancient emperors infamous for persecuting Christians. The Individual Sinners are in fact representatives of collectives, and they are not true individuals identified by name.<sup>31</sup> Here, it is proposed (Chapter 3) that the representations of Hell on Crete in their most complete form show not a simple distinction between individuals and collectives, but a gradual descent into anonymity, mirroring, perhaps, the prevailing sense of hierarchy and order in the Orthodox Church.<sup>32</sup> The descent, highlighted further by a ‘vertical’ structure, as Athanasios Semoglou remarks in Chapter 6, is accompanied by, in first instance, more graphic punishments inflicted on the figures of the Individual Sinners,<sup>33</sup> and finally, total degradation of the individual in the compartments of Communal Punishments, a variant of the notion of Hell becoming progressively worse the deeper one goes into it, also famously underpinning Dante Alighieri’s description of the *Inferno* with its nine circles.<sup>34</sup> It should be emphasised, moreover, that Hell as shown on Crete comes in many variations, often containing just one or two of the above-mentioned components, and that systematic generalisations about its underlying ‘plan’ are impossible to make.<sup>35</sup>

A second issue that has been raised in the literature concerns the narrative ‘moments’ or ‘phases’ that are shown in Byzantine representations of Hell. If the Last Judgement were a puzzle, it would consist of four major pieces, informed by biblical passages: the Second Coming; the Resurrection of the Bodies; the Last Judgement; and the End of the World.<sup>36</sup> ‘The Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven’ (Dan. 7:13)

<sup>30</sup> Unlike the sinners that populate Hell, the attributes are now drawn from the biblical and the Apocryphal sources. They appear for the first time in the Church of the Virgin Mavriotissa, dated to the 12th or 13th century, marking a shift in the representation of the identification of sinners burning in Hell (see Chapter 3, 120 and n. 13).

<sup>31</sup> With the single and highly interesting exception found in Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), where the Thief is identified as the ‘thief Leontis’ in the inscription, probably signposting a well-known thief from the area; see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 149.

<sup>32</sup> Lymberopoulou 2007b, 179–84.

<sup>33</sup> Although the punishments shown are very real torments inflicted on the body, they reflect of course torments inflicted on the immaterial soul. According to the 7th-century Bishop of Nineveh, Isaac the Syrian, the real torment of Hell is the pangs of conscience suffered by persons when they realise that they have rejected God; see Baun 2007, 302–3.

<sup>34</sup> Belliotti 2011, 135. <sup>35</sup> See Chapter 3, Appendix 1. <sup>36</sup> McGinn 1999, 396, n. 1.

marks the beginning of the Second Coming – Δευτέρα Παρουσία, the Greek inscription which invariably accompanies the iconography of the Last Judgement in Byzantine churches.<sup>37</sup> This is mostly visualised by means of the Empty Throne – the Hetoimasia.<sup>38</sup> Some Cretan examples include the detail of Christ descending from Heaven in a cloud (known in iconography as the ‘Adventus’).<sup>39</sup> The resurrection of the body is narrated at 1 Corinthians 15, and translated into the iconography of the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. Overall, the depiction of the Last Judgement is based on the more straightforward narrative of Matthew 25:34–45, and on the rather more convoluted one of Revelation 17–22; it standardly incorporates elements from the latter passage, such as the Weighing of the Souls (Rev. 20).<sup>40</sup> Some Cretan representations of Paradise appear to render the exact moment either just before or just after Christ’s judgement has been cast.<sup>41</sup>

Marcello Angheben has argued that various components of the Byzantine representation of Hell may also show stages before and after the final judgement of the souls.<sup>42</sup> This discussion is complicated by the fact that Orthodox theology does not have the concept of Purgatory, the convenient ‘waiting area’ between death and the Last Judgement that the Catholic Church introduced in their vision of the afterlife around the 12th century.<sup>43</sup> The question of what happens to the souls of Orthodox believers after their passing (whether, depending on their behaviour in life, they would receive a taste of what was to come after the Last Judgement,<sup>44</sup> and whether it is possible for the immaterial soul to be subjected to physical torments while awaiting the final judgement<sup>45</sup>) was of course a subject of debate in Orthodox theology from the Church Fathers onwards, and especially around the time of the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1437/8, the politically motivated attempt to reconcile the Orthodox and Roman

<sup>37</sup> The examples examined in this publication were created by and/or for Greek-speaking communities and are often accompanied by Greek inscriptions – Δευτέρα Παρουσία (*Deutera Parousia*; lit. ‘Second Coming’). However, the iconographic subject is referred to as the ‘Last Judgement’, the phrase more commonly used in the English language. See also Weyl Carr in this volume, 346 and n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> McGinn 1999, 383. <sup>39</sup> Maderakis 2004b. See cat. nos 2, 13, 36, 43, 53, 79, 84 and 97.

<sup>40</sup> McGinn 1999, 368–9, 383 and 398, n. 23.

<sup>41</sup> For these examples, see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 172. <sup>42</sup> Angheben 2002.

<sup>43</sup> See Le Goff 1984.

<sup>44</sup> It is possible that the proliferation of the images of Hell during the 14th and the 15th centuries, especially in territories under Western domination, such as Crete and Cyprus, may be connected to the presence of mendicant orders in the territories and their teaching regarding Purgatory, which from the late 13th century acquired a prominent place in church teachings; see Đorđević 2018, 27.

<sup>45</sup> See above, n. 33.

Catholic Churches.<sup>46</sup> Modern scholarship has examined this debate in some detail.<sup>47</sup>

Of course, it is doubtful that the inhabitants of remote villages on Crete would have been familiar with the finer points of this discussion. Even the village priests may not have been aware, and if they were, it is still unlikely that they would have attempted to instruct their congregations. The variation that is found among the representations of Hell on Crete suggests strongly that these images did not seek to convey a precise theology either. It is far more plausible that village priests would have used the terrifying visions of the divine punishment of sin as a simple deterrent, to instil the fear of God among their fellow villagers.

After all, of those subjected to the Last Judgement, only two parties could be certain of their final destination: the Good Thief and the Devil. According to Luke 23:43, the thief who was crucified to the right of Christ at Golgotha, and acknowledged Christ's divinity, has Christ's promise of residing with Him in Paradise, a detail often reflected in iconography by a male figure holding a cross inside the Garden of Paradise. John 16:11 relates how the Devil was judged by Christ's death at the Cross; he was cast into the depths of Hades (Hell) (Rev. 20:2–3); and God has judged the fallen angels and has sent them to the Outer Darkness (2 Pet. 2:4).<sup>48</sup> The uncertainty of all others awaiting the Last Judgement must have been an effective teaching tool for priests, especially when they could point at vivid representations of the River of Fire, the punishment of Individual Sinners, and the ultimate degradation of the compartments of Communal Punishments.

It is difficult for a 21st-century audience, over-saturated with man-made visual stimuli, to comprehend how the late medieval viewers of representations of Hell would have interacted with such powerful images. As mentioned above, these images still have the ability to attract attention – Giuseppe Gerola and George Seferis being but two famous examples of those who have come under their spell. The eye-level placement of the sadistic punishments of the individual sinners suggests that they were designed for maximum impact. It would have been impossible to avoid a confrontation with the humiliation, pain and suffering portrayed. As the

<sup>46</sup> See Runciman 1955.

<sup>47</sup> See, more recently, Marinis 2017a. The first part in Franes 2018, chapter 3, also presents a useful account of the debates on the afterlife; however, it is very difficult (if not impossible) for the actual study of the visual evidence of Hell, as analysed in this present publication, to support the conclusions reached by Franes' predominantly theoretical approach to the subject in the remainder of his chapter 3.

<sup>48</sup> McGinn 1999, 369.



rural churches are for the most part of moderate dimensions, the confined, dark spaces may perhaps even have added to the sense of discomfort they provoke.

It would be utopic to believe that we could ever achieve a complete understanding and reconstruction of past societies. Publications such as the present one, however, provide a multifaceted lens into the historical roots of our complicated present world. Combining a large amount of data with analysis by a range of different experts, they aim to fuel new research and contribute to the preservation of past evidence for future generations.

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To facilitate the examination of the topic and to highlight Hell's emergence in monumental painting not as a concrete array of images, but as a diversified mirroring of social perceptions of sin, this volume is divided into two parts; Part I contains four chapters dealing with the core material from Crete, while Part II has four chapters that present material from the wider Mediterranean – Cappadocia, northern Greece (mainly the region of Macedonia), the Peloponnese and Cyprus.

Part I starts with a chapter by **Dionysios Stathakopoulos**, itself divided into two parts. In the first, he presents the textual sources that have had a seminal influence on the establishment of a visual vocabulary of transgressions that appear in depictions of Hell in monumental painting. He focuses on the development of ideas of punishment in the afterlife, tracing their origins from the Old and the New Testament to late Byzantine theology. Having identified initial depictions of punishments in ancient Greek, Egyptian and Roman texts, a continuity also highlighted by Rainer Warland (Part II, Chapter 5), Stathakopoulos considers the extent to which depictions of Hell in text and image interact with each other. He analyses the way in which images of Hell are based on apocalyptic texts such as the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (1st century AD), the *Apocalypse of Esdras* (2nd to 9th century), the *Apocalypse of Paul* (5th to 6th century), the *Apocalypse of Peter* (5th to 7th century), the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* (9th to 11th century), and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* (10th century). These apocryphal texts were popular in shaping ideas on punishment; however, they do not always assist our understanding of the iconography of Hell, as this also reflects the social preoccupations of the community that commissioned the cycle. Hence, Stathakopoulos, in the second part of his chapter, turns to Joseph Bryennios (born around 1350), who recorded a vivid depiction of his experiences during his appointment on Crete, in an attempt to look into the contemporary society that commissioned the Cretan Hell cycles.



Bryennios devoted a number of texts to the subject of the Last Judgement, which highlight the moral failing of the congregation as well as the lack of Orthodox bishops on the island. Thus, the unusual proliferation of Hell scenes on rural Crete may have been part of an attempt to maintain social and religious order at a time when the Church lacked executive power to enforce control, through fear of eternal punishment.

The implications of the dissolution of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in Venetian Crete and the influence this had on the imagery of Hell are the core of **Charalambos Gasparis'** assessment. He develops the material addressed in Stathakopoulos' chapter. Gasparis offers an overview of the continuities and novelties in the political, administrative, economical and ecclesiastical realm that shaped a society that produced numerous images of Hell, as examined by Lymberopoulou in the following chapter. Shedding light especially on the ecclesiastical situation on the island, Gasparis provides a detailed analysis of the organisation of the local Orthodox Church, and acknowledges that the main problems the Venetian authorities had to address on Crete were firstly the control of the numerous Orthodox priests and secondly the involvement of a significant number of priests and monks in insurrections. These factors resulted in the institutionalisation of the office of the *protopapas*, who was responsible for all Orthodox priests, a prohibition against other Orthodox clergy entering the island and, in case they were successful, their expulsion from it. In their absence, ecclesiastical dignitaries and scholars such as Anthimos of Athens or Joseph Bryennios, as Stathakopoulos shows in his chapter, were sent to Crete by the Orthodox Patriarch to strengthen the Orthodox community and/or to prevent conversion to Catholicism. Gasparis observes that, despite the lack of an Orthodox ecclesiastical presence on Crete, the numerous churches that emerged or were decorated, especially during the 14th century, remained the main loci of Orthodox worship. The 14th century was a golden age for church renovation and construction, thanks to political stability after the turbulent 13th century and economic growth, which resulted in the adoption of the process of sponsorship. As a result, a large variety of images of Hell emerged on Crete, the study of which has become essential for our understanding of social norms as well as the enforcement of Venetian penal law and the survival of Byzantine law on the island. Thus, adopting Bryennios' approach to the Hell scenes (as identified by Stathakopoulos), Gasparis sees the scenes of Hell as a reminder to worshippers that offences are equal to sins and sins demand punishment. Gasparis groups the offences depicted in the Cretan Orthodox churches into six categories:

1. 'Universal' crimes, which take place in both urban and rural contexts (e.g. murder, theft and robbery);
2. Offences committed by professionals active in either the city or the village (e.g. by millers, tailors, tavern keepers, and those who cheat at their scales);
3. Offences committed by professionals active mainly (but not solely) in the cities (e.g. by the usurer or the notary who falsified documents);
4. Transgressions relating to everyday life in both cities and villages (e.g. by adulterers, fornicators, perjurers etc.);
5. Offences relating exclusively to rural life (e.g. by farmers who plough and reap over the boundary line);
6. Transgressions relating to religious life and the observance of church rules (e.g. sleeping in on a Sunday), both in urban and rural contexts.

However, as Angeliki LyMBERopoulou demonstrates in the following chapter, sharp distinctions between rural and urban sinners were not a primary concern in Cretan imagery of Hell; rather, they underline the dire consequences of committing crimes and offences of a religious, professional, social and moral nature.

Gasparis' contribution concludes with a comparative analysis of offences, presented in both pictorial and textual form, as found in hitherto unpublished documents from the Venetian archives, where the social, economic and religious profile of the donors is also reflected. Gasparis correlates iconography to its social background and demonstrates how images can mirror aspects of the society that depicted Hell in their churches. These texts significantly enhance our understanding of the imagery of Hell in Venetian Crete, which in the following chapter by Angeliki LyMBERopoulou are examined in 107 distinct examples from Cretan churches.

**Angeliki LyMBERopoulou** identifies the basic characteristics of the imagery of Hell (the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments), but highlights the absence of iconographical standardisation. Since Hell signified divergence from the preaching of the Orthodox Church and highlighted to the faithful the consequences of sin, it was often formed according to the degree to which communities were affected by each transgression. To highlight the significance of repentance, individual sinners are often placed at eye level, creating a telling proximity between sinners and churchgoers, who are brutally reminded of the significance their own deeds could have in determining their final destination – Paradise or Hell. Hell, as an

iconographical manual of social justice, largely dwells within communities, therefore it reflects not only the Church's condemnation of wrongdoing, but also social indignation, as shown in the depiction of the thief Leontis at Sklavopoula, Church of the Virgin (cat. no. 35). Thanks to the freedom of association offered by depictions of Hell, societies created micro-Hells, where the faithful determined who would be sent to Hell, following social disgrace. Thus, it can be argued that Cretan imagery of Hell acts as the Church's call for repentance from the faithful, encouraging social disapproval of those who transgress against penal and ethical law.

The association of religious texts with everyday professions in depictions of Hell has varied results. Texts provide a dogmatic basis for the depiction of 'good' and 'bad'. At the same time, the professions depicted offer us a valuable insight into the economic structure of society and the role of women in a social structure where the male was dominant. It also highlights the fact that certain professions important for that society (e.g. shoemakers, coopers) are conspicuous by their absence from the sinners depicted in Hell. Lymberopoulou points out how the visual representation of the torments of sinners would have affected the faithful, emphasising the importance of living a Christian life.

**Rembrandt Duits** offers a different geographical setting for the study of the Cretan representations of Hell by focusing on the Western aspect of Italo-Byzantine cultural interaction. His chapter presents a new perspective on the origins of certain elements in the Cretan images of Hell, which he suggests may have been derived from Western art, 'and Italian art in particular'. He draws on a representative sample of 25 per cent of all the Cretan wall paintings showing Hell that appear to deviate from pre-established Byzantine traditions. The geographical dispersion and chronological range of the sample mean that this iconographic divergence cannot, according to Duits, 'be explained as the impact of a single Cretan master or a local "school"'. The author draws our attention to iconographic elements that suggest the interaction of Cretan and Italian artists, such as devils pulling souls with ropes or chains, frontally rendered processions of sinners, the double-headed Dragon of the Depths, the structure of Hell, and inscriptions that identify certain sinners. Through a comparative analysis of these iconographic deviations in Cretan renditions of Hell and Italian art, Duits identifies a creative interaction between the two.

Regarding the first detail, the author locates at Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70) devils pulling souls by means of ropes or chains, as also found in Western art from the 12th century onwards, in Giotto's Last Judgement in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (1306), and in the

parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (*terminus ante quem*, 1321). Moreover, the frontally rendered processions of sinners at the Church of Christ the Saviour, Potamies (cat. no. 90) and at Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99) appear to correspond to the mosaic in the Baptistery in Florence (late 13th century); they use a form of foreshortening not normally found in Byzantine art. As to the Dragon of the Depths, eight Cretan murals show the dragon with two symmetrically placed heads, instead of in its regular guise, with the head and upper body of a dragon and the tail of a fish (cat. nos 6, 47, 75, 80, 96, 98, 99, 107); the double-headed dragons are related to Western representations.

Duits indicates that one of the trends in Western art for depicting the internal structure of Hell is that of 'Chaotic Hell'. Seven Cretan murals, dispersed across three prefectures (Chania, Herakleion and Lassithi), show sinners randomly placed in a single space (cat. nos 6, 10, 20, 21, 79, 82, 99). From the lack of stylistic similarities between these seven images, Duits concludes that it 'would have required seven different artists to come up with the same idea independently in different places at different times'. Thus, the author suggests that the seven different versions of the same theme may be the result of the direct or indirect influence of a Western model, which Cretan painters adapted to suit Byzantine norms.

Duits points out that the interaction between the two sets of inhabitants on Venetian Crete had a linguistic impact, as evident from the term ο ζουράρης ('usurer'), which is effectively a Greek rendition of the Latin *usurarius*. In essence, Duits's chapter extends the scope of Byzantine–Western interaction and demonstrates that Cretan painters may have drawn on Western art to enrich the visual vocabulary of their representations of Hell.

Duits's chapter concludes the first part of the volume, which deals with the rich and diverse Cretan material. Part II considers representations of Hell from the wider Mediterranean. It opens with a chapter by **Rainer Warland**, who examines Cappadocia, a region that greatly influenced the evolution of the iconography of Hell. It is here that the earliest surviving examples of Hell in Byzantine monumental art are to be found. The author discusses the iconographical and textual background to the iconography of Hell in the sepulchral churches of Cappadocia, which date from between 900 and the 13th century. He examines the relationship of the theme of Hell to written and pictorial sources and how its various characteristics developed over time; the depiction of Hell was constantly evolving as new elements were added. He argues that Cappadocia's geographical position, history and transcultural exchanges resulted in a multi-ethnic society and

a varied treatment of the theme. As in the chapters by Stathakopoulos, Gasparis and Lymberopoulou that consider Crete, Warland shows that the social function of depictions of Hell in Cappadocia was primarily to promote social norms and maintain ecclesiastical order. Moreover, the author draws attention to an additional function of iconography, that of offering a sense of personal vindication to all who observed Christian ethics and did not identify themselves with the sinners depicted.

Warland suggests that ancient Greek, Hellenistic and Roman iconographical motifs influenced Cappadocian representations of Hell. It is also in Cappadocia that the author locates early examples of Hell scenes found near the church entrance, seen also in the later Cretan examples examined by Lymberopoulou in Part 1 (Chapter 3). Starting with the earliest dated example, the Yılanlı Kilise (around AD 900), the author identifies the basic elements of Hell imagery, such as creatures of Hell, women tortured by snakes, and compartments of Communal Punishments. Pürenli Seki Kilise, dated to the 10th century, offers the oldest example of collective punishments targeting men and women separately. Another important period for the development of Hell imagery in Cappadocia is the 13th century, when churches included iconographic innovations that became common in subsequent Last Judgement scenes, such as single-framed Hell scenes, emphasis on the ministries of angels, and the identification of the Scales of Justice in inscriptions. Overall, Warland's contribution lies in the presentation of the origins of the iconographical elements in the monumental Hell imagery as part of the Last Judgement.

The role of sponsorship and its influence on the iconographical depiction of Hell in Byzantine (Greek) Macedonia is examined by **Athanasios Semoglou**. The author argues that donors affect the use and character of the monument chosen as their burial place. Like other contributors in this volume, Semoglou vividly demonstrates the connection between the iconography of Hell and the hopes of the faithful for eternal life. The author suggests that depictions of Hell do not illustrate the consequences of the Last Judgement, but rather the moment before saints and sinners were sent to Heaven or Hell, something that Lymberopoulou suggests applies also to certain Cretan examples. In turn, this was a strong motivation for donors to commission images of the Last Judgement.

Semoglou recognises differences in the precautionary function of the scenes between the early and the middle Byzantine periods in the degree to which they depict the dispensing of justice and the punishment of the unworthy. The author asserts that during the middle Byzantine period two major changes occurred that led to the articulation of the dipole between

sin/punishment and virtue/reward, the first being the consolidation of the Last Judgement in the narthex and the second its vertical alignment (the latter noted in the structure of Cretan Hell by Lymberopoulou).

An example of the new formulation of Hell imagery and the influence of sponsorship on its iconography is, according to the author, seen in the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31). The earliest example of this tendency is found in the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria, dated to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. In a sinful woman tormented by snakes, with her back turned on the Rich Man, Semoglou recognises a female donor who identifies herself with the repentant Rich Man and thus requests a place in Heaven. Similarly, in the Church of Saint Athanasios of Mouzaki (1383/4) and in the parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (1321) we also find a wealthy sinner identified with the founder of the church, who hopes that this act of sponsorship will redeem his sins. The last two examples, according to Semoglou, have as common denominator the proximity of the donors' tomb to the scene of the parable of the Rich Man, expressing the patrons' wish to be granted a place in Paradise.

**Sharon E. J. Gerstel** and **Panayotis S. Katsafados** explore the iconography of Hell in churches in the Peloponnese produced between the 12th and the 14th centuries. Having as their starting point churches in large settlements in Mystras and Chrysapha, the authors present different approaches to Hell within the damnation/reward duality. In particular, Gerstel and Katsafados argue that the Brontocheion Monastery emphasises salvation rather than damnation, as Semoglou finds in the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria, and Warland much earlier, in the Yılanlı Kilise. In Panagia Chrysaphitissa, the role of the donor in shaping the iconography is shown in the way Paradise is placed on the side where the tomb of the founder is located. It is worth noting that in these examples, Hell is given a specific chronological setting. In other words, damnation has not yet occurred; both the righteous and the sinners are awaiting Christ's final judgement, which the donors hope will grant them entry into Paradise.

Gerstel and Katsafados move their examination of Hell images to the Mani peninsula, arguing that the churches in this region show a change in emphasis by focusing on transgressions relating to village life. This is seen in the depiction of certain sinners, such as makers of poison or casters of spells. While these specific sinners are also included in certain Cretan examples, as Lymberopoulou notes, they are not a common feature of representations of Hell. They probably reflect local concerns about magic being practised against members of the community. Hence, the sins

depicted in images of Hell act as a mirror for the social values of the time, just as Lymberopoulou argues for Venetian Crete.

**Annemarie Weyl Carr**'s chapter concludes the Mediterranean itinerary of volume 1 by examining the depiction of Hell on Cyprus, an island which historically had a close connection with Crete. She examines the iconographic development of Cypriot Hell in twenty-two depictions of the Last Judgement, which she divides into three chronological clusters.

The initial group of images dates from between the 12th and the mid-14th century. In the Church of Saint Nicholas tis Stegis (12th century), two groups are awaiting the judgement that will consign them either to Paradise or to Hell; nothing, however, indicates what that judgement will be. No attempt is made to illustrate Hell as a specific place. A shift in the punishment/reward approach is made in the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa (1332/3), where according to Weyl Carr the presence of identified sinners demonstrates that punishment is taking place; Hell is not vague any more but a state of being, a process. In the Phorbiotissa, sinful clergy, both Latin and Orthodox (as attested also in a number of Cretan examples), are placed in Hell.

The innovation in churches from the second group, dating from between the mid-14th and the late 15th century, is according to the author the clear differentiation between redemption and condemnation expressed by the concentration of Hell on a single surface (as also seen in Cappadocia) that faces scenes from the Christological cycle. Hence, the author suggests that in the Church of the Holy Cross in Kouka (15th century) Hell is transformed from a state of being into a place.

It is in the third and final chronological cluster of churches, dating from between the late 15th and the 16th century, that Weyl Carr sees a major shift in the idea of Hell as a defined space. Thus, in the Church of Christ Antiphonitis (c. 1500) in particular, Hell is uniquely depicted as a bell-shaped enclosure, while in the Church of Stavros tou Agiasmati (16th century) the fiery angel is shown attacking the Lord of Darkness within his realm.

As far as the dichotomy between damnation and reward is concerned, the churches on Cyprus show that this was irrelevant to the portrayal of Hell as a specific place. The congregation would have been aware of damnation and retribution, as many examples in the previous chapters in this volume prove. Nevertheless, the contribution of the Cypriot churches to the imagery of Hell shows a growing tendency to attribute spatial qualities to Hell. Perhaps the Church wished to make damnation more concrete by identifying Hell with constructions that the faithful could



recognise from their everyday life. The innovation of picturing Hell as a specific location proves what Lymberopoulou has already noted – that images of Hell are far from standardised and are thus open to free association. Alteration and/or additions in iconography are crucial, because in them lies the contribution of the society, which depicted in the mural its own perception of Hell, and the hope that, if not in this life, then certainly in the next, the good will be rewarded and the bad will be punished in an ugly manner; the afterlife of Orthodox Christianity has no grey zones.

The eight studies underline the richness of the Cretan material that has been placed at the centre of this publication. Overall, the most significant aspect of Hell imagery that emerges from this set of studies lies in the dichotomy between condemnation and reward. One element that each contribution highlights equally is the significance of Hell for Christian congregations as a place of eternal punishment for all earthly transgressions – professional, moral and religious. Hell was perceived both from the perspective of the faithful and of the sinner, two groups which are not distinguished from each other. Sinners are Christians who have lost their way and are reminded to return to the Church where they belong. Visually, this call is almost always made in the narthex, where, having heard the Word of God in the liturgy, Hell invites the congregation to remain true to their faith and lead their lives according to Christian norms. Still, in the ultimate moment of their Judgement, Christ awaits their acknowledgement of their errors, so that they can be forgiven. As an instrument in the hands of the Church, Hell is a demand for immediate repentance, where forgiveness will open the gates of Paradise only for those who are tormented by remorse. For the rest, images of Hell do not simply define their sins, but also the consequences of their free choice of Evil over Good. In the end, the study of Hell imagery contributes significantly to our understanding of how societies illustrated aspects of collective memory, since it identifies sin not only as the result of an individual's moral failing but as a factor that is disruptive of communal cohesion.



## PART I

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# Crete



# 1 | From Crete to Hell

## The Textual Tradition on Punishments in the Afterlife and the Writings of Joseph Bryennios on Crete

DIONYSIOS STATHAKOPOULOS

How do the living lie with the dead? Until the dehumanization of society by capitalism, all the living awaited the experience of the dead. It was their ultimate future. By themselves the living were incomplete. Thus living and dead were interdependent. Always. Only a uniquely modern form of egotism has broken this interdependence. With disastrous results for the living, who now think of the dead as eliminated.

John Berger, *Theses on the Economy of the Dead*

### 1.1 Introduction

The final judgement has come, the sheep have been separated from the goats (Matt. 25:32), there is no possibility for change. No repentance, no alms, no prayers can alter the verdict. For those who have plunged to Hell through the River of Fire, eternal punishment awaits, its modes glimpsed in a variety of texts and images that seem to operate between edification, call to repentance, *Schadenfreude*, sadism and voyeurism. But things are not so clear. In the specific context of this book the key question we have to address is what exactly we are looking at in these Cretan wall paintings. If the Hell scenes are part of the cycle of the Last Judgement, then this is quite straightforward: viewers are afforded a glimpse of the fate of souls after the final judgement and the final separation of those dwelling in Paradise and those condemned to Hell. In many instances, however, the scenes are separated from the context of the Last Judgement and therefore the lines become blurred. If this is not the *final* judgement, a judgement is nevertheless implied: these figures are being punished for a series of sins (often stated through accompanying inscriptions and/or attributes) and they must be dead to be able to withstand the horrible things that happen to them, or else we would be witnessing a series of terrible executions. We may assume that we are made to look at the intermediate state that is the period between an individual's death and the final judgement. As I will

discuss below, this view is supported by the existence of a rich tradition in visions of the afterlife and descents into the underworld that have described this state, mapped its territory, enumerated the punishments taking place in its realms and come back to tell the tale.

Many scholars have examined Byzantine ideas and beliefs about the afterlife. The most frequent words that crop up in their discussion are: ambiguous, evasive, inconsistent, unsystematised, contradictory.<sup>1</sup> This suggests a rich vein of ideas that was never made to produce a coherent system of beliefs. The aim of this chapter is to provide context for the scenes at the heart of this volume, not to present a comprehensive discussion of Byzantine ideas about death and the afterlife in general.<sup>2</sup> With this in mind, this chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part (sections 1.2, 1.3) I will discuss key ideas about the fate of humans after death. My particular focus will be on ideas about punishments in the afterlife, tracing their origins and development from the Jewish apocrypha to late Byzantine theology. This part will provide a theoretical background to the discussion. The second part (section 1.4) is devoted to a case study that is much closer to the social location of the wall paintings: the life and texts of Joseph Bryennios (c. 1350 to the early 1430s), an influential preacher who spent twenty years on Crete just before the turn of the 15th century and wrote extensively about it. This part aims to capture something of the tensions on the ground surrounding the afterlife in the specific context of Crete. Finally, I will offer some concluding remarks on my understanding of the context in which the images at the heart of this book can be viewed.

## 1.2 Punishment after Death: The Making of a Tradition

It is obvious that a search for the origins of a tradition regarding the fate of humans after death must begin with Scripture. The Old Testament, as can be expected from a body of texts that were composed over a very long period of time, presents a variety of ideas on this matter. The fate of humans after death is not a central theme in it.<sup>3</sup> The realm of the dead is called Sheol (translated as Hades in the Septuagint) and many scholars suggest that this was a place for all the dead, regardless of their behaviour when alive.<sup>4</sup> Johnston, however, has challenged this notion by putting together evidence that shows that in many

<sup>1</sup> On key works on this subject, see Conostas 2001; Baun 2007; Marinis 2017a.

<sup>2</sup> On the subject in general, apart from the works mentioned in the previous note, see also Beck 1979; Patlagean 1981; Lampakis 1982; Daley 1991; the articles collected in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001); Conostas 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Johnston 2002, 70. <sup>4</sup> Lehtipuu 2007, 119–20.

instances it is the wicked and ungodly who end up there:<sup>5</sup> Psalm 9:17 ('The wicked are turned back and sent to Sheol')<sup>6</sup>; Job 24:19 ('The drought as well as the heat carry away the melted snow; so the grave [Sheol] takes away those who have sinned'). Sheol is never described, nor are any specific punishments meted out to its denizens. In fact, Johnston categorically states 'Old Testament eschatology has no concept of judgement after death.'<sup>7</sup> However, the motif of just retribution, of humans receiving from God either rewards or punishments according to their deeds, is present in the Old Testament, although not explicitly connected to the fate of humans after death: Psalm 62:12 ('[A]nd you, O Lord, demonstrate loyal love. For you repay men for what they do'); Proverbs 24:12 ('Will he not repay each person according to his deeds?'); Job 34:11 ('For he repays a person for his work, and according to the conduct of a person, he causes the consequences to find him').<sup>8</sup> Another important strand of Old Testament thought is the idea of God annihilating his enemies with fire – again, not explicitly connected to the afterlife: Isaiah 26:11 ('[Lord,] fire will consume your enemies').<sup>9</sup>

These themes were taken up and expanded in the New Testament, and in most cases the link to the fate of humans after death became more explicit. This is clear regarding the idea of a just retribution: Romans 2:6 ('He will reward each one according to his works'); Revelation 20:13 ('The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each one was judged according to his deeds'). The judgement alluded to in these passages (and, with one exception discussed below, in all such references in the New Testament) is the Final Judgement, which is seen as imminent. It will be accompanied by the general resurrection of all bodies, but the righteous and the sinners will be afforded different fates.<sup>10</sup> Regarding the latter, there is some discrepancy. In some books of the New Testament, the fate of the wicked on Judgement Day is total annihilation by fire: 2 Peter 2:6 ('[A]nd if he turned to ashes the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah when he condemned them to destruction, having appointed them to serve as an example to future generations of the ungodly'); Hebrews 10:26–7 ('For if we deliberately keep on sinning after receiving the knowledge of the truth, no further sacrifice for sins is left for us, but only a certain fearful expectation of judgement and a fury of fire that will consume God's enemies'); Matthew 10:28 ('Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. Instead, fear the one who is able to destroy both soul and body in Hell').<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>5</sup> Johnston 2002, 80–3.

<sup>6</sup> All translations from the Bible are from the New English Translation.

<sup>7</sup> Johnston 2002, 237. <sup>8</sup> See Bauckham 1998, 195. <sup>9</sup> On this idea, see Sim 1996, 131–2.

<sup>10</sup> Kyrtatas 2009, 287. <sup>11</sup> Sim 1996, 131–4.

word usually translated as 'Hell' in the New Testament is Gehenna (Γέεννα), an actual place, the ravine of Hinnom, on the southern side of Jerusalem. This was a place that had been associated with pagan sacrifices (2 Chr. 28:3; 33:6) and later served as a garbage dump, with continuous fires burning.<sup>12</sup>

If some texts suggest a complete destruction by fire, others seem to contradict this by indicating punishments with a longer time span. Matthew 25:41, 46, Mark 9:43, 45, 47–8, Jude 7 and James 5:3 make clear that the wicked will be punished by eternal fire for their sins.<sup>13</sup> Further elements of their punishments include Outer Darkness, Weeping and Wailing, Gnashing of Teeth (Matt. 13:42, 13:50 and 25:41) as well as the Sleepless Worm and Everlasting Fire (Mark 9:44, 46 and 48). As indicated above, all these punishments are seen as final, coming after the Last Judgement. There is, however, one instance in which an individual is punished immediately after his death, but before the universal Judgement.<sup>14</sup> This occurs in the parable of The Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), a story with motifs that go back to Egyptian texts and the Talmud.<sup>15</sup> A rich man, indifferent to the fate of the suffering poor man, Lazarus, at his gate, dies and goes to Hades, where he is tormented in the fire. He asks for permission to allow Lazarus to offer him a tiny solace (a drop of water on the tip of his finger), but this is denied by Abraham. The rich man then asks Lazarus to be sent to his five brothers to warn them so that they can escape this place of torment – this is equally denied. The fact that the rich man's brothers are alive makes clear that we are not witnessing a scene after the Final Judgement. This is a unique instance of the belief in a judgement during the intermediate state and as such quite important. Furthermore, the fact that the depiction of this scene is fairly common in the Cretan wall paintings under consideration<sup>16</sup> makes it all the more crucial to look into this tradition in more detail.

Lehtipuu, who devoted an entire monograph to this parable, emphasised the theme of reversal that is key in it (the rich man suffers in the afterlife, while the poor man, who suffered in his mortal life, is blissful) and its core message of repentance (addressed to the living); furthermore, the parable makes clear that the dead cannot intercede for the living.<sup>17</sup> But the parable also suggests that the rich man is not utterly annihilated by fire, but is only tormented by it.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Kyrtatas 2009, 283–4. <sup>13</sup> Sim 1996, 134.

<sup>14</sup> There is also the case of the Good Thief (Luke 23:40–3), who is rewarded immediately after his death by entering Heaven; see Kyrtatas 2009, 285.

<sup>15</sup> Bauckham 1998, 96.

<sup>16</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 155. This particular sinner is discussed in detail by Semoglou, also in this volume, Chapter 6.

<sup>17</sup> Lehtipuu 2007, 164–85. <sup>18</sup> Kyrtatas 2009, 283.

A final theme that is present, but not elaborated in the New Testament regards Christ's injunctions on how to treat the parts of the body that sin (Matt. 5:29–30, Mark 9:43–7): if the hand/foot/eye causes one to sin, then one should cut it off or tear it out instead of risking going into Hell, to the everlasting fire (only in Mark) with one's body whole. It is highly probable that these injunctions were not meant literally,<sup>19</sup> but they nevertheless introduce the notion of talion (the punishment corresponding to the crime) and more specifically the notion that certain sins are committed by certain body parts,<sup>20</sup> a theme that, as we will see below, was elaborated in later texts and became central in the understanding of punishments in Hell.

Summarising the understanding of punishments in Scripture, it is clear that no unified and coherent system emerged from them. The themes I have outlined above suggest the presence of various ideas that could be further explored to provide more details on the specifics of the afterlife. This elaboration aiming to fill the gaps about the knowledge of the afterlife<sup>21</sup> took place in the first Christian centuries both in New Testament apocrypha and in the teaching of the Fathers. It would surpass the scope of this chapter to examine this development in detail, so what I propose to do is to highlight some general trends and illustrate them with a few examples.<sup>22</sup>

Two major questions that had received ambiguous and at times contradictory treatment in Scripture were in the process of being elucidated: were the dead punished immediately after death or did they wait for Judgement Day to receive their punishment? And did the punishment of sinners consist of their annihilation or were other, eternal forms of punishment to be expected? The response, as can be expected, was equally mixed.<sup>23</sup> On the one hand, a series of apocrypha that emerged from as early as the 1st century BC began to enumerate and describe (often in gruesome detail) the punishments that awaited sinners after death (see below for a detailed discussion).<sup>24</sup> Some of these texts, however, placed the punishments immediately after the sinners' death, during the provisional judgement, while others reserved them for after Judgement Day. What is common in both strands is the substitution of complete annihilation with (eternal, or chronologically limited) punishment.

<sup>19</sup> Brattston 1994, 70 brings up the example of Origen, who castrated himself to avoid temptation and was defrocked and exiled for it.

<sup>20</sup> Czachesz 2003, 114. <sup>21</sup> Baun 2007, 326.

<sup>22</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see Himmelfarb 1983; Daley 1991; Bauckham 1998.

<sup>23</sup> Sim 1996, 77. <sup>24</sup> Bauckham 1998, 34; Kyrtatas 2009, 288.

The concept of the dead residing until Judgement Day in Hades regardless of whether they had been virtuous or sinners was also weakened. For the influential early theologian Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), Hades, which once received all the dead, had been emptied by Christ and now receives only the souls of sinners.<sup>25</sup> This never became a universally accepted idea in Byzantine theology or popular belief. The apophatic character of Byzantine theology and the fact that the topic of the afterlife was never debated and defined, for example, in a Church council, meant that, as Marinis formulated it, ‘the Byzantines never produced a systematic theology on the post-mortem fate of the soul’, but that the ideas that circulated – and which were often contradictory – drew on a variety of traditions, Scriptural, pagan and patristic.<sup>26</sup> One of the notions that received elaboration in the Byzantine tradition was that of the intermediate state between death and resurrection and the fate of the souls in it.<sup>27</sup> One of the clearest attempts to define this state was formulated by pseudo-Athanasios in his *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, a work that is notoriously difficult to date (current consensus tentatively agrees on a 7th- or 8th-century date) and still awaits a critical edition.<sup>28</sup> In Question 20, he characterises this state in the following metaphor:

It is like when the emperor summons his friends to eat together and, in like manner, [he summons] the condemned to punish them. Those invited to lunch await in front of the emperor’s house in delight until the time comes. But the condemned, shut up in prison, remain sorrowful until the judge comes.<sup>29</sup>

This is a very clear and easy to grasp image and it had a lasting impact in Byzantine thought. It was used by Mark Eugenikos when addressing Latin theologians at the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1439, and this is crucial, because, as Marinis suggests, this represented the first time ‘a metropolitan representing the Byzantine Church offered a systematic exposition of the Church’s beliefs on the afterlife’.<sup>30</sup> The discussions at this council, during

<sup>25</sup> *Strom.* 6.6.44.5–47; see Constan 2001, 95.

<sup>26</sup> Marinis 2017a, 2, 4. Quote on 2. I have excluded the belief in demonic toll houses from the discussion below, although it forms part of Byzantine afterlife ideas. Since they are not depicted on Cretan wall paintings, I thought that their treatment would over-complicate what is already a long and complex discussion. On these toll houses, see Every 1976; Constan 2001, 105–9; Baun 2007, 125–6; Marinis 2017a, 16, 20–2, 79–80, Krausmüller 2019.

<sup>27</sup> The seminal study with an exploration of the tradition is Constan 2001.

<sup>28</sup> Marinis 2017a, 25–7. On the complex manuscript tradition of the text, see the most recent discussion, De Vos 2015.

<sup>29</sup> PG 28, 609; translation in Marinis 2017a, 26.

<sup>30</sup> Marinis 2017a, 77. The passage is found in *De purgatorio disputationes*, eds Petit and Hofmann 1969, 62, lines 27–30.



which the Byzantine side was forced to elaborate on and express its views in response to Western theological ideas, represent the most complete and organised expression of Byzantine ideas on the afterlife. In sum, Mark Eugenikos offered the following elucidation of the Byzantine beliefs about the fate of sinners after death:<sup>31</sup> they are awaiting their full punishment on Judgement Day, tormented not by external actors, but by their own thoughts of the forthcoming punishment, by shame and remorse. In this Mark differed significantly from the popular tradition, but it is plausible to assume that he did so in order to avoid offering support for the Latin notion of Purgatory.<sup>32</sup> In fact, it seems that Byzantine theologians had stopped emphasising or even bringing up the notion of provisional judgement and the individual punishments connected with it in the afterlife after the close of the 12th century, most probably as a response to the growing importance of Purgatory in Latin thought.<sup>33</sup> Mark's theology challenges if not utterly rejects the notion of post-mortem punishments as outlined in the apocrypha and the Byzantine visions of the afterlife. This suggests, schematically speaking, a tension between high theology and popular belief. It gives us a further perspective in which to view the Cretan wall paintings that clearly follow the latter. If we accept that playing down the provisional judgement was a Byzantine theological strategy aiming to refute Purgatory, then its abundant presence on Latin-dominated Crete suggests that the Orthodox congregations that commissioned and viewed these wall paintings did not know or were not sufficiently reassured by the pronouncements of Byzantine high theology. Of course, we do not know if and how the images may have been used in preaching; perhaps preachers explained the difference between provisional and final Judgement by pointing to them, but in the absence of evidence, this must remain a hypothesis.

### 1.3 A Genealogy of Punishments

The pronouncements of theologians on the metaphorical and internal punishments of sinners in the afterlife may represent the elaboration of ideas in over a millennium of Christendom, but reality on the ground was different. The wall paintings we are asked to understand in Crete and throughout the Byzantine world are full of punishments, and it is elsewhere

<sup>31</sup> Here I follow Marinis 2017a, 77–9; for a more theologically oriented discussion, see Conostas 2001, 113–19.

<sup>32</sup> Marinis 2017a, 79. See also Ombres 1984; Conostas 2006; Bathrellos 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Marinis 2017a, 39.

that we must look for their sources. A large number of texts include more or less detailed lists and descriptions of such punishments, so to explore them all in detail would require a dedicated study. Instead, I will concentrate on a restricted number of texts and examine them more closely. My main criterion for choosing six model texts is that they include detailed descriptions of punishments. Moreover, I have chosen texts that either stand out because of their antiquity (and can therefore be seen as instrumental in shaping later traditions) and/or were particularly popular (thus ensuring that the concepts they contained were sufficiently well known). I will briefly introduce these texts and then I will sum up in a table the correspondence between sins and punishments as they record them, followed by a discussion of motifs and their sources.

The earliest text in this discussion is the so-called *Apocalypse of Elijah*, a 1st-century Jewish apocryphon, a fragment of which is preserved in an 8th-century Latin manuscript containing the *Epistle of Pseudo-Titus*.<sup>34</sup> Bauckham, who has studied it extensively, suggests it is the oldest of the 'tours of Hell' genre.<sup>35</sup> The short fragment contains only a description of sins and their punishments 'in a deep valley, which is called Gehenna, burning with brimstone and pitch'.<sup>36</sup> The *Apocalypse of Peter* is a much longer and detailed account of the human fate after death. The text survives in Greek in fragmentary form (dated to a period ranging from the 5th to the late 6th or 7th century)<sup>37</sup> and in a fuller version preserved in Ethiopic (most probably translated from an Arabic translation of the original Greek).<sup>38</sup> The two versions vary widely, but it is assumed that the Ethiopic version reflects the original Greek text, which scholars place in the 2nd century.<sup>39</sup> The text includes both a vision of the righteous and that of the sinners after or at the Final Judgement: 'And he [Jesus] showed me in his right hand the souls of all (men) and on the palm of his right hand the image of that which shall be fulfilled at the last day.'<sup>40</sup> The *Apocalypse of Peter* was quite popular in the early centuries after its emergence, as patristic testimonies suggest, and was even accepted as part of Scripture by some early Christian authors.<sup>41</sup> The next text, the *Apocalypse of Esdras*,

<sup>34</sup> On the text, see De Santos Otero in Schneemelcher 1992, 53–74, the *Apocalypse* is translated on 64–5.

<sup>35</sup> Bauckham 1998, 34–5, 58, 60, 70, 89, 125.

<sup>36</sup> De Bruyne 1925, 65, translation De Santos Otero in Schneemelcher 1992, 64.

<sup>37</sup> Van Minnen 2003. <sup>38</sup> Bauckham 1998, 162.

<sup>39</sup> Müller in Schneemelcher 1992, 625. On the date see Himmelfarb 1983, 8–9; Bauckham 1998, 160–258; Tigchelaar 2003, with some reservations on Bauckham's more precise dating to the 300s.

<sup>40</sup> Müller in Schneemelcher 1992, 626. <sup>41</sup> Jacob 2003.

written in Greek, is very difficult to date; its emergence is roughly placed between the 2nd and the 9th century.<sup>42</sup> It is a short text preserved in only a few manuscripts, but I have decided to include it in my survey because it records certain sins and punishments not mentioned in other texts. Around 400, a new text emerged in a monastic milieu in Egypt, which, although based to some extent on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, would eclipse it in popularity and become one of the formative authorities of Christian afterlife beliefs: the *Apocalypse of Paul*.<sup>43</sup> The text was written in Greek (in which it only survives today in much later summaries) and it was translated into several languages including Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic and later even into European vernaculars. The longest Latin version goes back to the 5th/6th century, while at least eight more versions derived from it, including the most popular, fourth version which only includes the punishments in the afterlife.<sup>44</sup>

The next model text is the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, written in Greek and dated between the 9th and 11th centuries. It is preserved in more than fifty manuscripts (dated between the 11th and the 17th centuries) and it enjoyed (one could even claim it still enjoys) a vivid afterlife in printed pamphlets.<sup>45</sup> This text represents the earliest adaptation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and, due to its popularity, it eclipsed the latter in the Byzantine tradition.<sup>46</sup>

The final text is the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, a text that emerged in the late 10th century.<sup>47</sup> It was by far less popular than the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*.<sup>48</sup> It is important to note that in *Anastasia* torments are not eternal, but will only last until Judgement Day; the dead can do nothing, but the living, to whom Anastasia returns to tell her tale, must hear her message and repent.<sup>49</sup> Both texts belong to the family of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and include detailed descriptions of the fate of both the righteous and the wicked after death.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Charlesworth 1983, 563; Himmelfarb 1983, 25.

<sup>43</sup> It is important to note, with Marinis 2017a, 25, that the *Apocalypse of Peter* describes things that will come to pass *after* the Final Judgement, whereas the *Apocalypse of Paul* refers to events *before* it, that is between an individual's death and the Final Judgement.

<sup>44</sup> Elliott 1996, 616–17; Bauckham 1998, 92–3; Bremmer 2009, 302; the text is edited by Silverstein and Hilhorst 1997.

<sup>45</sup> Baun 2007, 18–20. While Delatte 1927, 272 wrote that he had found the text sold in the streets of Athens, it is now mostly diffused through the internet; see [http://neataksi.blogspot.co.uk/2010/02/blog-post\\_24.html](http://neataksi.blogspot.co.uk/2010/02/blog-post_24.html) (accessed 26 March 2019).

<sup>46</sup> Baun 2007, 40–1, 79. <sup>47</sup> Baun 2007, 16–17, 58–9. <sup>48</sup> Baun 2007, 74.

<sup>49</sup> Baun 2007, 311.

<sup>50</sup> Both the *Theotokos* and *Anastasia* have a rich and diverse manuscript tradition. Especially the *Theotokos* survives in at least fifty manuscripts which, although containing principally the same text, are different enough from each other that a conventional critical edition would be of little use. Baun 2007, 19 aptly writes of the 'biodiversity' of versions of the same text. For an overview

Even this very brief overview makes clear that the texts we are dealing with belong to the category of living texts, copied and edited in numerous manuscripts in different languages that are often quite different from one another, making it near impossible to detect a single urtext.<sup>51</sup> What Baun characterised as the ‘complexity and instability of manuscript traditions’<sup>52</sup> means that we must try to look at the totality of the tradition, since we cannot know which versions of the texts Byzantine populations, for example, would have had access to. In this light, I have chosen to be more rather than less inclusive when it comes to selecting relevant material from this rich tradition.

In the tables, I have put together a selection of sins and punishments as they are recorded in these formative texts. I have left out some combinations of sins and punishments that appear only in the earlier texts and reflect the specific sociocultural characteristics of their time (idolaters, pagans, disobedient slaves) as they are largely irrelevant for the discussion of late medieval images.

The most common sins addressed and the only ones that appear on all six of the chosen model texts are concerned with sexual practices, predominately fornication (sexual relations between unmarried individuals), adultery and incest. The majority of the Christian texts also single out the cases of priests’ wives who remarried after their husbands’ death as particularly worthy of censure. The second most prevalent category (found in five out of the six texts) concerns dogmatic transgressions, which include denying divine justice/righteousness, the Incarnation, the Holy Trinity, and not accepting the Theotokos as Mother of God. This is followed by social sins or sins of the tongue, which include perjury, slander, eavesdropping and blasphemy as well as infanticide (four out of six). Half of the texts refer to sins as varied as the lack of mercy, sorcery, abortion, usury, inappropriate behaviour in church by laymen or by members of the clergy and ploughing over the boundary line (three out of six). It is noteworthy that some of the most depicted sins in the Cretan wall paintings are recorded only in the later texts (*Theotokos* and *Anastasia*): refusal to nurse infants, theft, Sunday sleeping (*Theotokos* only), reaping over the boundary line and cheating at the scales.

of this issue, see Baun 2007, 39–59 (*Theotokos*) and 59–74 (*Anastasia*). In the tables that follow, I have included material from more than one version of *Theotokos*, principally from the Vienna version, written around 1300 (Baun 2007, 45–6), and once each from the Vatican (Barberinianus) version (dated to 1497; Baun 2007, 46–7), the Athens version (dated to 1634; Baun 2007, 19) and from a curious late version in Cretan dialect (dated to the 17th century; Baun 2007, 40).

<sup>51</sup> Lehtipuu 2015, 345. <sup>52</sup> Baun 2007, 35.

Table 1.1 *Sins and punishments in texts.*  
I have largely made use of the terminology employed by Baun 2007 and Bremmer 2009.

| Sin  | Elijah   | Peter  | Esdras   | Paul  | Theotokos  | Anastasia  |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| <b>Sexual</b><br>fornication,<br>adultery,<br>sodomy,<br>masturbation,<br>incest,<br>homosexuality | adulterers and<br>corrupters of<br>minors;<br>tormented in<br>their genitals;<br>female<br>fornicators<br>tormented in<br>their breasts,<br>hanging from<br>their hands;<br>those craving foul<br>things: eyes<br>burned | (adulterers) women:<br>hanged from the hair<br>over boiling mud; men:<br>hanging from their feet<br>(Eth. thighs) as<br>euphemism for genitals,<br>head in the mud;<br>(male and female)<br>homosexuals: endlessly<br>throwing themselves<br>into an abyss;<br>those who did not retain<br>their virginity until<br>marriage: clad in black,<br>flesh torn to pieces/<br>dissolved | incest with<br>mother:<br>hanging by the<br>eyelids, angels<br>beating him | fornicators and adulterers: very<br>black faces in the pit of fire; in<br>a pit with appearance of<br>blood;<br>appointed virgins who defiled<br>their virginity unknown to<br>their parents: clad in black,<br>blazing chains on their necks,<br>led by angels into the darkness;<br>adulterers: suspended by their<br>eyebrows and hair, river of<br>fire;<br>homosexuals (male and female):<br>faces like blood, pit of tar and<br>brimstone, running in a river<br>of fire<br>hanging by fingertips, flame<br>coming out of their mouth<br>and burning them | fornication with godparents: up<br>to the chest in fire;<br>deaconesses who defiled their<br>body in fornication: hanging<br>on a cliff, two-headed beast<br>gnawing at breasts;<br>fornication with godparents, and<br>against father and mother: dark<br>river, boiling like a furnace,<br>waves sinking them and<br>Sleepless Worm gnawing at<br>them;<br>fornicators and adulterers:<br>(Vienna Version, around 1300)<br>fiery river like blood, consum-<br>ing those lying under its waves<br>hanging by fingernails, flames<br>coming out of their mouths<br>and burning them, beasts<br>devouring them<br>those who threw to the dogs the<br>children from their bellies: up<br>to the neck in fire | sodomites, masturbators, those<br>who commit incest, those who<br>have intercourse with their own<br>relations, with a married<br>couple, a mother-in-law or<br>a sister-in-law or a godmother:<br>fiery river at whose bank they<br>sit, gloom above them like<br>a black cloud covering them |
| priests' wives who<br>remarried  |  |  |  |   |  | Heptalophos, sealed inside<br>multiple furnaces from which<br>foam, fire and flames come out   |
| abortion   |  | (abortion of children<br>conceived out of<br>wedlock): sitting in<br>a pool of excrement up<br>to the throat, eyes<br>burned by flames<br>emanating from their<br>children   |  |   |  | Sleepless Worm which is the fiery<br>river, at whose bank they sit   |

Table 1.1 (*cont.*)

| Sin  | Elijah                     | Peter  | Esdras   | Paul  | Theotokos  | Anastasia  |
|--|----------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|
| <b>Social</b><br>slander, gossip,<br>eavesdropping |                            |  | (eavesdroppers –<br>old men): fiery<br>axes revolving<br>upon their ears | slandering in church: immersed<br>up to the lips in river of fire;<br>plotting against neighbours:<br>immersed up to the eyebrows<br>in river of fire | (female) hanging from the ears,<br>beasts coming out of her<br>mouth and gnawing her to<br>pieces;<br>slanderers: hanging from iron<br>tree with iron branches;<br>(Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery<br>river like blood, consuming<br>those lying under its waves:<br>accusers, slanderers<br>(καταληνται), those who<br>separate a married couple,<br>eavesdroppers (παρεκποσαι)<br>denouncing brothers before<br>kings and archons: up to the<br>neck in fire;<br>false oaths on the cross: up to top<br>of the head in fire; hanging<br>from iron tree with iron<br>branches<br>darkness, boiling river darker<br>than pitch, waves set upon the<br>sinners sinking them, while<br>the Sleepless Worm gnaws at<br>them | eavesdroppers (παρεκποσαι):<br>boiling, fiery river thrusting<br>waves upon them, black pitch<br>upon them |
| perjury, false<br>witness                          | hanging from the<br>tongue | biting one's tongue, having<br>burning flames in the<br>mouth;<br>those who put the martyrs<br>to death with their lies:<br>lips cut off; fire in mouth<br>and entrails<br>tormented by reptiles and<br>insects, their victims<br>watching |  | women who exposed children<br>and the men who went to bed<br>with them: on fiery spit(?),<br>torn apart by wild beasts,<br>strangled in the fire      |  | those who plot against men:<br>Sleepless Worm which was the<br>fiery river, at whose bank<br>they sit      |
| murder   |                            |  | four wild beasts<br>sucking breasts                                      |   |  |  |
| infanticide  |                            | flesh-eating beasts<br>emerging from mother's<br>rotten milk torment<br>parents  |  |   |  |  |
| sorcerer/witch                                     |                            | wheel of fire  |  | dispensing charms: submerged<br>up to the lips in blood   | darkness, boiling river darker<br>than pitch, waves set upon the<br>sinners sinking them, while<br>the Sleepless Worm gnaws at<br>them   |  |

|                                 |   |  |   |   |
|---------------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| refusal to nurse                |   | four wild beasts<br>sucking breasts  | (Cretan dialect version) women<br>who hated [their own<br>children] and nursed children<br>not their own: hung by their<br>feet, fire coming out of their<br>mouths<br><br>(Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery<br>river like blood, consuming<br>those lying under its waves<br><br>(Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery<br>river like blood, consuming<br>those lying under its waves<br><br>(Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery<br>river like blood, consuming<br>those lying under its waves:<br>merciless archons  | fiery river at whose bank they sit,<br>gloom above them like a black<br>cloud covering them   |
| thieves                         |   |  |   |   |
| drunkards                       |   |  |   |   |
| lack of mercy                   | merciless rich: wearing rags<br>and driven (dancing) on<br>sharp and fiery stones | harming orphans, widows and<br>the poor: hands and feet cut<br>off in snow and ice   |   |   |
| <b>Liturgical</b><br>bad clergy |   | <p><b>priest</b>: strangled and having his<br/>intestines pierced with a fiery<br/>three-pronged fork;</p> <p><b>bishop</b>: standing up to his knees<br/>in river of fire and being<br/>beaten by angels;</p> <p><b>deacon</b>: standing up to his knees<br/>in river of fire and worms<br/>coming out of his mouth;</p> <p><b>reader</b>: standing up to his knees<br/>in river of fire, lips and tongue<br/>cut off with a fiery razor;</p> <p><b>monks</b>: clothed in rags of tar and<br/>brimstone with snakes/<br/>dragons around their necks,<br/>angels punishing them with<br/>horns of fire</p> | <p><b>steward</b>: hanging from all fours,<br/>blood gushing from his nails,<br/>tongue tied in a flame of fire;</p> <p><b>priests</b>: hanging from their<br/>twenty finger- and toenails,<br/>fire coming out of their heads;</p> <p><b>reader</b>: tormented by three-<br/>headed, flaming winged beast;</p> <p><b>monks</b>: set on fire, gnawed by the<br/>Sleepless Worm;</p> <p>stingy <b>bishops</b>, <b>patriarchs</b> who<br/>do not do, but disdain the will<br/>of God (Vienna Version,<br/>around 1300): fiery river like<br/>blood, consuming those lying<br/>under its waves</p> | <p>twice married <b>priests</b>, those who<br/>serve at church with enmity, who<br/>take people to court, priest who<br/>copulates with his wife on the<br/>holy Sunday, or on other feasts,<br/>priest who has a hidden woman<br/>(who hides a woman<br/>prostitute), who takes bribes,<br/>who does not examine his flock<br/>before Communion;</p> <p><b>monk</b>: disobedience to abbot,<br/>bawdy, drinking wine, money-<br/>loving</p> <p>Heptalophos, sealed inside multiple<br/>furnaces from which foam, fire<br/>and flames come, deep and<br/>immense pit, boiling and<br/>bubbling;</p> <p>monks who renounce the habit:<br/>deep boiling and bubbling pit;<br/>bishops, priests, deacons, cantors<br/>without attributes (thrones,<br/>vestments) because of fall of their<br/>wives after their death</p> |

Table 1.1 (*cont.*)

| Sin   | Elijah  | Peter  | Esdras | Paul   | Theotokos  | Anastasia   |
|---|---|--|--------|--|--|---|
| Sunday sleepers<br>breaking fast<br>bad behaviour in church |   |  |        | <p>unable to eat fruit within sight</p> <p>not paying attention to the reading of Scripture: on a fiery spit;</p> <p>inappropriate discussions after Church: immersed up to the knees in river of fire; fornication after church: immersed up to the navel in river of fire</p> <p>reviling word of God: chewing their tongues</p> | <p>on a cloud of fire (or fiery benches, Vatican version) (Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery river like blood, consuming those lying under its waves</p> <p>do not rise for the priest: seated on fiery benches</p>   | <p>receive the Eucharist while drunk: Sleepless Worm which was the fiery river, at whose bank they sit</p>  |
| blasphemy   | hanging from the tongue   | hanging from the tongue; biting one's lips, getting fiery rods in the eyes   |        |  | <p>hanging from iron tree with iron branches (Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery river like blood, consuming those lying under its waves</p>   |   |
| dogma   | those who detested the righteousness of God, evil-minded, quarrelsome: hanging head downwards | <p>those who denied justice: pit of fire; persecutors and betrayers of Christ's righteous ones:</p> <p>scourged and gnawed by Sleepless Worm; those who perverted and betrayed Christ's righteousness: biting own tongues, hot irons in eyes</p> |        | <p>not hoping in the Lord as helper: in a bottomless pit with a river of fire poured over them; denying the incarnation, the Virgin birth and the Eucharist: burning in a fiery well;</p> <p>denying the resurrection: cold and snow</p>   | <p>did not worship the Trinity: wailing;</p> <p>did not believe in the Trinity, did not accept the Theotokos: eternal darkness, bubbling pitch poured on them;</p> <p>deniers of Baptism: darkness, boiling river darker than pitch, waves set upon the sinners sinking them, while the Sleepless Worm gnaws at them</p> | <p>those who don't believe in the incarnation, those who don't believe in Christ: pit with seven mouths guarded by an angel; fire and gloom and darkness of the worms within it</p> |



|  |   |                |   |  |   |
|--|---|----------------|---|--|---|
| Agricultural<br>ploughing              |   |                | man who removed landmarks: hanging by the skull | παραβλακισται: fiery river like blood, waves burning them (Athens Version, 1634, p. 277)   | (παραβλακισται, παραβλακισται): boiling, fiery river thrusting waves upon them, black pitch upon them |
|  |   |                |   | (Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery river like blood, consuming those lying under its waves: those who reap over the boundary line (παραβερπειται), those who consume the toil of others   | Sleepless Worm which was the fiery river, at whose bank they sit                                      |
| Professional<br>cheating at the scales |   |                |   | (Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery river like blood, consuming those lying under its waves: those cheating at the scales (παρακαμπανισται)  | (παρακαμπανισται): fiery river thrusting waves upon them, black pitch upon them                       |
| usury                                  | standing in a pool of blood, pus and bubbling mud | eaten by worms |   | (female) lovers of money and those who take interest: set in the fire, beasts gnawing them to pieces;<br>(Vienna Version, c. 1300) fiery river like blood, consuming those lying under its waves: lovers of money, those who take interest from their gold |   |

To make sense of the whole spectrum of this retributive universe, one can make a number of observations. The first one is that each text reflects its own origin and function, and this translates to different emphases in the choice of sins and their punishments.

The earlier three texts (*Elijah*, *Peter* and *Esdras*) do not include any sins that are related to the Church and the devotional life of the congregation. This underlines their antiquity and their debt to Jewish rather than Christian concerns. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, for example, includes no sins that are not relevant to a Jewish cultural setting, while the *Apocalypse of Paul* places its emphasis on doctrinal transgressions within a Christian community.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the later Byzantine texts (*Theotokos* and *Anastasia*) represent what Baun has aptly called ‘village Christianity’ and show concerns with family (sexual or social sins threatening its cohesion), the field and the marketplace (ploughing and reaping over the boundary line, cheating at the scales) and the morality and behaviour of the clergy.<sup>54</sup>

The second observation is that there seems to be a different punishment for each sin – this suggests that we are not dealing with a system that aims to reflect the application of law on earth, as most legal systems do not have such a variety of penal practices. Moreover, the notion behind the punishments in Hell is that divine justice is not bound by the limitations of secular justice.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, between the different texts, punishments for the same sins are not identical and, in many cases, not even similar. However, in a number of instances there seems to be a structure in place: the member that is chiefly associated with the perpetration of the sin is the one that is chiefly punished. For example, sexual sinners are often punished in their genitals (*Elijah*, *Peter*), perjurers and blasphemers, on their tongue (*Elijah*, *Peter*, *Paul*) or mouth (*Paul*, *Theotokos*), women who refuse to nurse infants, on their breasts (*Esdras*, *Theotokos*). In some other cases, the connection is less direct: adulterers are hanged by their hair (*Peter*, *Paul*) – this may go back to the notion that women used their hair to ensnare men;<sup>56</sup> the merciless rich are made to wear rags (*Peter*) in an obvious reversal of social realities, and the Sunday sleepers are made to lie on a cloud of fire (*Theotokos*), inverting the idea of the comfortable bed that they had preferred to stay in (and possibly had had intercourse in) instead of going to church. Scholars have debated whether this system

<sup>53</sup> Bremmer 2009, 308–9; Czachesz 2012, 28–9; Lehtipuu 2015, 352.

<sup>54</sup> Baun 2007, 323–5; Marinis 2017a, 47 warns against taking some of the sins/punishments in these texts too seriously.

<sup>55</sup> Bauckham 1998, 210–13. <sup>56</sup> Lieberman 1974, 52–4; Himmelfarb 1983, 74.

follows the logic of talion (see above) or represents an expansion of the system not just to include the offending body part, but also to mirror the means by which the sin was committed or the motivation that was central to it.<sup>57</sup> This notion obviously reminds one of the passage in Leviticus 24:19–20: ‘If a man inflicts an injury on his fellow citizen, just as he has done it must be done to him – fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth – just as he inflicts an injury on another person that same injury must be inflicted on him’; but one can find a clearer pronouncement in the way it was interpreted in Rabbinic texts, as exemplified by the 2nd-century pronouncement, ‘The limb which began the transgression, from it will begin the punishment.’<sup>58</sup> This also extends to the mode of punishment: if the sin was committed with the help of an object or implement, the punishment uses the same or a similar one.<sup>59</sup> Such so-called ‘mirror punishments’ are attested both in the Rabbinic tradition and, to some degree, in Greek texts.<sup>60</sup> Finding parallels in law might seem like a productive avenue to pursue, but there is little evidence to support it. Looking at the Byzantine legal tradition, the *Ecloga* (promulgated in 741) stands out for including a number of cruel punishments, mostly mutilations.<sup>61</sup> There are some elements of mirror punishments, such as mutilating the tongue for perjury, cutting off of the penis or testicles for bestiality<sup>62</sup> – neither reflecting the textual or the visual tradition. In other instances, the punishments do not follow the principle of mirror punishments, as when sexual crimes are punished with rhinocopy, or stealing from the Church with blinding.<sup>63</sup> Although Byzantine law makes very little use of mirror punishments, Pitsakis is right to suggest that this may have had little effect on popular perceptions of crime and (mirror) punishments: the wall paintings may be showing what audiences could easily understand

<sup>57</sup> Fiensy 1983; Bauckham 1998, 123–5, 195–220; Callon 2010; Czachesz 2012, 114. See also discussion below.

<sup>58</sup> Sifre Num. 18 (*Sifre ba-Midbar*, concerning Num. 5:11–15, ed. Horowitz 1917/1966, 13–15) in Bauckham 1998, 125, 214. In the authoritative translation of the work by Jacob Neusner (2001, 8) the translation is slightly different: ‘[T]he limb with which she began to commit the transgression – from there the punishment begins.’

<sup>59</sup> Bauckham 1998, 214. For example, Cain killed Abel with a stone and was killed by the stones of his house falling on him.

<sup>60</sup> Lieberman 1974, 32–8; Bauckham 1998, 210–18; Czachesz 2012, 31–41. I will discuss specific relevant examples below.

<sup>61</sup> Patlagean 1984, 405–7; Tirnanić 2010, 17–42. <sup>62</sup> Pitsakis 2002, 294.

<sup>63</sup> Pitsakis 2002, 292, 301. Tirnanić 2010, 17 thinks that being blinded for stealing from the Church suggests that the perpetrators may have removed something from the altar, and therefore are punished for having seen what they were not allowed to see, as laymen were barred from the sanctuary.

(punishments that fit the sin and in which the body part responsible for it was prominently punished) and therefore wanted displayed.<sup>64</sup>

In a recent review, Tim Parks suggested that the violence of the punishments in Dante's *Inferno* may have had its basis in real life, at least partly, in the violence witnessed by the author in Italy of his time.<sup>65</sup> Translated to Venetian Crete, we can safely assume that there was indeed no shortage of violence facing those who commissioned or painted the wall paintings in question.<sup>66</sup> The rebellion of Saint Titus can serve as a well-documented example.<sup>67</sup> On the side of the rebels, we learn of Venetian mercenaries being ambushed, killed and mutilated, and later of Latins and Jews being killed.<sup>68</sup> Once the Venetian state prevailed, the crushing of the rebellion was accompanied by a large number of public executions, mostly by decapitation, with at least one mention of the mutilation of a hand prior to the execution.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Venice promulgated draconian measures to set an example: the plain of Lassithi, the last stronghold of the rebels, was to be turned into a desert; nobody was to live or work there, and whoever dared to either sow seed or take his animals to pasture there would have his foot cut off and lose his herd.<sup>70</sup> Even this very brief overview makes clear that the punishments on the wall paintings in no way reflect secular law and the punishments prescribed in it or practised in its name. On the contrary, they are clearly following the textual tradition, which they interpret visually in ways that serve their own, local needs.

To conclude this section, I would like to briefly review the key traits of punishments in the textual tradition. In summary, one can make the following statements. Most sinners are described as hanging or suspended over fiery rivers or submerged to varying depths in fire and pitch. In a number of instances, we are told of hooks, chains or other implements with which they are further tormented, while mention is also made of living creatures (worms, but mostly unnamed beasts) that tear at their wounds. In the following section I would like to review and discuss the origins of these traits.

**Fire** is a key feature in both the textual and visual tradition of punishments in Hell. As discussed above, this has clear roots in the Old Testament

<sup>64</sup> Pitsakis 2002, 294–6. <sup>65</sup> Parks 2016, 19. <sup>66</sup> See Gasparis in this volume.

<sup>67</sup> See Gasparis in this volume. See also McKee 1994; Magnani 2015.

<sup>68</sup> Laurentius de Monacis 1758, *Chronicon de rebus venetis*, 182, 187.

<sup>69</sup> Laurentius de Monacis 1758, *Chronicon de rebus venetis*, 183–5, 190–2.

<sup>70</sup> Cornelius 1755, *Creta Sacra*, 349. There is no information on whether this measure was ever enforced. The relatively low number of churches that exist from the period, overall, in this area could indirectly support the idea that this measure was, indeed, enforced. I thank Angeliki LyMBEROPOULOU for this comment.

as a punishment for the enemies of God.<sup>71</sup> But the basic notion of an annihilating fire was modified, and other elements adopted from different sources. The fiery river, for example, which is attested in all three later texts (*Paul*, *Theotokos*, *Anastasia*) probably derives from Plato.<sup>72</sup> In the earlier texts, fire is less central:<sup>73</sup> it is not explicitly mentioned in *Elijah*, it appears a few times in *Peter* and *Esdras*, often in connection with implements, such as a wheel of fire (*Peter*: sorcerers), fiery rods in the eyes (*Peter*: the blasphemous), or fiery axles on the ears (*Esdras*: eavesdroppers). Probably responding to questions from the faithful, Christian thinkers reflected on the essence of this Hellish fire: could souls actually suffer from a material fire? Since the question of fire was directly linked to the issue of Purgatory, this was a hotly debated topic in the last centuries of Byzantium.<sup>74</sup> Mark Eugenikos, the most vocal anti-Unionist theologian present at the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438–9, not only rejected the existence of Purgatory, but he also pronounced that it is not possible for bodiless souls to suffer from ‘bodily fire’.<sup>75</sup> And as for the nature of this fire, Michael Glykas in the 12th century could be both agnostic about it<sup>76</sup> and follow the 10th-century mystic Symeon the New Theologian in claiming that what burns – and is thus so painful – in Hell is the consciousness of one’s sins.<sup>77</sup>

Another very common motif in both texts and images has to do with **hanging** – with the exception of *Anastasia*, all other model texts figure punishments in which the sinners hang from various parts of their body. In some cases, the part of the body from which the punished are suspended corresponds to that with which the sin was committed: adulterers hang from their thighs (euphemistically standing for genitals; *Peter*, Ethiopic version),<sup>78</sup> eavesdroppers from their ears (*Theotokos*), blasphemers from their tongue (*Elijah* and *Peter*). In other cases, however, no such connection can be detected: incestuous sons hanging from the eyelids (*Esdras*), adulterers from their eyebrows (*Paul*), priests’ wives who remarried from their fingertips (*Paul*), women who nursed other people’s children and not

<sup>71</sup> Lehtipuu 2015, 346.

<sup>72</sup> *Phaedo* 114a, 113ab: this is the river Pyriphlegethon; on the Platonic origin of the fiery river, see Himmelfarb 1983, 110–14.

<sup>73</sup> Instead, in *Peter* there is a preponderance of rivers or pits of blood, mud or mire and excrement; see Czachesz 2003, 118 with reference to Aristophanes and Lucian as possible sources for these motifs.

<sup>74</sup> On debates at the Council, especially on Purgatory see Constan 2001, 113–19, Constan 2004 and Marinis 2017a, 74–9.

<sup>75</sup> Constan 2001, 117. <sup>76</sup> Glykas, *Questions*, 221, see Papadogiannakis 2009, 140.

<sup>77</sup> Glykas, *Questions*, 225, see Angold 1995, 450. <sup>78</sup> Czachesz 2003, 109–10.

their own from their feet (*Theotokos*, Cretan version), those who removed landmarks from their skull (*Esdra*s), usurers from their feet (*Theotokos*), bad priests from their twenty finger- and toenails (*Theotokos*). There are a few observations that can be made about these hanging punishments. First, they seem to find a correspondence with, and thus can be seen as inspired by, Greek examples. Scholars have pointed to a number of such instances, in Plato (sinners hanging in Hades),<sup>79</sup> Diogenes Laertios (Homer hanging from a tree for writing profanely about the gods)<sup>80</sup> and especially Lucian (an adulterer, Cinyras, hangs from his genitals in the Island of the Wicked).<sup>81</sup> Second, hanging was part of both the Jewish as well as the Roman penal repertoire, but it was mostly used as a means of humiliation, not execution, by displaying the dead body.<sup>82</sup> As such, Himmelfarb argues, it is an ideal punishment in Hell, where the torment and humiliation are never-ending, and furthermore, '[i]t is a punishment that can be applied – at least in the imagination, where the laws of gravity need not operate – to any crime'.<sup>83</sup> This is particularly true for those instances where sinners hang from parts of the body (eyebrows, eyelids) in ways that defy the realities of human anatomy.<sup>84</sup> Finally, the suspension of the sinners often inverts their bodies, pointing to 'negative reality', to Hell being a place that is opposite to the earthly existence.<sup>85</sup>

If in the cases above there was a discernible correspondence between the textual tradition and the visual execution in the wall paintings, I would now like to explore two categories in which the two mostly diverge. In the Cretan wall paintings, sinners are often depicted with implements that identify them; in fact, very frequently these implements are instrumental in their punishment. This connection is more or less entirely absent in the textual tradition. Where implements are mentioned in the texts, they either (perhaps faintly) reflect those that had been used in the torture of criminals in Roman law (wheel against sorcerers in *Peter*, three-pronged fork against bad priests in *Paul*, fiery spit for those who do not pay attention to the reading of Scripture in *Paul*)<sup>86</sup> or are fantastical (blazing chains against fornicators in *Paul*, fiery benches for the Sunday sleepers in *Theotokos*, Vatican version, or the frequent use of the iron tree with iron branches

<sup>79</sup> *Gorgias* 525c. <sup>80</sup> *Lives* 8.21.

<sup>81</sup> Lucian, *True Story* 2.26 and 2.31. For a discussion of these cases, see Himmelfarb 1983, 83, who does not think of them as sources, contrary to Bauckham 1998, 216.

<sup>82</sup> Himmelfarb 1983, 82–5. <sup>83</sup> Himmelfarb 1983, 82, quote on 85.

<sup>84</sup> On an early instance of such a case, see Lieberman 1974, 33–6, discussing a text from the 1st century BC in which Miriam is punished for transgressions regarding fasting by being hung from her nipples.

<sup>85</sup> Czachesz 2003, 114–15. <sup>86</sup> Bremmer 2009, 316; Czachesz 2012, 31–4.

used to punish slanderers and perjurers in *Theotokos*). What is striking is that no implements that are connected to the activities of the sinners (plough for those ploughing over the boundary line, scythe for those reaping over the boundary line, purse for usurers, bed for Sunday sleepers) are mentioned in the texts. Thus, we must assume that these images do not have textual models. Rather, they must be seen as instrumental in preaching: as populations looking at these images would have been largely illiterate, the accompanying inscriptions would have made little practical sense. Instead, by including easily identifiable attributes to spot sinners, preachers could hammer home the message of eternal punishment to their flock.

The final trait I would like to discuss concerns **living creatures** as part of the punishments. With the exception of the flesh-eating beasts that emerge from the rotten milk of mothers who killed their children and the reptiles and insects tormenting murderers in *Peter*, they are absent from the three earlier texts. In fact, only two texts mention reptiles: *Peter* and *Paul* (snakes or dragons tormenting bad monks). Given their ubiquity in the Cretan wall paintings, this is a remarkable observation. Instead, most texts mention undefined beasts, sometimes fantastical (two-headed beast tormenting deaconesses and three-headed flaming winged beast tormenting readers, the second highest of the minor order of clergy in *Theotokos*), whereas the two later texts, *Theotokos* and *Anastasia*, duly mention sleepless worms as part of a number of punishments. The presence of living creatures and fantastical beasts in the underworld certainly owes a lot to Egyptian ideas and texts.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, the Roman use of *damnatio ad bestias*, especially when applied to Christian martyrs, must also be seen as a powerful source of inspiration for the punishments in the textual tradition.<sup>88</sup> But, as with the use of fire discussed above, the later texts subverted a literal understanding of these punishments. As Baun clearly argues, the beasts in *Theotokos* seem to emerge from within the sinner and suggest ‘states of mind’, in which the sinners are faced with their transgressions.<sup>89</sup>

The textual tradition on punishments in the afterlife surveyed above has made clear the existence of a rich and varied tradition that was dynamically elaborated on to serve the needs of different communities. There is a clear correspondence between these texts and the images at hand, but it is important to emphasise that the images were not following one specific model but drew from a pool of ideas to suit their local needs. Since the

<sup>87</sup> Czachesz 2012, 40–1. <sup>88</sup> Bremmer 2009, 301.

<sup>89</sup> Baun 2007, 302. This agrees with what Mark Eugenikos was proclaiming in Ferrara/Florence; see Marinis 2017a, 77–9.

dependence of the images on the textual tradition that is much older than them and was created in very different environments is not in dispute, this can serve as a warning against using the images simply as a mirror of the societies that produced them. In this, it is worth citing in full the opinion of an authority in the field of the imaginary of the afterlife, Martha Himmelfarb, who has written seminal studies on visions of Hell and Paradise:

The sins and punishments of the tours of Hell at first glance appear to be a promising source for social history. Unfortunately, the condemnation of a practice does not necessarily indicate that it was a living issue for the author of the text and his community, for these texts are part of a tradition. They draw consciously on earlier tours of Hell, and consciously and unconsciously show the influence of the canonical texts of Judaism and Christianity. Thus, the appearance of certain sins in the later texts may indicate no more than this dependence; the social problems that lay behind the original mention may have vanished long since.<sup>90</sup>

The next section should be read with caution, not least in the light of this statement.

#### 1.4 Joseph Bryennios on Crete: Transgressions and the End of the World

Joseph Bryennios was born around 1350 in Constantinople.<sup>91</sup> Whether he hailed from the same clan that produced Anna Komnene's husband, must remain open.<sup>92</sup> We know nothing of his upbringing and education, but by looking at what he wrote it becomes clear that he was very well versed in the patristic tradition, that he knew a number of classical texts and some Latin.<sup>93</sup> In the late 1370s, he was preaching in Constantinople. Shortly thereafter, around 1382, he moved to Crete, where he was to stay for the next twenty years.<sup>94</sup> It is unlikely that his

<sup>90</sup> Himmelfarb 1983, 73.

<sup>91</sup> The key studies on Bryennios are Meyer 1896 and numerous ones by Tomadakis, who began to publish on him in the 1940s and continued into the 1980s. He published a monograph on Bryennios in 1947 and updated it with another study in 1961. I will be referring to the latter, since it supersedes the previous one. Tomadakis also produced editions of two of Bryennios' shorter works and of his letters. The most recent study dedicated to Bryennios is Bazini 2004, while Leonte 2012 also includes an interesting discussion of his work and activities.

<sup>92</sup> On the Bryennioi, see Carile 1968.

<sup>93</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 507–10; on his knowledge of Latin, see Rees 2000.

<sup>94</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 518–19.



presence on the island was not sanctioned, if not officially organised by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but conclusive evidence is missing. In any case, he does not record having an official title as *exarchos* or *proedros*, as had been the case with Anthimos, an official envoy of the Patriarch in the late 1340s.<sup>95</sup> It is unclear why the Venetian government on Crete accepted Bryennios' presence on the island, since it was generally opposed to any interference by the Patriarchate on the affairs of Crete.<sup>96</sup> On his time on the island, the only information we have derives from his own writings, a rich source but with almost no specific chronological indications. With the exception of a few letters sent from Crete, most of the works used in this chapter were written down after Bryennios left Crete, and so the information they include may pertain to any part of his long stay.<sup>97</sup>

Bryennios lived in Candia, 'in the middle of the city'.<sup>98</sup> Later evidence from Venetian documents from around 1423 suggests that it was official policy to have priests and monks travelling from outside Crete reside in Candia, where they could be monitored and controlled, so this may well have applied to Bryennios as well.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, in one of the letters he sent from Constantinople to Crete after 1402, he mentions a number of places outside the city that he was well acquainted with and at which he may have – at least temporarily – resided. In Letter 27, addressed to his friend Giannoulis de Spiga, in order to reassure him that he is doing fine in Constantinople, Bryennios employs a lengthy set of parallelisms:

Instead of the desert, I see Constantinople; instead of walking on stones and big rocks, I tread on porphyry and carpets; instead of sheep and goats, I see camels and buffaloes; instead of Lassithi, I see Olympus;<sup>100</sup> instead of Kolokynta out there and Lyttos I see the East and the West; instead of the church of Christ up there I see

<sup>95</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 76.

<sup>96</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 519–21; see also Manoussakas 1960 with further bibliography.

<sup>97</sup> There is no critical edition of Bryennios' works. The only available one was produced by E. Voulgaris and T. Mandakasis in three volumes (I and II in 1768, III in 1784). I will cite them by volume number and page. The key works I will be referring to are as follows: (1) Πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κρήτας παραμυθητικός (*Consolation*); (2) Λόγος ἐξιτήριος πρὸς Κρήτας (*Farewell*) = 336–47; (3) Κεφάλαια ἐπτὰκις ἐπτὰ (49 chapters, cited by chapter number, volume and page); these were short homilies, or rather abstracts of homilies he delivered on Crete, written in simple language = III 49–126; (4) Letters and (5) Testament; (6) Ἑρώτησις τῶν ἀπὸ Κρήτης τινῶν ἱερέων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς παρελεύσεως (*Question of Cretan Priests*).

<sup>98</sup> *Consolation* p. 142, lines 129–30. <sup>99</sup> Ganchou 2008, 186 with n. 263, 191 with n. 279.

<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that the author here does not refer to Olympus in mainland Greece, but probably to Mount Uludağ in Bithynia.

the Hagia Sophia; instead of Smari, I see the Hippodrome; instead of Atra, I see the Peribleptos and instead of Boudoles I live at the Studios Monastery.<sup>101</sup>

Here Bryennios shows a familiarity with the rural hinterland of Candia, in which most of the places can be easily identified: Smari, Lyttos and Kolokynta as well as the neighbouring Lassithi plateau. East of Smari, we encounter the microtoponym Voukolies (Bryennios' Boudoles), a small mountain of some 600 m at the top of which there is the Church of Afentis Christos.<sup>102</sup>

It is not entirely clear what Bryennios did on Crete; by his own admission he was engaged with preaching and adjudicating disputes between members of the Orthodox congregation.<sup>103</sup> Overall, he enjoyed the hospitality of the Cretans, who provided food and clothing and whatever else he needed.<sup>104</sup> Through his correspondence we can see that he made numerous friends during his stay on Crete. Some of them were outsiders like him, such as his close friend Alexios Apokauchos, a painter from Tenedos,<sup>105</sup> or the recipient of the letter already cited above, Giannoulis de Spiga – Spiga being a suburb of the Genoese colony of Pera.<sup>106</sup> Apokauchos was the recipient of six letters by Bryennios (including one accompanied by the latter's texts)<sup>107</sup> as well as being named one of the executors of his will.<sup>108</sup> Further friends or acquaintances include Nicholas Katzadouris, priest and *psaltes* of Hagia Anna in Candia,<sup>109</sup> as well as a number of seemingly ordinary people who Bryennios suggests were missing after his exile from Crete: Kale of Iaptis, Theodora of Karanikos, Chrysi of Belonas, Giannis of Eirini from Didymoteichon, Stamatis of Kera Zoe from Prilampon and kyr Rinaios of Tetia from Belegrada.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Letter 27, p. 349, lines 7–13, [...] ἀντὶ ἐρήμου βλέπω τὴν Πόλιν, ἀντὶ πετρῶν καὶ χαρακίων πατῶ πορφύραις καὶ τάπησι, ἀντὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν βλέπω καμήλους καὶ βουβαλίδας· ἀντὶ τοῦ Λασηθίου τὸν Ὀλυμπον, ἀντὶ τῆς Κολοκύνθας ἐκεῖ πέρα καὶ τῆς Λύττου, τὴν Ἀνατολὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν Δύσιν· ἀντὶ τοῦ λόγγου ἔχω τὸ παλάτιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπάνω τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, ἀντὶ τὸ Σμάριν ὁρῶ τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς Ἄτρας τὴν Περιβλεπτον καὶ ἀντὶ τὰς Βουδολεῖς κατοικῶ ὅς τὰ Στουδίον. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Bryennios are my own.

<sup>102</sup> See Parlamas 1948. Smari and Lyttos are in the Herakleion prefecture, Kolokynta in the Lassithi prefecture.

<sup>103</sup> Letter 5, p. 293, to Dorotheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem; see also Loenertz 1949, 16. Tomadakis 1961, 516 suggests that he was a *hierodidaskalos* (preacher) on Crete since at least 1390.

<sup>104</sup> Farewell, 36–7. <sup>105</sup> See Letter 24 and the Testament of Bryennios.

<sup>106</sup> This must be the same man mentioned in an unpublished Genoese notarial act as the owner of a boat; see Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–1, 218 with n. 11. On Spiga, see Ganchou 2003, 85–6.

<sup>107</sup> Bazini 2004, 115 plausibly argues that these texts must have been an edition of the Cretan material prepared by Bryennios himself.

<sup>108</sup> Testament, p. 359, lines 32–3.

<sup>109</sup> Letter 28. On churches in Candia and their location, see Newall 2006.

<sup>110</sup> Letter 27, p. 350, lines 20–3, Ἐλειψέ με ἡ Καλὴ τοῦ Ἰάπτου, ἡ ἡ Θεοδώρα τοῦ Καρανίκου καὶ ἡ Χρυσὴ τοῦ Βελονᾶ, ὁ Γιάννης τῆς Εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τὸ Διδυμότειχον, καὶ ὁ Σταμάτης τῆς Κεραζωῆς ἀπὸ τὸ Πρίλαμπον καὶ κυρ-Ρηναῖος τῆς Τετίας ἀπὸ τὰ Βελάγραδα. Note that this letter and

But Bryennios did not only make friends on Crete. It seems that at least since the 1390s he was engaged in a bitter conflict with a large number of the Cretan clergy, a point to which I shall return. Despite their efforts to remove him – a number of local synods or councils are mentioned<sup>111</sup> – they did not succeed. Around 1400, Bryennios took part in a public debate at the Orthodox Cathedral in Candia in which he defended Orthodoxy against, among others, Maximos Chrysobergis, who had converted to Catholicism and had become a Dominican monk. Bryennios was expelled from Crete around 1402, following what seems to have been a seven-month period of incarceration or detention.<sup>112</sup> He returned to Constantinople, where he stayed at the Stoudios monastery for some years, before he was entrusted with another mission (around 1406), namely, to negotiate the Union of the Church of Cyprus with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Union was not agreed and it seems that he fell from grace for a period either after 1406 or 1412, when he presented the matter of the failed Union of Cyprus to the synod in Constantinople.<sup>113</sup> At that time he may have contemplated returning to Crete, but this plan never materialised.<sup>114</sup> The period from around 1417 onwards saw him engaged as an official imperial preacher, delivering a number of homilies at the palace, some even at the imperial chamber of Manuel II.<sup>115</sup> In 1418–19, a set of documents shows that he was the secretary and confidant of Patriarch Joseph II and that he still showed a keen interest in (and authority over) Cretan affairs.<sup>116</sup> The same documents suggest that the Venetian authorities on Crete were equally interested in following his moves in Constantinople, as they clearly saw him as a dangerous subversive.<sup>117</sup> Bryennios was involved in discussions at the highest level concerning the Union of the Churches, to which he was opposed – at least in the way discussions were being conducted; during his time at court in the 1420s he was influential in making such discussions fail.<sup>118</sup>

He wrote his testament in 1421, in which he bequeathed his books to the Hagia Sophia and a modest sum to categories of the needy as they are

another to a Cretan friend, John (No. 23), are written in a linguistic register that is much closer to the vernacular.

<sup>111</sup> *Consolation*, p. 142, lines 101–2. <sup>112</sup> *Consolation*, p. 151, lines 418–19.

<sup>113</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 547–58; Katsaros 2000. <sup>114</sup> Letter 18 to Apokauchos, p. 335, line 7.

<sup>115</sup> Leone 2012, 77.

<sup>116</sup> For example, a Cretan priest, Arsenios, was sending him greetings and gifts; see Manoussakas 1960, doc. 4, lines 163–4.

<sup>117</sup> Manoussakas 1960, 98–9; Ganchou 2008, 187 with n. 264. <sup>118</sup> Loenertz 1949, 30–2.

described in the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>119</sup> He must have been close to Manuel II (1391–1425), as the emperor made him one of the three executors of his will.<sup>120</sup> He died in the 1430s, probably in the earlier years of the decade.<sup>121</sup> During the negotiations of Union in Ferrara/Florence in 1438–9 he was remembered as a great teacher and a champion of Orthodoxy; it was reported that Bryennios had come up with a perfect formula with which the matter of Union could be resolved quickly and in a way that would be acceptable to both sides, but he did not commit this to paper.<sup>122</sup> Gennadios Scholarios considered himself a student of Bryennios and praised him in a number of passages.<sup>123</sup>

Bryennios, who remained a monk throughout his life<sup>124</sup>, is regarded as one of the most important witnesses to the cultural climate of his times. He was a polarising figure, both in his own times and in current scholarship. Some see him as a valiant and eloquent defender of Orthodoxy, while others view him as a radical, militant polemicist.<sup>125</sup> He certainly deserves to be studied in more depth, but this is hindered by the fact that the majority of his voluminous writings still await a critical edition.<sup>126</sup>

Given the paucity of narrative sources on the life of the Orthodox congregations in Venetian Crete, Bryennios' work is particularly valuable, as it represents an insider, eyewitness account. Of his Cretan works, some are useful because they can help us reconstruct his time on the island, while others help us contextualise what he saw as the failings of the Orthodox clergy and congregation. Together with some other contemporary and

<sup>119</sup> Matt. 25:35–6, 'For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me.' Cf. Bryennios' testament, in which he left six gold ducats to be given one each to the hungry, the thirsty [the manuscript reading is διαζώντας, those who pass by, but given the close connection to the passage in the Gospel, the correct reading must be διψώντας, the thirsty], to strangers, to the naked, to the sick and to prisoners = Testament, 358–9, here 359, 11–13. This is a modest sum of money, roughly equivalent to one fifth of the annual salary of a carpenter in 1425; see Morrisson and Cheynet 2002, 859.

<sup>120</sup> Sphrantzes XV 2, ed. Maisano 1990, p. 32. <sup>121</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 563.

<sup>122</sup> Dyobouniotis 1929; Dendrinis 2011, 26–30. <sup>123</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 496.

<sup>124</sup> In a letter (No. 29, to John Syrianos, p. 357, line 168, dated to shortly after 1406, after his return from Cyprus), Bryennios writes that he will not become either a bishop, a priest or an abbot.

<sup>125</sup> See Leone 2012, 45, 84–5. An 18th-century manuscript of his works at the monastery of Ivirion calls him 'scourge of the popes' (παπομάστιγα); see Tomadakis 1947, 46, codex No. 9.

<sup>126</sup> For a list of his unedited works and manuscript tradition, see Tomadakis 1961, 574–81 and more recently Bazini 2004. Astruc 1962, 214 observed that the edition of Bryennios by Voulgaris and Mandakasis was not extant in any French library in the 19th century, which resulted in Bryennios not being included in the gigantic *Patrologia Graeca* by Migne. This certainly contributed to the lack of research on Bryennios, as for a long time his texts were not easily accessible.

somewhat later sources, this is the closest we can get in terms of context for the production of some of the wall painting cycles explored in this volume.

There is an additional element that is worthy of consideration. Bryennios was quite familiar with painting and especially scenes of the Last Judgement as well as the depiction of Hell.<sup>127</sup> In Chapter 27 to the Cretans (*On Being Reminded of What Will Happen on Judgement Day*) he provides a clear and detailed account of the Second Coming that seems to be following a visual model as well as a textual one. His description is organised around key points that one would instantly recognise if standing before, say, a wall painting depicting this scene: the trumpeting angel heralding the cosmic event; the unfolding of the heavens as a book, the cross glowing more than the sun; Christ, the angels and the saints meeting in the air; Adam leading the chorus of the forefathers followed by the Apostles, Martyrs, Prophets, Hierarchs, the Holy and the Righteous; the River of Fire leading the sinners into Hell; the Valley of Tears and the punishments (the Outer Darkness, the Indestructible Chains (τὰ ἄλυτα δεσμά), Tartarus, the Gnashing of Teeth, the Sleepless Worm, the Stench (δυσωδία) and the like).<sup>128</sup> As Bryennios tended to reuse material from the Cretan chapters in his later, Constantinopolitan homilies,<sup>129</sup> his handling of the subject of the Last Judgement becomes much more explicit in two of the later homilies, in which he not only elaborates on the topic in more detail, but also makes clear references to painting.

After discussing the throne of God, he adds:

if there are depictions of weighings and records of debts in the images that bear the inscription ‘The Second Coming of Christ’ this is not unusual, as painters paint many things in many places because of their ambition or in order to demonstrate things.<sup>130</sup>

Then Bryennios proceeds to censure painters who make mistakes while depicting Judgement Day by putting Paul and the evangelists Mark and Luke among the Apostles and removing Jacob and Thaddaeus from their midst.<sup>131</sup> And finally he remarks:

And [painters] paint countless kinds of punishments of Hell, forming the shapes and the figures from their own mind.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>127</sup> See Tomadakis 1968. <sup>128</sup> III 79–83, especially 83.

<sup>129</sup> A look at the annotations of the third volume of Bryennios (which includes the majority of the Cretan works) makes this very clear; the editor tends to omit passages that are more or less identical to those already published in the first two volumes of Bryennios’ works.

<sup>130</sup> II 389–90. <sup>131</sup> II 390.

<sup>132</sup> Πρὸς δὲ καὶ κολάσεων εἶδη ζωγραφοῦσι μυρία, τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς τούτων καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀναπλάττοντες οἴκοθεν (II 390).

Furthermore, the fact that a painter, Alexios Apokauchos, was one of Bryennios' closest friends on Crete makes it quite plausible that the latter would have been familiar with some of his paintings despite the fact that neither the letters nor the testament include any direct mentions of Apokauchos' work.<sup>133</sup> A number of documents have emerged that shed some light on Apokauchos' activities as a painter at the very end of the 14th and the early decades of the 15th century: he is recorded as having a workshop in Candia in 1399 and taking on an apprentice; he was commissioned with carrying out decorative work for aristocratic houses, and in 1412 he took part in the painting of the monastery of Valsamonero.<sup>134</sup> Although we cannot discern which parts of the wall paintings Apokauchos may have been responsible for, and in any case the work was carried out a decade after Bryennios left the island, I think we can safely assume that Apokauchos – a wealthy and established painter in the early 15th century – would have produced wall paintings before 1412 as well, and in that case Bryennios would in all likelihood have seen them. Together with the passages discussed above, this suggests that Bryennios must have been aware of existing and emerging painted churches in rural Crete in his time on the island.

To provide context for the situation on Crete I will focus on two interconnected aspects of his writings: his experience and criticism of what he saw as the ritual and moral failings of the Cretan clergy and the Orthodox population in general, as well as his eschatology, his belief that Judgement Day was imminent, and the implications this had for the understanding of his times.

In a number of Bryennios' Cretan texts, he mentions that he was persecuted, threatened, cursed and defamed. Since he was exiled from the island by the Venetian authorities, one may surmise that these would have been his adversaries. In his *Farewell* speech, however, he thanks the 'excellent aristocracy of the Venetians' (τῶν Οὐγενετίων ἀριστοκρατία τῇ ἀρίστῃ) for having justly delivered him many times from much unjust slander.<sup>135</sup> Bryennios' *bêtes noires* are the (priest)monks who live together with housekeepers or companions (συνεισάκτους),<sup>136</sup> although he also

<sup>133</sup> Another painter, Nicholas Philanthropinos, crossed paths with Bryennios in Constantinople in 1418–19, as he was a friend of Michael Kalophrenas (see below, 49 and 54); Philanthropinos and Bryennios may have known each other in Crete. On Philanthropinos, see Cattapan 1972, 204; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, 716–19.

<sup>134</sup> Cattapan 1972, 218–19, 232 and Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2001 and 2009, 713–15.

<sup>135</sup> *Farewell*, 36.

<sup>136</sup> The definition offered by Lampe 1961, 1317–18 is 'virgin companion'; the Latin technical term is *subintroductae*. This was not a new issue; see Hartney 1999 on Chrysostom's criticism of the *subintroductae*.

mentions priestmonks who engaged in inappropriate relations with nuns.<sup>137</sup> According to Bryennios, associating with women – to say nothing of living together with them, which is pure adultery – is like playing with fire: ‘You have fire in your bosom, and it won’t burn?’<sup>138</sup>

Although we cannot reconstruct the exact chronology of this conflict, it seems that it was a lengthy affair: Bryennios reports the constant efforts on the part of the priests for over ten years, which included numerous synods summoned against him, deadly ambushes and constant plotting.<sup>139</sup> That such matters reflect the reality on the ground is corroborated by two pieces of evidence. The first is a patriarchal document from this period that refers to the same affair and castigates in the strongest terms the scandal of priestmonks living together (συννοικοῦντες) with nuns.<sup>140</sup> Such a transgression (likened, as in Bryennios’ text, with a fire) will bring about eternal Hell and punishment (γένης καὶ κολάσεως αἰωνίου), but is also the cause of the humiliating subjugation of the Byzantines and the many evils that have befallen them. The patriarch commands the priestmonks to desist and, if they will not, strips them of all clerical authority and subjects them to excommunication.<sup>141</sup> The second piece of evidence comes from the period after Bryennios was exiled from Crete. A series of documents dated to 1418–19 record the case of a Cretan priest, Michael Kalophrenas, who had seduced and was subsequently made to marry a former nun; this was communicated to Patriarch Joseph II in Constantinople, but it seems that it was Bryennios, as his confidant, who pursued the matter in the most stern way and was seen by Kalophrenas and his friend, the painter Nicholas Philanthropinos, as the reason for the former’s persecution.<sup>142</sup>

The deposition and excommunication of these priestmonks, however, could not be enforced. Since the Venetian authorities only recognised the jurisdiction of the Protopapas of Candia<sup>143</sup> (who did not have the authority to depose or defrock his colleagues), they continued to exercise their office.<sup>144</sup> Bryennios even suggests that they not only refused to accept the patriarchal orders, but made clear threats: if they did not receive permission to live with (συνεῖναι) these women for life, ‘they would remove

<sup>137</sup> *Farewell*, 37, 40–5; Chapter 47, III 120; *Consolation*, p. 154, lines 525–6; Letter 28, p. 351, lines 5–6. On the matter of the *syneisaktoi*, see Tomadakis 1959a, 1–12.

<sup>138</sup> *Farewell*, 41. <sup>139</sup> *Consolation*, p. 142, lines 101–2.

<sup>140</sup> Miklosich and Müller 1862, No. 634, pp. 477–81.

<sup>141</sup> Bryennios alludes to this in his *Farewell*, 38, mentioning the Patriarch’s exhortations and the excommunication; see also Tomadakis 1961, 528–9.

<sup>142</sup> Manoussakas 1960, 94–101, 128–44; Ganchou 2008, 132–5.

<sup>143</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 70–81. <sup>144</sup> Tomadakis 1961, 530–1.



themselves from our fold and bow down to another',<sup>145</sup> suggesting they would accept the authority of the pope, perhaps in the way of the 130 Cretan priests that were officially recognised by the Venetian authorities.<sup>146</sup> It was these priests who first tried to accuse Bryennios of shameless conduct (αἰσχουργία), but when this failed, they accused him of subversive political action against Venice and ultimately caused his arrest, imprisonment and exile in 1402.<sup>147</sup> Later, from the safety of Constantinople, Bryennios would urge those priests on Crete he considered as untainted by such scandals to shun the transgressors and not to enter into communion with them.<sup>148</sup>

More accusations on the conduct of priests and monks is found in the forty-nine Cretan chapters. In Chapter 39, Bryennios draws attention to a number of ritual failings committed by the clergy with regard to baptism (baptising infants in the second hour of the night, not having proper baptismal fonts, throwing out the baptismal water carelessly), unction (anointing the dying even if they are in a state of sin) and marriage (uncanonically performing second and third marriages).<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, he castigates monks for choosing respite over their actual mission to toil for God. In Chapter 47 (*On Some of the Causes of our Grievous State*), Bryennios writes that priests are consecrated for money, that they have intercourse with their wives before marriage, that they accept money for confession and communion, and that they officiate after they have engaged in licentious acts (ἄσελγαίνοντες), the worst of all evils.<sup>150</sup> Some of these misgivings are reported by other contemporary texts, though not in the amount of detail and the forceful manner of Bryennios. A contemporary of Bryennios, the Cretan priest Neilos Damilas, castigated the failings of the clergy in a letter addressed to the priests of Ierapetra written after 1400; additionally, a letter addressed to him by the Metropolitan of Stavroupolis and *proedros* of Crete containing a response to canonical questions and dated to May 1410, raises the issue of inappropriately ordained priests.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Farewell, 43. <sup>146</sup> See Gasparis in this volume.

<sup>147</sup> *Consolation*, 141, lines 78–142, line 112; Tomadakis 1959a, 5–6.

<sup>148</sup> Farewell, 40, 44–5; *Consolation*, 154, lines 525–6. <sup>149</sup> Chapter 39, III 105–9.

<sup>150</sup> Chapter 47, III 120, 123. See Gerstel 2006, 155 and Gerstel 2015, 136–7, who links this passage to depictions of unworthy priests in some Cretan churches (Saint John the Baptist, Kritsa, with the inscription 'Priest who does not take care of the holy church'; Archangel Michael, Kakodiki (no inscription); Holy Trinity, Hagia Triada, with the inscription 'Unworthy priest' and Saint Phanourios, Voriza). On the last three examples, which do not form part of the Hell scenes in the respective churches, see the discussion in Tsamakda 2012, 156–9 and figs 186–7. It is noteworthy that a Venetian report dated to 1589 mentions priests selling sacraments, being engaged in concubinage, drinking and playing cards; see Tomadakis 1959a, 4.

<sup>151</sup> Nikolidakis 1981, 93–9, 129–38, 144–8.



But Bryennios did not only raise concerns about the conduct of priests and monks. In a number of the forty-nine chapters to the Cretans he also criticised the behaviour of Cretan congregations and referred to numerous failings. I would like to briefly survey some of his comments.

In Chapter 25 (*On Idolatry in Actions*) he discusses the use of spells, charms and generally magical practices. People resorted to them against outbreaks of animal epidemics or the barrenness of their fields but also in everyday cases of disease and pain. Bryennios seems also to place the use of herbs (βοτάνης ρίζαν) in the same category of transgression, and advises his congregation to use the sign of the cross or prayers instead.<sup>152</sup> In Chapter 39 (*On Better Customs*) Bryennios draws attention to a number of ritual failings committed by the congregation, as well as by the clergy that performs them. Among other things, he mentions: baptising infants at night because the priests or the godparents were otherwise engaged during the day,<sup>153</sup> choosing godparents because they are rich and prominent instead of focusing on their virtues and becoming blood brothers with others.<sup>154</sup> But the most detailed and damning report of the failings of the Cretan Orthodox population can be found in Chapter 47, *On Some of the Causes of our Grievous State*.<sup>155</sup> ‘Most of us do not know not only what a Christian is, but even how to make the sign of the cross – or we do know but we view it with disdain’, he writes.<sup>156</sup> He mentions again priests who are consecrated for money and who – as most people – have intercourse with their wives before marriage, as well as monks who do the same with nuns.<sup>157</sup> Then he devotes considerable space to the question of blasphemy: that people do not avenge the blaspheming of God’s name; that they curse constantly; that they swear countless oaths in the name of God and then go on to break them, even when the circumstances for taking the Lord’s name in vain are petty.<sup>158</sup> He goes on to criticise how people constantly complain if it rains, or if it does not rain; in case of great heat or cold; about how some are wealthy and others poor, or on how the north wind or the south wind blows. Interestingly, he links the discussion of blasphemy with the accusation that the Cretans made use of Jewish doctors and allowed themselves to be touched by them, or that they ate unhallowed (and forbidden) food such as meat from strangled animals or carrion (dead meat), meat caught by

<sup>152</sup> III 76–7. <sup>153</sup> See above, 50, on infants being baptised in the second hour of the night.

<sup>154</sup> III 105–9.

<sup>155</sup> III 119–23. This homily has received a lot of attention for the information on Cretan congregations it records; see Oeconomus 1930; Tomadakis 1961, 535–45; Leonte 2012, 299–301.

<sup>156</sup> III 120. <sup>157</sup> III 120. <sup>158</sup> III 120.

wild beasts or food made with blood (probably a reference to a preparation similar to black pudding).<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, he is scandalised by the fact that men and women sleep in the nude, that parents give up their young daughters to corruption (παιδοφθορία, a term usually used for boys – he means marrying their daughters at too young an age), that men wear female clothes and vice versa, that they celebrate holy feasts with music and dancing and overall satanic songs and drinking and other shameful customs;<sup>160</sup> then he moves on to describe various kinds of divination (moving icons and interpretation of their movement; studying parts of the body, hands, noses, eyes and ears; using the cries of chickens and crows to predict the future; using astrology and thinking about fate and fortune and zodiac signs and planets; believing in fairies (Νηρηΐδας) and goblins; paying heed to specific weekdays (considered lucky or unlucky) and signs; celebrating the Calends and wearing March amulets (referring to what is called today a Martis, a bracelet made from two intertwined threads, one red, one white, to prevent being burned by the sun), and jumping over the fires of Klidonas (feast of Saint John); having recourse to magicians, diviners and Gypsies; using spells and charms for good harvests and the health of their animals. He concludes with a highly rhetorical passage constructed around a long series of parallelisms. Among others, he mentions virgins more shameless than whores, licentious youths and drunkard old men. He concludes:

Many of us live a life of gluttony, drunkenness, fornication, adultery, unseemliness, insolence, enmity, envy, jealousy and rapine. We have become proud, arrogant, avaricious, selfish, disobedient, deserters, rapacious, traitors, profane, unjust, unrepentant, irreconcilable.<sup>161</sup>

And that is not all, but Bryennios vows not to touch on those things practised by all that deserve to remain in the dark. In the final, forty-ninth chapter to the Cretans, he extols charity as the most needed virtue: because each virtue practised by humans benefits only the person who performs it, but charity benefits all members of Christ – all the brethren.<sup>162</sup>

Bryennios' account of the situation on Crete in his times is quite disturbing. The question we must address is whether this material is reliable as a historical context. The striking information he records in his Chapter 47 as discussed above, for example, has been disputed as a historical source for practices in his time, because some of his passages

<sup>159</sup> See Acts 15:20. *Apostolic Constitutions*, 63; on Byzantine ideas about blood, see Kolbaba 2000, 145–8.

<sup>160</sup> III 120–1. <sup>161</sup> III 122–3. <sup>162</sup> III 124.

seem to echo the wording of a (pseudo-)Chrysostomic oration.<sup>163</sup> This text, the *Sermo de pseudopropheta*, is now dated to the 7th century.<sup>164</sup> A close comparison of the two texts, however, clearly shows that the similarities between them are rather general, in tone and terminology. The scope of the two texts is very different (the earlier text aims to protect the congregation from being seduced into apostasy by the false prophets – in this case, Islam). The list of Cretan practices and customs in Bryennios is much more detailed and specific, and so I am inclined to accept it as a more or less realistic depiction of what the author experienced in Crete at the time, albeit perhaps presented in a way that was reminiscent of the earlier sermon.

Additional information on the Orthodox population of Crete is sparse in Byzantine sources. There is a glimpse recorded in the work of Nikephoros Gregoras, when he relates the travels of man called Agathangelos to the island in 1349–50. Agathangelos states that he visited villages, towns and cities all inhabited by Romans (Byzantines) and that he was pleased to see that the faith of the Fathers was strong.<sup>165</sup> He had only spent a short time on Crete, so perhaps his impression was superficial, but it does contradict Bryennios' views a generation later. However, the testimony of a Cretan poet of the 14th century, Stephanos Sachlikis (c. 1331 to after 1391), even if it mostly records life in Candia, rather than the countryside, offers a very different perspective. Sachlikis, a member of the feudal class in Crete, wrote a number of poems or songs in vernacular Greek between 1370 and the early 1390s, that is, his work largely coincided with Bryennios' time on the island.<sup>166</sup> Sachlikis lost his father and sister to the first outbreak of the Black Death in 1348 and inherited a considerable fortune. He squandered it on, among other things, prostitutes and games of dice, and was even put in jail for a short time. His poems are populated by prostitutes (πολιτικές), illicit encounters, drinking, singing, feasting and gambling. A number of documents attest to how he gradually borrowed large sums of money and had to sell his property to pay them off.<sup>167</sup> The life of debauchery that Sachlikis records for Candia between 1348 and 1370 can be interpreted as a reaction to the major trauma of the Black Death – faced with such mass mortality, many survivors would have rejected social conventions and thrown themselves into a life of hedonism, waiting perhaps to be soon reaped by the

<sup>163</sup> Greenfield 1995, 123–4, with n. 9 and more recently Mavroudi 2006, 69–70, with n. 75.

<sup>164</sup> See Whealey 1999. <sup>165</sup> Bekker and Schopen 1855, 40/1.

<sup>166</sup> On Sachlikis, see Van Gemert and Mavromatis 2017; Van Gemert 1980. For the latest edition of Sachlikis' work, see the edition by Mavromatis and Panayiotakis 2015 with full bibliography.

<sup>167</sup> See the documents in Van Gemert 1980, 79–117.

plague.<sup>168</sup> When Sachlikis retired to his only remaining property at Pentamodi (some 17 km south-east of Candia) between 1372 and 1382, he came into contact with village life. His description of the villagers, which forms part of his autobiographical poem, is bleak: they work all day, are poorly dressed, they frequent taverns, get drunk and are engaged in singing and brawling, even murder, in the heat of drunken arguments.<sup>169</sup> This does not, of course, need to be taken as a general comment on village life on Crete, as it could merely reflect a specific moment in time after the trauma of the Black Death. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out that some of what Sachlikis observed would seem to corroborate Bryennios' critique a generation before him.

Some additional evidence that can be seen to corroborate Bryennios comes from the 15th century: apart from the patriarchal letter, the writings of Neilos Damilas and the dossier on Kalophrenas mentioned above, further support comes from the writings of Symeon of Thessaloniki (c. 1381–7 to 1429) and Neilos-Nathanael Bertos (c. 1420–1490s). Symeon, a distinguished cleric and Bishop of Thessaloniki (1416/17–29) had fairly close ties to Crete: he was in correspondence with monks, priests and probably also laypeople on the island and some of his theological works had been commissioned by Cretans or had been sent to the island.<sup>170</sup> He also addressed two short treatises in the forms of letters to Cretans: a dogmatic and admonitory letter to an Orthodox man<sup>171</sup> and a reply to the Protopapas of Candia on the preaching of laypeople.<sup>172</sup> The latter had sent Symeon at least three letters asking for advice; from Symeon's reply it becomes clear that there was a dire need of preachers on Crete (only priests could preach, after a special dispensation from a bishop) and thus the Protopapas was enquiring whether it would be permissible to allow laypeople to preach. Symeon rejects the request as uncanonical, but the request suggests pressure on the Cretan Orthodox population – possibly through competition by Latin, probably Franciscan, preachers. Bertos, a priest from Ierapetra,<sup>173</sup> wrote a number of short homilies after 1453. Three of them are addressed to priests (and confessors) and include admonitions to priests against drunkenness and emphasising the need to read Scripture daily, while also castigating blasphemy as

<sup>168</sup> Van Gemert 1980, 43. Boccaccio's description of the plague in Florence in the preface to his *Decameron* represents perhaps the most well-known description of this type of reaction; see Levenstein 1996.

<sup>169</sup> Poem 1 (Ἀφήγησις παράξενος) in Mavromatis and Panayiotakis 2015, vv. 160–239.

<sup>170</sup> Symeon of Thessaloniki, 70. <sup>171</sup> Symeon of Thessaloniki, 199–219.

<sup>172</sup> Symeon of Thessaloniki, 232–5. <sup>173</sup> On his life, see Elioudis 1995, 29–37.

a major evil of his times.<sup>174</sup> There are also two homilies on those who cast themselves and their things to the Devil and those who constantly speak the name of the Devil, in which Bertos castigates dancing, singing and lyre-playing as the demons' playground,<sup>175</sup> a homily on blasphemy and another on Holy Sunday, in which he states that Christians, contrary to the Jews who religiously keep the Sabbath, neglect their duties on Sunday.<sup>176</sup> A homily with exhortations to his spiritual children before his death includes warnings against drunkenness and blasphemy, while one of the last homilies in the corpus is devoted to the Last Judgement, which is seen as imminent.<sup>177</sup> The evidence is admittedly circumstantial, but it indicates a concern with themes similar to those raised by Bryennios and, in my mind, at least suggests that these were causing unease to Cretans at the time.

There is an additional level of context for Bryennios' writings: eschatology. Despite slight variations, the dominant Byzantine chronological system placed the beginning of the world at around 5,500 years before Christ, coupled with the belief that the world's allotted time would correspond to the week of Creation, each day lasting a thousand years.<sup>178</sup> This sparked a serious eschatological frenzy around the close of the sixth millennium (around the year 500)<sup>179</sup> and when the world did not end then, the date was projected to the end of the seventh millennium, in the closing years of the 15th century. In Bryennios' writings, these themes occupy a prominent position. He repeatedly argues that the precise date of the Last Judgement cannot be known,<sup>180</sup> but also suggests that it is not far off: 'as this is already the seventh age (αἰών), and rather the end of the seventh age, and for that the end of the world (συντέλεια) is at the gates'.<sup>181</sup> The fact that Bryennios devoted a number of texts to the subject of Judgement Day (two Cretan chapters, one short response to Cretan priests<sup>182</sup> and four Constantinopolitan homilies) – to name but the most developed of his

<sup>174</sup> The first one is edited by Schartau 1975 and the other two are unpublished; see the discussion in Elioudis 1995, 91–2.

<sup>175</sup> Schartau 1974, VIII 39–43 and XI 54–7.

<sup>176</sup> Blasphemy = Schartau 1974, VII, 36–8 and Sunday = IX 44–9.

<sup>177</sup> Exhortation = Schartau 1974, XII 58–63 and Last Judgement = XIV 70–5.

<sup>178</sup> See the summary in Magdalino 2003, 236–8 with previous literature. <sup>179</sup> Magdalino 1993.

<sup>180</sup> See, for example, the closing lines of his letter to De Spiga, 'If, however, you are perhaps sad for not seeing me [as Bryennios had been ousted from Crete], it is but a few days and we will be in that other world, where the face of Christ shines instead of the sun'; Letter 27, p. 350, lines 31–4.

<sup>181</sup> *First Homily on the End of the World* (II 191), and *Second Homily on the End of the World* (II 218); Bryennios had expressed the same thought in one of his Cretan homilies, Chapter 41, *On the End of the World* (III 111) and in his *Consolation*, p. 152, lines 473–4 (τὴν ὁσονούπω φθάνουσιν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως). See Ioannidis 1985, 389–90.

<sup>182</sup> *Question of Cretan Priests*, 136–9.

eschatological expositions – as well as the urgency of his tone suggests that he considered it important and relevant, and close to his own days.<sup>183</sup> He was not alone in this. Contemporaries like Neilos Damilas and Symeon of Thessaloniki and much more so theologians of the following generation like Gennadios Scholarios (d. 1473) and the Cretan Neilos-Nathanael Bertos took up the same motifs.<sup>184</sup> The moral failings of the congregation are certainly connected to the end of times, but I agree with Aalberts, who claims that they were understood as a sign of the imminent Last Judgement rather than its cause.<sup>185</sup>

## 1.5 Conclusions

If we take a step back to look at the more general historical context of Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean in the period in which the majority of the iconographic cycles under consideration were painted, we encounter a turbulent era.

We can begin with the outbreaks of the plague, the Black Death, that are attested on Crete in 1348, 1364–5, 1375–6, 1388–9, 1397–8, 1408–9 and 1456–7.<sup>186</sup> The first outbreak caused a mass mortality – we are informed that around 40 per cent of the nobility died in that year; in combination with subsequent waves of the epidemic, it contributed to the depopulation of the island, and particularly of the countryside.<sup>187</sup> In addition to the visitations of the plague, the island had faced a number of rebellions in the 13th century as well as three major ones in the 14th century, culminating in the Saint Titus rebellion in 1363–7.<sup>188</sup> The War of Chioggia between Venice and Genoa (1378–81) affected Crete as well: there were refugees from Tenedos coming to the island<sup>189</sup> as well as the constant threat of piracy – mostly from Genoa – throughout the period.<sup>190</sup> Finally, the long

<sup>183</sup> On top of the material already mentioned one should add his *First and Second Homily on the Second Coming* (II 190–226), as well as the *First and Second Homily of the Forthcoming Judgement* (II 368–404); see Ioannidis 1985, 389–405. See also Maderakis 1978, 200–3 on linking the images of the punishments on Crete and eschatological anxieties; Maderakis 1980–1, 100–13; Maderakis 2004a, 25 and n. 14, 39 and n. 33; Maderakis 2005, 238 and n. 35, 327–8.

<sup>184</sup> The key works are Rigo 1992, Congourdeau 1999 and Aalberts 2000. On Bertos, see above, 54.

<sup>185</sup> Aalberts 2000, 43.

<sup>186</sup> Detorakis 1970–1, 118–24. On the chronology of the outbreaks, see Kostis 1995, 303–39; Kostis' book is the only comprehensive study of the Black Death in the Byzantine Empire; for a recent book on the pandemic in the region with up-to-date bibliography, see Varlık 2015.

<sup>187</sup> Kostis 1995, 221–2; Van Gemert 2001, 164–5. <sup>188</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 67.

<sup>189</sup> Kostis 1995, 222. <sup>190</sup> Katele 1988.

siege of Constantinople (1394–1402) by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid must also have had an effect on Crete, as it meant that any contact with the capital (and especially with the Patriarch) would have been difficult, if not impossible.<sup>191</sup> Bryennios alluded to the difficulties facing the Cretans in a letter to the painter Alexios Apokauchos, sent from Constantinople to Crete after 1402 and probably in the first decade or so of the 15th century, in which he enquired about the situation on the island: ‘How do you the Orthodox race fare in the midst of such vertiginous times?’<sup>192</sup> If we add to the political events the heightened sense of an imminent arrival of Judgement Day, as I have discussed above, this could have provided an urgency that found its expression in the proliferation of wall paintings depicting contemporary anxieties about the afterlife. However, this particular context – the combination of turbulent political and military events, plague and the belief in the nearing end of the world – were not unique to Crete. Consequently, one would expect to find that similar circumstances would have led to similar results in other parts of the Byzantine world. Gerstel and Katsafados suggest that in the Mani, for example, the extant monuments (several of which feature cycles comparable to those in Crete) are but a small sample of what would have been a much bigger number of churches, chapels and wall paintings of the Last Judgement and Hell.<sup>193</sup> The fact that many more monuments have been preserved on Crete (a significant number of which have been documented and discussed for the first time in this volume) does not necessarily mean that Crete was a special case to begin with. Furthermore, as a juxtaposition of the tables of sins and punishments presented above and the list of images surveyed on Crete makes clear, the Cretan material is not unique in its choice of themes and images. Rather, it is based on a traditional repertoire of sins and punishments that is rooted in the textual tradition, but is obviously visually elaborated to serve local needs.

To pursue this question further, therefore, one must look at the use and social function of the images of Hell and its punishments. A rare Byzantine insight is given in a set of three epigrams by Maximos Planoudis, commissioned in 1293–4 to be inscribed on an icon depicting the Last Judgement. The epigram on the damned in Hell reads as follows:

<sup>191</sup> On the siege, see Necipoğlu 2009, 149–80.

<sup>192</sup> Letter 24, 345, lines 25–6, Μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμεῖς, τὸ ὀρθόδοξον γένος, πῶς διάγετε μέσον τοσοῦτων ἰλιγγῶν;

<sup>193</sup> See Gerstel and Katsafados in this volume, Chapter 7.



With what kind of punishments, O Savior, do you threaten me, the sinner? Even the ones painted on panels terrify me. I tremble at the prospect of experiencing them; the very sight of them frightens me.<sup>194</sup>

Deterrence of sin through fear of punishment<sup>195</sup> is the reading suggested by the epigram, but one can obviously approach this topic from a variety of angles. Looking at these images which often depict extreme violence towards human bodies can be understood in the Platonic urge not to look away from something horrible while feeling aversion and repugnance at the same time.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, these images do not only depict pain and suffering, but are also often sexually quite graphic – nowhere else in the Byzantine visual universe are spectators presented with naked bodies with full exposure of genitalia, as is the case with the scenes of punishments in Hell. Robert Mills, who has studied images of pain and punishment in the medieval and Early Modern West, writes of the ‘voyeuristic pleasure in the humiliation of others’, but also of such images occasionally eliciting ‘forms of eroticism that transgress accepted norms’.<sup>197</sup> Looking at the punishments of sinners and, provided one did not count oneself among them, one could thus feel both a sense of validation or compensation as well as a visual message about the workings of divine justice.<sup>198</sup>

I would, however, like to focus on two aspects that seem most relevant in explaining the Cretan evidence. Jane Baun has demonstrated the structural underpinnings of the way Byzantine culture represented the afterlife. The projection of the afterlife mirrored the experience of populations on the ground, with ‘God as a distant emperor, heaven as a multichambered palace, difficult of access. The punishments are overseen by angelic functionaries carrying out orders, as each sinner makes satisfaction to the state, often through symbolic mutilations in the spirit of the Byzantine penal code.’<sup>199</sup> We can assume that this need for structure – even a terrifying system is preferable to pure chaos – could not be provided solely by the secular legal system on the island,<sup>200</sup> especially outside the urban centres.

<sup>194</sup> The epigram is included in Planudis’ letter 73, p. 93, lines 40–3; on the translation and the discussion, see Drpić 2016, 18–21, quote on 19.

<sup>195</sup> See Hunsinger 1998, 408. According to a legendary account of the conversion to Christianity of the Bulgar ruler Boris in 864, this occurred when Boris saw a depiction of the Last Judgement; see Mango 1972, 190–1.

<sup>196</sup> Plato, *Republic* 439e–440a. <sup>197</sup> Mills 2005, 17 and especially chapter 3, 83–105.

<sup>198</sup> Roig Lanzillotta 2003, 130, with reference to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Sim 1996, 227–33 suggests that the earliest Christian communities would have responded positively to the theme of retribution against those who persecuted them as projected into the punishments taking place in the afterlife.

<sup>199</sup> Baun 2008, 619. <sup>200</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 91–102.



The Church, seen here as the combination of both the numerous Orthodox priests and their congregations (these were after all the ones who commissioned the wall paintings we are examining), stepped in to provide this structure and exercise social control. This extension of the Church's reach into the lives of the congregation is characteristic of the late Byzantine period, during which substantial Orthodox populations lived under non-Orthodox rulers (as in Crete) and those remaining Byzantine populations faced the collapse of the state.<sup>201</sup> Recently scholars have seen Bryennios as a key witness to the process by which the Byzantine state was portrayed as weak and certainly as less important than the Church.<sup>202</sup> Since the Church lacked executive power, its only means of enforcing control was through fear of punishment, and in this project the harrowing images of Hell, but also the threat and frequent practice of excommunication were useful tools.<sup>203</sup>

If we think about this unusual proliferation of Hell scenes on rural Crete, many of which perhaps emerged in the window of relative calm between 1370–90 and 1438,<sup>204</sup> in a place without bishops,<sup>205</sup> in which the actual shepherd of the Orthodox population was far away in Constantinople, in which – if we believe Bryennios – the clergy and monks did not always rise to their moral obligations, then perhaps this does provide us with helpful context to understand these cycles. Perhaps this need for order or the semblance of order responding to a real or perceived sense of its lack – the neat compartmentalisation of Hell, the sense of security that the ordered, bureaucratic structure of sins and punishments would convey – they are horrible, but they are fixed, they have rules and they can be avoided – perhaps *this* is the Cretan version of the road to Hell.

<sup>201</sup> See Maderakis 1978, 191 for similar thoughts on the *Sitz im Leben* of the Cretan images.

<sup>202</sup> Gounaridis 2005, 136–45; Leonte 2012, 311–15. <sup>203</sup> See Gerouki 2000, 14–16.

<sup>204</sup> The Union agreed at the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438 was to have significant repercussions on Crete; see Gasparis in this volume, 77. See also Saint Guillaín 2009–10.

<sup>205</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 70.

## 2 | Venetian Crete

### The Historical Context

CHARALAMBOS GASPARIS

#### 2.1 The Political, Social and Economic Context

The purchase of Crete by Venice in 1204, its conquest by Enrico Pescatore under the protection of Genoa in 1206, Pescatore's expulsion from the island by Venice and the appointment of the first Duke of Crete (1207–9) and, finally, the first dispatch of colonists by Venice in 1211 are major political events in the history of the island.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the participation of the colonists in the administration and defence of the island as the ruling class constituted an equally important political step.

This arrangement played a crucial role in the formation of the social and economic landscape and, in the long term, the very appearance of the island, during the four and a half centuries of Venetian rule (1211–1669). Without losing their identity or losing sight of their origins, the Venetian feudal lords of Crete developed distinctive characteristics that sprang directly from the land in which they settled, and from the links that they established with both the Greek feudal lords and the agrarian population, the greatest part of which was Greek-speaking and Orthodox. To ensure successful colonisation, Venetian policy encouraged the identification of the settlers' interests with those of the island.

The decision of Venice to treat the conquest of Crete and its organisation as a question of fundamental reorganisation underlines the seriousness with which the Serenissima viewed the newly acquired colony. The complete redistribution of land and the subjugation of the local population and its Church to a new regime were the key elements in the new dispensation planned for Crete. Everything – land, people and institutions – found

<sup>1</sup> For a general view on the history of Crete after 1204, see Thiriet 1959a and b; Borsari 1963; Ortalli 1998; McKee 2000; Gasparis 2005.

themselves under the jurisdiction of the Venetian authorities (*in providentia Ducis et sui consilii*).

The island's land was allocated to many Venetian citizens (*dilecti fideles nostri, viri Veneti*) from various social and economic strata, with an appointed government already in place that would rule and control the newly arrived colonists. Crete was treated both as an island that would become a key location in the eastern Mediterranean and as a colony that required radical reorganisation if it was to fulfil its great potential.

Crete saw the political and administrative system of Venice transferred virtually intact to the island, with a corresponding hierarchy, administrative councils and officials. The local population was barred from positions of authority, and their participation in the administration of the island was mainly restricted to low-level positions. Nevertheless, aside from the exercise of political power and participation in the military defence of the island, in the eyes of the state, the natives and the Venetians had equal rights.

Despite the political changes, the administrative system that the Venetians instituted on Crete also reveals a number of continuities. The delay in gaining complete control of the island held up the plan to divide Crete, like the city of Venice itself, into six administrative departments (the *sexteria*). The local authorities relied instead on the existing model for the organisation, administration and defence of the colony. The Byzantine *tourmai* (τούρμαι) and their castles (κάστρα) provided the basis for both the promotion of colonisation during the first half of the 13th century and for the defence of the colony.<sup>2</sup> The *tourmai* in what is today the prefecture of Herakleion formed the six *sexteria* that welcomed the first colonists in 1211 when they arrived, divided into six groups according to the *sexterium* to which they belonged in Venice. Later, small groups of *tourmai* formed the three remaining departments of Crete, which are Siteia, Rethymnon and Chania. These four departments (Candia, Siteia, Rethymnon and Chania), called *territoria*, are almost identical to the four prefectures of the island today. This impressive continuity in the political geography of Crete dates back to the late Byzantine period and has held through the periods of Venetian and Ottoman rule into the contemporary era.

<sup>2</sup> The *tourma* (τούρμα, τούρμαι / *tourmai* in plural) was part of the *thema* (θέμα), the military and later administrative unit, according to which the Byzantine Empire was divided during the 7th century. In each *tourma* there was a castle, where a group of soldiers was posted under the command of the *tourmarchis* (τουρμάρχης). For the *tourma* in Venetian Crete and the division of the island into administrative districts, see Gasparis 2001, 167–228.

The redistribution of the land of the entire island took place as laid down in the document relating to the first dispatch of colonists to Crete in 1211 (the so-called *Concessio Crete*). During the 13th century, a significant proportion of Crete's Greek landowners ultimately succeeded in retaining their estates, mainly thanks to their rebellions; nevertheless, the Greek estate owners were fully integrated into the new landowning system alongside the Venetian feudal lords. This redistribution was based to a significant extent on the pre-existing land ownership system. Thus, the Byzantine state land in the hands of Greek landowners, as well as the land of the imperial monasteries, automatically passed into the possession of the Venetian state, which then redistributed it. A part of the land belonging to the former Orthodox Church (the archdiocese and dioceses) also passed into the possession of the newly established Latin Church of Crete. The fate of the land held under full ownership during the second Byzantine period in Crete (961–1204) was somewhat different: although Venice also considered it to be public land, it remained in the hands of its existing owners. We do not know what proportion of the land was held under what terms during the second Byzantine period in Crete, but it seems that public land predominated. In this way, Venice succeeded in at least satisfying the aspirations of those Venetians it dispatched to the island in organised expeditions during the first half of the 13th century (1211–52).<sup>3</sup>

Despite the change in the regime of land ownership, some continuity was maintained in the local agricultural population. Most of the Byzantine *paroikoi* (παρόικοι) became dependent peasants and were renamed *villani*. With the new land ownership regime, degrees between villeins (*villani*) were established in accordance with their dependence on the land or on their feudal lord (*villani feudorum* or *iure millicie* and *villani feudatorum* or *extra feudum*) or on their owner (villeins belonging to feudal lords, the state and the church). Until the early years of the 13th century, the remaining free smallholders in Crete lost their land and remained free peasants (*franchi*), but economically dependent on the landowners. However, all the above farmers, dependent or not, continued to work the land of the new or old landowners just as they had before and to render what was legally required almost exactly as they had before.<sup>4</sup> Despite the feudal-style land ownership regime, the central authority remained a powerful presence, just as it had during the Byzantine period, preventing

<sup>3</sup> For the dispatch of the Venetian colonists and the distribution of the land during the 13th century: Ravegnani 1998, 33–42; Gasparis 2002a, 195–227; Gasparis 2004, 19–90; Gasparis 2008a, 15–116; Gasparis 2008b, 49–61; Gasparis 2015, 78–100.

<sup>4</sup> For the social context in the Cretan countryside, see Gasparis 1997.

any especially oppressive actions on the part of the feudal lords and protecting certain rights enjoyed by the farmers. This framework allowed the everyday life of Cretan farmers to continue essentially unchanged after the arrival of the Venetians. The predominance of the Greek population in the Cretan villages also remained unchanged during the Venetian period. For most of the 13th century, all feudal lords lived in the cities and only visited their estates and villages from time to time. In the last decades of the same century, however, some feudatories gradually began to live permanently in their villages. Around the same time, foreigners of both Latin and Greek origin and freed slaves started to arrive in Crete and settle in the villages as farmers.

Nonetheless, the features of the new government and the role of Crete as a colony inevitably affected the island's economy, which was and remained predominantly agrarian. The leading role assigned to trade by the Venetian population and the insistence of the metropolis on wheat sufficiency resulted, especially after 1250, in an intensification in the production of certain agricultural and stock-raising commodities, such as cereals, wine and cheese. In turn, exporting these products led to a revitalisation of the local market.<sup>5</sup>

The changes in the agricultural sphere were gradual and centred on increasing both the production of certain crops and the land available for cultivation. At the same time, certain parts of Crete, primarily highland areas (Anopoli in the Sfakia area, Eleftherna in the Mylopotamos area, the Lassithi plateau), were systematically depopulated, as they were considered hotbeds of revolt.<sup>6</sup> It was forbidden to inhabit or cultivate these areas, which favoured an increase in forested areas. Vineyards and cereal cultivation had already dominated Cretan agriculture before the arrival of the Venetians, but their surface area now grew considerably and spread across the entire island, as attested by the numerous grants of new land specifying cultivations of this type that have survived from the last quarter of the 13th century.

The second important area of the Cretan agrarian economy was livestock. Large quantities of leather, wool and cheese were produced in the mountainous areas of the island, and cheese in particular was exported to various destinations. The demand for wooden barrels for the storage and

<sup>5</sup> For the economic environment in medieval Crete, see Gallina 1989; Gallina 1993 (= Gallina 2003, 273–99); Gallina 1994 (= Gallina 2003, 301–20). For the production of and trade in the most important Cretan products, see Tsougarakis 1990; Tucci 1994; Jacoby 1998 (= Jacoby 2005, no. VIII); Tucci 1998; Gasparis 2002b; Gallina 2009–10.

<sup>6</sup> See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 38 (Lassithi).

transportation of wine, in addition to the need for timber for Crete's shipyards, also led to a gradual change in the island's forestation, primarily apparent in the late 14th and early 15th centuries<sup>7</sup>.

Despite the importance the Venetian authorities placed on Cretan agrarian products, there is a marked absence of any official policy to support the countryside with the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation systems and other infrastructure and public works projects. The Venetian authorities simply maintained the existing systems, which often dated back to the Roman era. It was left to the feudal lords to take the initiative for such projects, an initiative with limitations, since all actions taken served their own private interests. Official Venetian policy for the countryside related primarily to defence, with the construction and upkeep of castles, the control of bandits and rebels and the attempt to increase the population by attracting migrants. There is no doubt also that local authorities indirectly influenced agricultural production in order to increase trade and guarantee wheat and other cereals for the state's warehouses.

Notwithstanding major changes in the agrarian system on Crete, change was minimal, at least during the 13th century. The revolts that continually broke out throughout the same century were an important factor in the slow pace of change, since they caused destruction in the Cretan countryside and isolated entire regions, often for considerable lengths of time. From the 14th century onward, the growing political stability enabled swifter changes in the Cretan countryside, although to a much lesser extent than in the cities on the northern coast. The increase in the number of feudal lords, the reduction in the size of the average fief and the consequent emergence of distinct economic strata within the feudal class served partially to distinguish the interests of individuals within this class.<sup>8</sup> It resulted in differing rates of development in greater or smaller rural regions, depending on the power of the lords in possession of the estates there, the quality of the cultivated land or the distance from a city or the sea. In turn, this led many small or medium-sized feudal lords to take up residence in the villages, thereby increasing the Latin element in the Cretan countryside.

Another major change targeted the Orthodox Church of Crete.<sup>9</sup> As we shall see below, in order to consolidate its dominion, Venice abolished the local Orthodox Church, replacing it with the Catholic Church. Although it

<sup>7</sup> Gasparis 1994, 23–33.

<sup>8</sup> For the stratification of the Cretan feudal class, see Gasparis 2004, 41–51; Gasparis 2007.

<sup>9</sup> For the Latin Church in the Greek territories under Latin rule, see Coureas 2015 (esp. 156–7, 165, 179).

neither outlawed Orthodox dogma nor forbade the local population from observing its religious duties, nor favoured the Catholic Church by supporting 'conversion', the absence of Orthodox bishops and an archbishop made it difficult for the lower clergy to function properly. Nevertheless, despite these institutional changes, the religious life of the natives was not disrupted to any significant degree. The Orthodox priests (παπάδες / *papades*) continued to have a prominent presence on the island and many churches were built throughout Crete, especially in the countryside, during the 13th and 14th centuries.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the most important change in the history of Crete during the period of Venetian rule was the development of the island's urban landscape and economy. When the Venetians arrived on the island as its new rulers, they found a single small city, Chandax (Χάνδαξ), which was renamed Candia (or Candida in Latin). It had a small population within its Byzantine walls and, as the contemporary Venetian sources reveal, there was inadequate housing for the new feudal lords and an abundance of empty plots. The harbour of Candia was in decline; its only quay, which dated from the period of Arab rule, while open to ships in the early 1200s, was nevertheless in disrepair. The Venetians managed to keep the harbour open and accessible to various vessels until the end of the 13th century.<sup>11</sup> They began to make substantial improvements during the last decade of the 13th century and then mainly in the fourth decade of the 14th century. These actions coincided with the increase in maritime trade and in the volume of merchandise passing through the port of Candia after the easing of political unrest on the island. From this point on, the authorities ensured the maintenance of the harbour, and its facilities improved on a regular basis.

Venice ensured the development of the sites where the other cities of Crete's northern coast (Chania, Rethymnon and less importantly Siteia) later stood by dispatching colonists and allowing them to settle as feudal lords. Chania is a typical example: on the arrival of the third group of Venetian colonists there in 1252, it was designated a *civitas*, though one in need of 'rebuilding' (*rehedificare*).<sup>12</sup> The Venetian authorities clearly specified in the relevant document the form the city should take in order to be regenerated. This initiative aimed at creating a new urban centre, harbour and administrative centre, in order to enable the organisation of the surrounding area, coordinate its defence and establish the place of

<sup>10</sup> See below, section 2.2. <sup>11</sup> Gertwagen 1988; Gertwagen 1998; Jacoby 2009–10.

<sup>12</sup> Gasparis 2008a, 56–88.



residence for the feudal lords in the region. Rethymnon developed in a similar fashion in the same period.<sup>13</sup> The much smaller Siteia and several regional fortified settlements, such as the castle of Mylopotamos, developed in the centuries that followed.

The emergence of Crete's other three cities reflects the new decentralisation in the early 14th century through the new administrative units or *territoria*. Each one of these cities was now the capital of its own *territorium*. They acquired local political government (*rector*) and administrative services that corresponded to those in Candia (public treasury, secretariat, local council of feudal lords), even though they remained under the control of the island's central administration.<sup>14</sup> This system allowed local problems to be monitored more closely and solutions to be applied more easily.

The organisation of the harbour and its incorporation into local and more widespread maritime networks was an important step in further developing each city and strengthening its local administrative centre. This process started already in the 13th century and was intensified during the centuries that followed.<sup>15</sup> In turn, this led to the emergence of local markets that attracted native and foreign populations. The increase in population, and the strengthening of the local economy, provided the impetus for the gradual development of professionals and artisans, who slowly but surely came to form a small but flourishing urban 'class' in the cities of Crete, especially in Candia.<sup>16</sup> By the 15th century, the three cities on the north coast of Crete (Candia, Rethymnon and Chania) had developed their own unique social, intellectual and artistic life.<sup>17</sup>

The improvement of the cities, the organisation of their ports and their integration into maritime trade routes and the marketing of local agricultural products by the Venetians contributed to demographic growth in the Cretan countryside. Numerous settlements on the island dating from the Byzantine period flourished, especially those located in fertile lowlands or near cities or in places easily accessible by the sea. Crete, mainly from the 14th century onwards, became an economic centre for a vast region in the south-eastern Mediterranean, capable of attracting merchants, tradesmen and economic migrants either of Greek or Latin origin. The existence of

<sup>13</sup> Gasparis 2003b. <sup>14</sup> For the office of the *rector* in Crete, see Gasparis 2008a, 56–70.

<sup>15</sup> Jacoby 1997; Gasparis 2010.

<sup>16</sup> For the local market and the professionals of Candia during the 14th century, see Gasparis 1989; Gasparis 2003a.

<sup>17</sup> For aspects of the history of Candia and Rethymnon, see Maltezou and Papadaki 2003; Papadaki 2004. For a general view on the artistic life and literature in Crete during the Venetian period, see Holton 1991; Manoussakas 1998; Georgopoulou 2001; Kaklamanis 2001; Gratziou 2010.



castles for the island's defence and the presence of their officers, the castellans (*castellani*), also contributed to revitalising the life in the villages.

In this new political, social and economic context, a novel relationship between the countryside and the cities emerged. The Cretan peasants faced a new reality with the challenges associated with a bigger city market, a significant number of merchants and a well-organised state mechanism with administrative, judicial and policing authorities. Hence, from the 13th century, and mainly during the 14th century, the city offered them diverse opportunities: the feudatories, who offered land, a wholesale and retail market for their agricultural products, and the possibility of loans. At the same time, the villages attracted merchants and new temporary or permanent residents from the cities or other villages of the island, as well as from outside Crete.<sup>18</sup>

This political and economic environment inevitably also created a new social reality, especially evident for Crete during the Venetian rule. Despite the targeted revolts against the new domination – mainly in the 13th century – and the occasional limited local conflicts, the native Greek population not only cohabited with other ethnic elements, but actually blended with them.<sup>19</sup> Mixed marriages in both urban and rural areas significantly promoted this interaction. All these factors contributed to the emergence of a local – Cretan-based – identity in both the Greek and Latin populations. A notable expression of this identity was the revolt of Saint Titus (1363–7), through which a section of the local Venetians, from noble and powerful families, with the support of certain local leading Greek families, tried (unsuccessfully) to sever ties with the mother city and become autonomous.<sup>20</sup>

The arrival of the Venetians in Crete in the early 13th century proved to be something more than simply a change of master. What followed on a political, social and economic level can be viewed as inevitable changes experienced in the late Middle Ages; however, the identity of the overlords was to prove a decisive factor in both the adoption and acceleration of change. There can be no doubt that Crete's size, soil and position in the eastern Mediterranean, combined with the economic and political power Venice had already begun to acquire, had a positive effect: the island experienced a period of remarkable growth and development between the early 13th century and its fall to the Ottomans in 1669.

<sup>18</sup> Gasparis 2016a; Gasparis 2018.

<sup>19</sup> See McKee 2000, where one of the main issues that the author addresses is the cross-cultural fusion of the two main ethnicities, i.e. the Greeks and the Venetians. See also Gasparis 1994; Gasparis 2011.

<sup>20</sup> McKee 1994; McKee 2000, 133–67.

## 2.2 The Religious Context: Greek Orthodox Priests and Churches

In 1211, Venice sent to Crete the first group of settlers to ensure the colonisation of the countryside and to occupy the land as fiefs. The Doge of Venice signed an agreement with the Venetian citizens who had consented to go to Crete, the well-known document of *Concessio Crete*; the document states: 'You [the feudatories] must keep all the churches of the aforementioned island [of Crete], as well as their priests free, but their estates must be managed as the Duke of Crete and his council wish.'<sup>21</sup>

The passage does not provide any specific information about how the Venetians intended to organise the local Church. One thing is certain: the churches of the island would remain Orthodox and the priests would be free to practise their duties as before. It also became clear that the estates of all monasteries and churches would be under state control. Hence the local government, as a representative of the Venetian state, acquired the right to dispose of the estates as it saw fit. On the other hand, this important document remains silent about the status of the local Orthodox Church, i.e. the Cretan archbishop and bishops. This silence could imply their abolition.

With the sale of Crete to the Serenissima and the arrival of the Venetians on the island between 1206 and 1209, the Orthodox hierarchy gradually began to dissolve. First, the Archbishop of Crete left the island, finding refuge in the empire of Nicaea. Other bishops either fled the island or died without being replaced. Two bishops of the remaining four were expelled from their seats, while the other two continued to live on the estates of their former bishoprics. While during the first decades of the 13th century the Orthodox hierarchy gradually disintegrated, the corresponding Catholic archdiocese and dioceses of Crete were established during the years 1210–12, following the conquest of the city of Candia by the Venetians in 1209. It is worth mentioning that in the first half of the 13th century the Catholic Church included at least four Orthodox bishops who had accepted the

<sup>21</sup> Tafel and Thomas 1856, 132. A similar reference to the Orthodox Church and its dignitaries is included also in the document in which Venice conceded the island of Corfu to ten Venetian noblemen in 1207: 'We (the feudatories) must keep all the churches located in the area granted to us, in the same way as they were during the times of the Greek Emperors'; see Tafel and Thomas 1856, 56. In 1209, however, in the agreement signed between Venice and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, according to which Venice kept the port cities of Modon and Coron in the Peloponnese, there is reference only to the Catholic bishoprics of these two cities; see Nanetti 2009, 57. For the status of the Churches in territories under Latin dominion, see Coureas 2015, 145–84.

authority of the Pope. Two of these bishops came from local Greek aristocratic families (Chortatzis and Varouchas). In turn, they formed a bridge between Venice and the local population in this sensitive ecclesiastical matter. However, by the end of the 13th century there were no more Greek Orthodox bishops, even within the framework of the Catholic hierarchy. All bishops were now Latin and, during the 13th century, primarily Venetians. Hereinafter, the Orthodox Church in Crete consisted exclusively of priests who, as mentioned above, were free to fulfil their duties.

For a better understanding of the religious context in Venetian Crete, within which the iconography of the Last Judgement and the sinners was crystallised, it is necessary to study not only the structure of the local Orthodox and Catholic Churches, but also two essential elements of the religious life of the local population: Orthodox priests and Orthodox churches.

The new ecclesiastical dispensation which was established in the first decades of the 13th century did not achieve a solution of certain important issues, such as the ownership of ecclesiastical land and the authority of the Catholic Church over the Orthodox clergy. Consequently, serious problems continued to arise from time to time that required the careful attention of the Venetian authorities. In 1248, the Catholic Church claimed Cretan land and monasteries which they considered to have been illegally possessed by the Venetian state. In the early 1260s, the Archbishop of Crete, Leonardo Pantaleo, initiated the most serious disagreement on this front. The Doge of Venice and the Pope managed to reach an agreement by the end of 1268 on two main issues: the land property and the authority of the Catholic archbishop over the Cretan clergymen.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, a new crisis erupted in 1320, which was resolved after a systematic investigation by the local Venetian authorities. The investigation resulted in a register of documents, known as 'The Register of the Churches and the Monasteries of the Commune'. Presently housed in the State Archive of Venice (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*), this register is an invaluable source of information regarding the ecclesiastical regime in Crete during the 13th and 14th centuries.<sup>23</sup>

This serious disagreement between the two parties in Crete ended after a settlement was reached in 1323. However, a new problem now engaged the

<sup>22</sup> Borsari 1963, 110–14.

<sup>23</sup> The Latin text of the 'Register of the Churches and the Monasteries of the Commune' is edited in Tsirpanlis 1985. For the controversy between Venice and the Catholic Church in 1320, see also Tsirpanlis 1970.

Serenissima: how to control the increasing number of Orthodox priests on the island and their participation in anti-Venetian activities (e.g. supporting revolts by Cretan landowners). Venice's concern was further heightened by the activity of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople on the island, especially during the second half of the 14th century; the Union of the two Churches (1438); and the Unionist policy of Venice in Crete.

## 2.2.1 The Orthodox Priests

The absence of an Orthodox hierarchy in Crete was compensated for by the existence of numerous Orthodox priests, the so-called *papades* in the Venetian documents,<sup>24</sup> scattered throughout the island. Venice quite reasonably accepted the presence of priests as soon as it conquered the island, in order to ensure social order. However, very soon it became clear that the priests, along with the monks (*caloieri*), had a decisive influence over the local population and often acted as instigators of reactions against the new rulers. At the same time, looking to limit the power of the Catholic Church on the island, Venice decided that it was important to control this social group. The agreement reached between Venice and the Catholic Church in 1268 mentioned above stated that from the total of the Orthodox priests on the island only 130 priests from Candia and its region would be under the authority of the Catholic archbishop. All the priests arriving on the island from other Greek regions were placed under the same authority. The 130 Orthodox priests were obliged to pay to the archbishop the small amount of six *grossi*<sup>25</sup> every year and to ask his permission for any undertaking.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The common term used in Venetian documents to denote the Orthodox priests is the Greek word *papas* (παπᾶς) in the singular and *papates/papades/papadhes* (παπάδες) in the plural. In this way, it was easy for the authorities (and it remains so for researchers) to distinguish an Orthodox from a Catholic priest. In addition, the adjective *grecus* accompanied an Orthodox priest, indicating Orthodox, i.e. *papas grecus*, *clericus grecus*, *sacerdos grecus*.

<sup>25</sup> The *hyperpero* was a monetary unit in Venetian Crete equal to up to a half of the Venetian gold ducat during the late 13th and the 14th century, and to one third or one quarter during the first half of the 15th century. The *hyperpero* was divided into *grossi*, *soldini*, *tornesi* and *parvi/piccoli*. One *hyperpero* was equal to 12 *grossi*, 32 *soldini*, 128 *tornesi* and 384 *parvi*; see Vincent 2007, 285–306. To place the monetary value and the amounts cited here in perspective, the annual salary of the Duke of Crete was 1,000 *hyperperi* in the 13th and 2,000 in the 14th century; of the ducal chancellor, 125 *hyperperi*; of a notary in the ducal chancellery, 60 *hyperperi*; of a soldier, from 24 to 30 *hyperperi*; and of a male servant in a house, 7 *hyperperi*. For further examples of salaries, wages and prices in 14th-century Crete, see Gasparis 1989.

<sup>26</sup> The control of 130 priests, along with the almost permanent problem of the land property, brought about the aforementioned crisis between Venice and the Catholic Church in 1320, which was resolved in 1323, with the Venetian authorities recognising the absolute control of the 130 priests by the Catholic Archbishop of Crete. For the status of the Orthodox priests in Crete under Venetian rule, see Spanakis 1959; Tsirpanlis 1967a; Tsirpanlis 1970.

The Venetian state maintained complete authority over the remaining clear majority of the Orthodox priests. Once, however, there was no longer an Orthodox hierarchy on the island, Venice introduced two salaried 'dignitaries', with the title of *protopapas* and *protopsaltis*, for each one of the three departments of Crete (Candia together with Siteia, Rethymnon and Chania), to exercise control on the Orthodox priests.<sup>27</sup> The main criterion was their loyalty to Venice and, after 1438, to the Union of the Churches. These two dignitaries remained at the top of the Orthodox clergy throughout the period of the Venetian rule in Crete. Unfortunately, it is not clear if and how their authority evolved over time. The *protopapas* was superior to the *protopsaltis*; other than that, nothing further is known regarding the relationship between the two offices, or between these two dignitaries and the Venetian authorities or the Latin Church of Crete. We know very little even about their exact relationship with the Orthodox priests before the early 15th century.<sup>28</sup> From that period we have more information about the *protopapas* and *protopsaltis*, due to their 'capitula', a collection of rules, dated 1408.<sup>29</sup> These rules, not necessarily applicable to the 13th century, demonstrate direct control by the two ecclesiastical dignitaries over the Cretan priests.

Regardless of who controlled the Orthodox priests, the Venetian state or the Catholic Church, they could be either free or dependent persons – that is villeins (*villani*) – of the state, of the Church or of the feudatories. The priests could practise at the same time any other profession in either a city or a village. In the countryside, all Orthodox priests were farmers.<sup>30</sup>

A significant number of Cretan priests and monks were involved in the numerous revolts during the 13th century, perhaps hoping to overturn or

<sup>27</sup> Manoussakas 1961; Tomadakis 1977.

<sup>28</sup> Two testimonies from 1320 offer interesting information about the role of *protopapas*. The nun Sofronia testifies that for the consecration of the Church of Saint Andrew, which her late husband had built in the village of Apano Simossi, she addressed the '*protopapas* of Candia and other priests'. The *protopapas* informed her that he could not do this unless she agreed to present two livres of wax to the archbishop every year during the feast of the church. He also warned her that if she did not do so, the archbishop would 'close the altar of the church'. In other testimony, the priest Theodoros declared that he was appointed to officiate in the church of the village Atsinatos by the *protopapas* with the consent of the archbishop, and for that reason he paid the *protopapas* two *grossi* annually; see Tsirpanlis 1985, nos 233.III, 237.III.

<sup>29</sup> Tsirpanlis 1994.

<sup>30</sup> See examples of the social status and the activity of priests in Tsirpanlis 1985, nos 63, 65, 66; *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (henceforth ASV), *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, f. 313r. Actually, this is still the case presently in the Cretan countryside.

change the new ecclesiastical order.<sup>31</sup> There were also priests and monks from the Byzantine Empire on the island, who acted as emissaries of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Emperor, rousing the local population against Venice. The Venetian authorities remained suspicious of their presence, as attested by a decree issued in 1334, stating: 'monks who come into our island [of Crete] as refugees disseminate with rumours and exhortations evil teaching and sentiment against the Latins'.<sup>32</sup> The Venetian Senate ordered the Cretan government to expel all monks who were already on the island and henceforth to strictly prohibit their entry.<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, a decree issued by the Cretan government in 1349, concerning measures against runaway slaves and villeins, another serious problem for the Venetian authorities, reveals that many monks and priests in Candia and its surrounding area were involved in hiding such fugitives and helping them to leave the island.<sup>34</sup> An additional decree suggesting the continuation of this activity was issued in 1357, according to which the authorities obliged all priests of the Cretan villages to read out the decree to all the residents monthly 'in the Greek language' in their churches.<sup>35</sup>

Another major issue for the Cretan Orthodox population was the ordination of their priests, since there was not any bishop on the island.<sup>36</sup> During the first decades of the 13th century, the already existing priests continued to carry out their spiritual duties but, inevitably, a need for new priests emerged. Up until the middle of the 13th century, when there were Orthodox bishops on the island, they continued to ordain new priests. Once these bishops died, ecclesiastical officers were sent to Crete from Constantinople.<sup>37</sup>

The treaty signed between the rebel Alexios Kallergis and the Duke of Crete in 1299 includes an important clause: the Greek lord Kallergis claimed the right to appoint, in collaboration with the local Catholic hierarchy, an Orthodox bishop in the vacant see of Arion in the district of Rethymnon.<sup>38</sup> It was suggested that an Orthodox bishop on the island

<sup>31</sup> A document dated 1320 provides testimonies of Orthodox priests who were arrested and convicted because of their participation in the revolts of the second half of the 13th century; see Tsirpanlis 1985, 172–3.

<sup>32</sup> Fedalto 1978, 39 no. 53.

<sup>33</sup> A decree issued by the Duke of Crete in 1348, forbidding the entrance of Orthodox monks into Crete, confirms the implementation of the decision of the Venetian Senate, see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 221v.

<sup>34</sup> Ratti Vidulich 1976, no. 233. <sup>35</sup> Ratti Vidulich 2007, 150.

<sup>36</sup> For the ordination of Cretan Orthodox priests, see Tomadakis 1959b; Manoussakas 1963–4; Chaireti 1974.

<sup>37</sup> Tomadakis 1959b, 47.

<sup>38</sup> See Mertziou 1949, 268–9. Arion was an area between the city of Rethymnon and the region of Mylopotamos.

could prevent possible social disturbances and would become a reference point for the native faithful but also for the priests and their ordination. This condition never materialised, probably because the Catholic Church raised objections to the establishment of a rival ecclesiastical dignitary within its jurisdiction.

Hence, the Byzantine Empire became a source for new Orthodox priests coming to Crete. While such arrivals gradually became a cause for concern for the local authorities, it is quite probable that during the 13th century such mobility served Venice's interests. As early as 1266, Pope Clement IV requested that Venice place all priests arriving on the island under the authority of the Archbishop of Crete.<sup>39</sup> This could suggest that during the first half of the 13th century there was a considerable flow of Orthodox priests to the island.

It remains unknown when the Venetian authorities started to exert systematic control over the ordination of Orthodox priests or their appointment to a parish. It seems that at least during the 13th century there was no established procedure for these matters on the part of the state or the Catholic Church. The 'Register of the Churches and the Monasteries' reveals that, until the 1320s, it was the owners of the churches who took the initiative in appointing a priest to officiate. Based on an official investigation, the priests of the villages near Candia were appointed in various ways: some testified that they had been appointed by the feudal lord, who was the owner of the village and the church; others, by the Catholic archbishop, by the *protopapas* or even by the residents of the village.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the Venetian authorities carried out an investigation could indicate the absence of an established procedure up until that point.

The lack of priests in every village was in fact not a serious problem for the population of the Cretan countryside, since there was a dense network of villages and one priest could easily officiate in two or more neighbouring villages.<sup>41</sup> Despite the outcome of the investigation carried out in 1320 by Venetian officials, the Venetian Senate did not issue a decree defining the procedure for dealing with Orthodox priests on Crete until 1360.<sup>42</sup> The decree aimed at ordaining as priests the 'most suitable and worthy' persons

<sup>39</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 136.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, such testimonies in Tsirpanlis 1985, 83–4, 276 no. IV.

<sup>41</sup> For example, during the investigation of 1320, Georgios Prokopis testified that he was resident and priest in the village of Hagios Syllas, but at the same time he officiated in the nearby villages of Mafou and Astra; see Tsirpanlis 1985, nos 210.III and 212.III. Leos Kondoleos, another deponent, testified that there was no priest in the village of Xerolea and hence the inhabitants of the village relied on the services of a priest from another village; see Tsirpanlis 1985, no. 208.IV.

<sup>42</sup> Gerland 1899, 61–2; Thiriet 1966, 322.



(*suffientes et digni*). The minimum age was twenty-five. Thus, it was decided that the government of Crete would choose a committee of four 'appropriate and capable' Orthodox priests – excluding the 130 priests of the Catholic Archbishop of Crete. The committee, in collaboration with the vicar of the archbishop, would carefully examine the candidate. Only these four members had the right to grant permissions; anybody else tempted to do so was heavily fined.<sup>43</sup> A new committee was to be formed every six months, and the outgoing members could not resume services without a break of six months.

The decree declared that before the candidate priest left Crete to be ordained, he was obliged to obtain documentation addressed to the *rector* of the area where his ordination was going to take place. For his return to Crete, the priest was also obliged to produce similar documents issued by the same *rector*, reporting that the ordination had been carried out in his area by the local Greek bishop. These obligatory steps confirm that the ordination of Orthodox priests was already taking place in areas outside Crete, but probably without following the strict procedure outlined in this decree.

Thus, Venice established a clear and strict procedure for the ordination of Orthodox priests, keeping the issue under her control and at the same time marginalising the local Catholic Church. It is obvious that the participation of the archbishop through a representative in the committee was honorary, since the final decisions remained with the local government. The Cretan government was notified about the decree and the document was ratified and registered in the proceedings of the local Senate.<sup>44</sup> The discussion regarding Orthodox priests in the Cretan council reveals that this problem was primarily of a political rather than a religious nature. According to one of the suggested proposals, 'the matter of the Orthodox priests in Crete concerns the whole island, either the areas or the fiefs owned by the Latin lords or those by the Greek lords; in fact, it is a matter of sovereignty of Venice over the island'. Thus, it was clear that before any decision could be taken a proposal was sent to the Venetian Senate by the Cretan government. The proposal by two other members of the Cretan Senate for the archbishop and the local bishops to collaborate with the local *protopapas* to approve the list of candidate priests was rejected. The

<sup>43</sup> If any of the four priests of the committee gave permission for ordination without the previous approval of the Cretan government, this priest had to pay a penalty of one hundred *hyperperi*. A double penalty of 200 *hyperperi* as well as a year in prison was in place for any other priest or *protopapas* who should issue such permission.

<sup>44</sup> Ratti Vidulich 2007, no. 370.



proposal implied the involvement of the Catholic Church, which Venice wished to prevent.

Along with the ordination of the Orthodox priests, the Candiotte Senate discussed two further issues: the consecration of the Orthodox churches and the Orthodox priests arriving in Crete from other Greek territories.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, no information survives regarding the outcome of the first issue.<sup>46</sup> As regards the second matter, which was more substantial, the decision of the Senate, included in the aforementioned decree of 1360, reveals that the arrival of Orthodox priests and monks on the island was already forbidden; heavy fines were imposed on those who arrived illegally.<sup>47</sup> This severe prohibition excluded travelling priests (*papates viadantes*) who only stopped at the island for a limited time. Upon arrival, these priests were able to obtain a two-month residential permit on the island by registering in the public treasury. Before their departure they had to ensure that their names were removed from the register. Heavy penalties were imposed for those ignoring this procedure. In this way, the Cretan authorities were able to control the mobility of foreign Orthodox priests on the island and, more importantly, their possible anti-Venetian activity.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, the document does not reveal if there was an existing procedure for the ordination of priests prior to 1360. It remains unclear whether the decree was implemented before the outbreak of the revolt of Saint Titus three years later, in 1363, and the temporary overthrow of the existing regime. However, there is no doubt that once Venice had defeated the revolt in 1367, the decree was systematically implemented.<sup>49</sup> In any case, it is only during the first years of the 1390s that the first permissions for ordination appeared.<sup>50</sup> These documents record both the name of the candidate priest, and the name of the person who had applied for permission (usually the feudal lord and owner of the village and church). In some

<sup>45</sup> Ratti Vidulich 2007, no. 369.

<sup>46</sup> The matter of the consecration of Orthodox churches is unclear due to lack of information. It is likely that the *protopapas* or other senior Orthodox priests performed it; see above n. 28.

<sup>47</sup> One of the reasons for prohibiting Orthodox priests from other areas on Crete was also to avoid a competition between local clergy and newcomers. According to the decree, this decision was made in order for 'the foreigners not to steal the bread from the locals' (*ut alieni non surripiunt panem nostratum*). In September 1371, a new decree introduced further penalties for those disobeying this order; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 202r.

<sup>48</sup> For the mobility of priests and monks to or from Crete during the 16th and 17th centuries, see Tsougarakis and Aggelomati-Tsougaraki 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Although the brief new regime during the Saint Titus revolt (1363–7) did not restore the Orthodox Church, a decree dated August 1363 stated that everyone who wanted to be ordained as an Orthodox priest was permitted to travel to any place where there was an Orthodox bishop: Jegerlehner 1903, 101.

<sup>50</sup> For example, see Santschi 1976a, 312–13, nos 1395–1401. See also doc. no. 1.

cases, however, the application was submitted by the candidate himself or even by a regional official, such as the *rector*.<sup>51</sup> Despite these measures, the number of priests gradually increased during the last decades of the 14th century, reaching its peak in the first decades of the 15th century.

The latter period is probably the most interesting in the history of the Orthodox Church of Crete. The Great Schism of the Catholic Church (1378–1417), during which the ordination of Latin bishops was limited, in combination with the lack of interest from Latin bishops and priests in settling on Crete, resulted in the limited presence of the Catholic Church in Crete. However, Orthodox conversions to Catholicism, no matter how limited, alarmed the Patriarchate of Constantinople. As a result, it intensified its activity on the island. Ecclesiastical dignitaries and scholars, like Anthimos of Athens or Joseph Bryennios, sent by the Orthodox Patriarch, were active on the island, seeking to strengthen the religious affiliation of the Cretans and their devotion to Constantinople.<sup>52</sup> In 1414, the Patriarch requested permission to send a delegate to Crete to resolve certain problems of the Orthodox priests (*pro examinando presbiteros suos*). The Serenissima's answer was categorical: 'for the numerous Orthodox priests of Crete there were the appropriate officials (*superiores suos*) [i.e. *protopapas* and *protopsaltis*], who are quite able to instruct them and to solve any problem. Consequently, there is no need for the Patriarch of Constantinople to send any delegate.'<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the great number of ordinations of priests and probably the building and/or rebuilding and the restoration of churches suggest that the Patriarchate succeeded in establishing an implicit presence on Crete.

Due to the systematic recording of all ordinations in the first decades of the 15th century, there is plentiful information about the number of Orthodox priests. Between 16 August and 15 December 1415, fifty-three priests were ordained. All of them originated from the city and district of

<sup>51</sup> On 9 September 1410, the *rector* of Siteia, Gerardo Sagredo, wrote to the Duke of Crete asking permission for Nikitas Perpiras, a resident in the village of Sklavoi, to travel either to Modon or to Coron in the Peloponnese to be ordained priest. After his ordination, Perpiras was to officiate both in the church of his village and in the nearby monastery of Saint Marina; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6, 44r.

<sup>52</sup> For the Latins who embraced the Orthodox rite and vice versa, as well as the presence of dignitaries sent by the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Crete, see Tomadakis 1952; Manoussakas 1960–1; Tomadakis 1978; Thiriet 1981, 491–2; Kountoura-Galaki and Koutrakou 2011–12; Coureas 2015, 182–3. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 43. For the presence of Catholic prelates in Crete, see Fedalto 1981.

<sup>53</sup> Fedalto 1978, 181, no. 466.

Candia.<sup>54</sup> Between 1415 and 1416, documentation indicates a total number of ninety-six ordinations of priests originating from Candia.<sup>55</sup> The numbers are quite significant for such a short period and such a limited area, even if we take into consideration that it was the most populated area on the island at the time.

During the 1390s, the permissions for ordination state that the candidate should travel outside Crete to be ordained. In fact, this issue is determined in the decree of 1360, according to which a candidate priest should only travel to areas under Venetian rule (without mentioning specific territories).<sup>56</sup> However, since there was a close connection between Crete, Coron and Modon, all candidates inevitably chose to travel to these Venetian city-ports in the southern Peloponnese (see doc. no. 2). During the first half of the 15th century, all the confirmations for ordination were issued by the castellan of Coron. This suggests that the ordinations had been carried out in the city of Coron by the local bishop, probably because in Modon the see was vacant during that period. The travels to Coron and Modon were well organised, and thus many of the candidate priests travelled together. Very often, the castellan managed to issue the attestations for all of them on the same day. On 24 July 1424, for example, the castellan of Coron signed twelve such attestations for an equal number of priests.<sup>57</sup>

It is clear that during the first decades of the 15th century there was significant activity relating to religious and ecclesiastical matters which invigorated the Orthodox rite in Crete or, to be more precise, prevented a possible change of the rite. In 1438, the Union of the two Churches according to the Council of Ferrara/Florence marked a turning point for the ecclesiastical state of affairs in Crete and for Venetian policy concerning the rite of the local population. Venice supported the Union policy, but the native people remained extremely anti-Unionist and this may have led to some limited and unsuccessful riots in the city of Rethymnon during the 1450s and 1460s.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Of these, ten were inhabitants of the city; ten originated from nearby villages of Paracandia; and the rest from other villages of the district of Candia.

<sup>55</sup> ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, first folio without numbering recto and verso, and folios 1–49.

<sup>56</sup> See above, 73–4. <sup>57</sup> ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 2r–3r.

<sup>58</sup> For the ecclesiastical policy of Venice in Crete during the 15th and 16th centuries, especially after the Union of the Churches, see Tsirpanlis 1967b; Tsirpanlis 1972–3; Gounaridis 2001; Despotakis 2015. The new terms that Venice tried to implement in the ecclesiastical and religious context of Crete after the Council of Ferrara/Florence contributed to the outbreak of the conspiracy movement of Sifis Vlastos in the area of Rethymnon in 1453–4, as well as to another similar attempt in this area in 1460–2; see Manoussakas 1960.

During the late 14th and the early 15th century, when the number of Orthodox priests had dramatically increased, it became difficult for a priest to find a church to officiate in, especially in the cities.<sup>59</sup> It seems that usually they had to wait for a vacancy and, when this materialised, it was necessary for the Venetian authorities to give permission for their appointment. Unlike the candidate priests who resided in the cities, the priests in the countryside were very often sons of priests who followed in their father's footsteps and officiated in the church of their village or at least of a neighbouring village. The great number of churches in the Cretan countryside also absorbed many urban priests who were unable to find a church to officiate in. If there was a need for a priest, it was the owner of the village, and not the priest himself, who had to submit the relevant request (see doc. nos 1, 4). If the village had more than one owner, then each had the right to request a priest for his share. In the case that a village was divided between heirs, each party usually tried to employ a different priest, even if there was just one church in the village.<sup>60</sup>

For an 'outsider' priest (i.e. not native to the rural area) to officiate in a church, the owner of the village had to offer him a church, or land to build one on, as well as arable land, animals and a house to live in (see doc. nos 8, 9, 12). In this way, an 'unemployed' priest was able to find 'work' and the feudatory a new farmer for his land. Finally, the convents would also offer a church to 'unattached' priests. In this case, the priest was obliged to live in a nearby village and certainly not within the monastery (see doc. no. 3).

Thus, during the first decades of the 15th century, in most of the Cretan villages there was probably at least one priest, while in some of them there were more than one, depending on the size of the village and/or the

<sup>59</sup> In 1410, the priest Markos Pavlopoulos complained to the Doge of Venice that he was unable to find a church in the city of Candia to officiate in, because all of them had their own priest (... *io non poria trovar glexia, perche tute quante ha so preti* ...); see Manoussakas 1961, 168.

<sup>60</sup> For example, in 1360, the siblings Giovanni and Elena Ghisi shared their paternal property in the village of Hagios Vasileios. Among the villeins that Giovanni obtained there was the priest Theodoros Mitsopoulos, while in his sister's share there was also another priest, named Damianos Mitsopoulos; see Gasparis 1997, 345–6. In 1414, the property of the late Giorgio Zampani was divided between his heirs. In each one of the two shares a priest was included, namely Nikephoros and Nikitas Katsatouris; see Gasparis 1997, 355, 358. It is not a coincidence that in each case the two priests officiating in the same village belonged to the same family. In 1416, Francesco and Zanachi Venier owned the village of Avgeniki. According to the report of the local castellan to the Duke of Crete, while Zanachi's share had an allocated priest, Francesco's did not; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 43r. These cases suggest that the two priests probably officiated in two different churches. By contrast, in 1416, following a dispute, the court of Candia decided that each one of the two owners of the village of Kamares could appoint a priest to officiate in the Church of Saint Nicholas, which had remained shared between the owners and the residents of the village; see Chaireti 1974, 335.

number of its owners.<sup>61</sup> The Cretan government was aware of the significant number of Orthodox priests searching for a church to officiate in and, at the same time the desire, of the villagers for priests. Therefore, the authorities tried on the one hand to meet the needs of the Orthodox worshippers and on the other to control the distribution of priests in the countryside by avoiding the concentration of more than one priest in each village.<sup>62</sup> Venice accepted, however, the presence of more than one priest in a village when that village had a great number of inhabitants or was shared between various feudatories. Hereinafter, when a request for a priest in a village was submitted, the district (*castellania*) authorities, namely the castellan, had first to ascertain and confirm that there was an actual need. Thus, in 1416, the Cretan government ordered the castellans of the island to investigate every village in their jurisdiction for which they had received a request for a priest. The castellans were obliged to report on two issues: the number of the inhabitants of the village and the presence (or not) of another priest (see doc. no. 4). The authorities would decide on the appointment of a priest based on this report.<sup>63</sup>

The widespread distribution of Orthodox priests as well as the shortage of Catholic priests in the Cretan countryside forced Venice to take more measures. According to a decree issued by the Venetian Senate in 1418, the metropolitan authorities were worried about the Catholic residents in the

<sup>61</sup> In 1416, three different persons, i.e. Micheletto Corner, Marco Dandolo and Nicolo Mussuro, owned the village of Badia in the area of Monofatsi. According to the report of the castellan of Belvedere to the Duke of Crete, previously there had been two priests in this village, because forty-eight inhabitants used to live there. At the time the report was filed, only the share owned by Marco Dandolo had a priest; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 47v.

<sup>62</sup> A similar phenomenon is attested also in other Venetian colonies, such as the islands of Corfu and Euboea. According to a decree dated 1416, issued by the Venetian Senate, the number of Orthodox priests on the island of Euboea had increased, mainly because they were exempted from the *angarie* (compulsory services), which was against the interest of the Venetian state (*non bene stat quod sint tot Greci presbiteri pro bono status nostri*). Thus, it was decided that a committee of ten or twelve Venetian citizens would be appointed, in order to define the exact number of Orthodox priests necessary to meet the needs of the local population. Once this number had been reached, no further ordinations were allowed; see Sathas 1882, 153; Fedalto 1978, 183, no. 474. A decree dated 1425 communicates a similar matter on the island of Corfu. The local Venetian authorities observed that the number not only of the Orthodox priests, but also of the Orthodox churches had increased either in the city of Corfu or in the countryside of the island. Consequently, the construction of new churches was forbidden; the breaking of this rule carried a penalty of one thousand ducats; see Sathas 1882, 302.

<sup>63</sup> For example, in 1433, Dimitris Fokas, to ensure such an appointment, reported the lack of priests in two churches of a state village in the region of Rethymnon. Furthermore, he highlighted that the inhabitants of these villages were abandoning their homes, thus neglecting the land and consequently harming Venetian interests. The fact that the authorities granted his petition without further delay highlights not only the importance of the presence of a priest in rural society but also that the Serenissima was very aware of it; see Noiret 1892, 362.

Cretan countryside, who were opting to attend Mass in Orthodox churches and were relying on Orthodox priests for the sacraments. The Senate offered some economic benefits to encourage Catholic priests to move to the villages and/or the castles of Crete. This measure, however, was not successful.<sup>64</sup> On the contrary, by 1429, according to the Venetian Senate, 'the Orthodox priests in Crete [were] constantly multiplying'. This was partly due to the appointment of a new Orthodox bishop by the Despot of Morea in Mani in the southern Peloponnese, who claimed the right from the Orthodox Bishop of Venetian Coron to ordain Cretan priests. According to the document, 'the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the consent of the Byzantine Emperor, appointed the new Orthodox bishop after the request of the priests of Crete, who wished to be ordained by the bishop of Mani and not by the bishop of Coron'.<sup>65</sup> This founding of a new bishopric was actually a counteroffensive on behalf of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to attract some of the Cretan priests who would be ordained exclusively by the Bishop of Venetian-ruled Coron or Modon. In fact, the ordination of new priests never stopped.<sup>66</sup> Thus, in 1454, after the Union of the Churches and the local unrest that followed,<sup>67</sup> the Council of Ten in Venice issued a new decree, which forbade any new ordination of Orthodox priests for five years.<sup>68</sup>

Once more, this decision reflects the Serenissima's great concern about the subversive role of the Orthodox priests against both the Venetian dominion over the island and the Union of the Churches. Venice accused the Orthodox priests of Crete of encouraging the rebellion by Sifis Vlastos in the district of Rethymnon in 1453–4 through fabricated letters from the Byzantine Emperor defending the Orthodox rite (*conservatores secte Grecorum*). Venice's anticlerical propaganda peaked during the second half of the 15th century, especially after further riots in the district of Rethymnon in 1460–3.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Noiret 1892, 267. Four years later, in 1422, the Venetian Senate issued a further decree, which suggests the ineffectiveness of the first; see Thiriet 1959a, no. 1832.

<sup>65</sup> Noiret 1892, 337–8.

<sup>66</sup> The Cretan authorities continued to give permission for ordination from time to time, but as an exception to the prohibition of 1429 and on the strict condition that it would take place exclusively in either Modon or Coron, and not in Mani; see Noiret 1892, 354.

<sup>67</sup> See above, n. 58. <sup>68</sup> Manoussakas 1960, 100.

<sup>69</sup> In 1461, for example, a document of the Venetian Council of Ten notes that 'the revolt at Rethymnon was instigated by the Orthodox priests, our enemies' (*rebellio proxima Rethimi processit a papatibus inimicis nostris* ...); see Manoussakas 1960, 115. Another decree of the same Council, dated 1462, also notes 'the danger that occurred during past times because of the treason of the Orthodox priests and monks against our city of Rethymnon and the whole island of Crete' (*considerando periculum contra civitatem nostram Rethimi et statum nostrum in insula*

The first half of the 15th century was undoubtedly a tense period in the religious affairs of Crete. The Union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and the desire of Venice to support attempts to find compromise between the two rites of the Christian world led to some turbulence in Crete, but did not cause any serious problems. Venice continued to support the Union of the Churches until the 16th century, when the great danger of Ottoman expansion forced the Serenissima into pro-Orthodox policy, to ensure the support of the Cretan population.

### 2.2.2 The Churches

As has been demonstrated, the forced coexistence of the Orthodox and Catholics was a consequence of the political and ecclesiastical circumstances on Crete after its conquest by Venice. Throughout the period of Venetian rule in Crete (1211–1669) the Greek Orthodox population remained the majority, and thus the main places of Christian worship on the island were always the many Orthodox churches. It is, therefore, necessary to clarify their status, namely their ownership and use, as well as their spiritual jurisdiction, for which very little evidence survives.<sup>70</sup> The Orthodox monasteries, composite religious, social and economic units with special characteristics, are included in this study only to the extent that they generally included a church.

As the Catholic worshippers formed a minority which was mainly concentrated in the cities, at least during the first half of the 13th century, it is assumed that initially their religious needs were fulfilled by the conversion of some Orthodox churches to the Catholic rite. Moreover, at least one main church was quickly built in every city, either by the Catholic Church or by monastic orders that arrived on the island. In Candia, for example, the local Venetian authorities erected the ducal chapel of Saint Mark, while the old Orthodox Church of Saint Titus became the see of the Archbishop of Crete and the ‘cathedral’ of the Cretan capital.<sup>71</sup> However, over the years and mainly from the 14th century on, the number of Catholics increased in both cities and villages and consequently the need for more churches became apparent. Unfortunately, there is no information on how Venice and/or the Catholic Church dealt with this issue; it seems that a solution was provided either by building new churches in the

*Crete, superioribus temporibus occursum propter prodicionem a papatibus et caloieris processam ...*); see Manoussakas 1960, 126–7.

<sup>70</sup> For the status of the Orthodox churches in Crete and their administration, see Bonn  lie 2003–5.

<sup>71</sup> For the cathedral of Saint Titus in Candia, see Georgopoulou 2001, 109–20.



cities or by using Orthodox ones in the villages – the latter not without causing local conflict.<sup>72</sup> It is interesting that from the second half of the 14th century onwards churches began to appear that were designed to serve both rites simultaneously.<sup>73</sup> It is very difficult to estimate the number of Orthodox or Catholic churches on the island, especially during the 13th century. In 1320–1, the Venetian officials listed 144 churches and monasteries in the city of Candia and its suburbs, as well as in the state villages of its hinterland.<sup>74</sup> The majority of these belonged to the Orthodox rite. Furthermore, a contract dated 1330 lists fifty Orthodox churches in the suburbs of Candia.<sup>75</sup> It is safe to assume that the Orthodox churches outnumbered their Catholic counterparts.

The ownership (*auctoritas, dominium, dominium temporale*) of a church primarily meant that the owner (archbishop, bishop, patriarchate, state or individual) possessed full rights of exploitation, which directly or indirectly provided revenue. In particular, an individual could also bequeath a church to their heirs. Irrespective of their ownership, the churches could depend ‘spiritually’ (*auctoritas spiritualis, dominium spirituale, ius pastorale*) on an ecclesiastical dignitary, which in the case of Crete was the local Catholic Church (archbishop or bishops). This ‘spiritual’ dependency probably implied that a contribution was offered by the owner to the archbishop or to the bishop.

A church was an entity with a religious and a secular aspect. It was primarily the place where the Mass and sacraments were celebrated, and the worshippers could pray at any time. In addition, a church was an asset consisting of various elements, such as a main building, a cemetery or arable land, as well as houses or a hospice, a hospital or internal tombs for those in the cities. A church was managed either directly by its owner, if he was a priest, or usually indirectly through being leased by its owner to a priest. In either case, the ultimate overseer of a church was the priest who officiated in it, used its property and maintained the building, its icons and

<sup>72</sup> Such local rivalries do not usually leave traces in the sources, unless they were officially settled; see Papadaki 2009.

<sup>73</sup> For the churches used by the worshippers of both rites, see Gratziou 2010, 127–83.

<sup>74</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 56–71.

<sup>75</sup> In November 1329, Micelino, a maker of crossbows, donated in his will a significant amount of money to all Orthodox churches located in the suburb of Candia. Some months later, Nikolaos Argyromitis, priest in the church of Panymnitos, signed a receipt for two *hyperperi*, noting that ‘the donor had left one hundred *hyperperi*, that is two *hyperperi* for each Orthodox church (*ecclesie grecorum*) in the suburb’; see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 319r.



its wall paintings.<sup>76</sup> There were, nevertheless, cases in which a church was shared between the priest, who officiated in it, and the owner, who benefited from its property.

In Crete during the Byzantine period, the churches were owned either by the Orthodox Church (patriarchate, archbishop and bishops) or by the landowners in the countryside (private churches); all churches were under the authority of the Orthodox Church. After the conquest of Crete by Venice, the local Byzantine officials were replaced by the Venetian local government, the Orthodox by the Catholic Church, and the greater proportion of Byzantine landowners by Venetian feudatories. This strategy, simple in theory, proved difficult to implement in practice, especially with regard to the churches. Matters of ownership and control of the churches were much more complicated than authority over the Orthodox priests.

Three parties owned all the churches on Crete, regardless of whether they were Orthodox or Catholic: the Venetian state, the Catholic Church and individuals (mainly feudatories, both Venetian and Greek, or others in the cities). While the share of each of these parties in the total number of churches cannot be determined, estimates can be made. The Venetian state possessed a significant number of churches in the cities and especially in Candia, as well as all the churches in Candia's hinterland (Paracandia) and the state villages.<sup>77</sup> The Catholic Church possessed all the parishes of the Catholic and Orthodox churches in the cities and in the villages, while the feudatories owned the greatest proportion of the Orthodox churches in the Cretan countryside. Finally, several non-feudatory owners are also recorded, mainly in the cities and/or in the castles of Crete. The disagreements between feudatories and the Venetian state or Catholic Church were much fewer, probably because the status of the private churches was clear. Nevertheless, some disputes between feudatories and the archdiocese regarding churches on private land and in houses existed, but usually the two parties reached an agreement.<sup>78</sup> The aforementioned disagreement between Venice and the Catholic Church concerning the churches of

<sup>76</sup> For example, in 1374, the Church of Saint Anne in the village of Assounia was leased along with its pergola and fig trees to the monk Nikodimos. The tenant was obliged to maintain not only the pergola and fig trees, but also the church's mural decoration (*quam quidem ecclesiam teneris cum dicta pergola et ficibus et pictura intra eius posita in culmine manutenere*); see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 13, notaio Egidio Valoso, 185v.

<sup>77</sup> For example, the Church of Saint George in the village of Ambroussa near Candia belonged to the state, because the state also owned the village. The priest Kyriakos Sepe, who was a state villein, rented that church; after his death in 1370, the church was leased via a court order to Kyriakos' brother Georgios, also a priest, with an annual rent paid to the state treasury in two instalments; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 2, 154r = doc. no. 7.

<sup>78</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 248–51.

Candia and its hinterland was very serious – although there is no surviving evidence for similar disputes in the other main cities of Crete.<sup>79</sup> Despite that disagreement, or maybe because of it, the two parties occasionally controlled the same church: the state would own it, but the person who managed it made an annual contribution to the archbishop in recognition of his ‘spiritual authority’.

During the period of Venetian rule, the land was considered to be state property and was redistributed to the appropriate parties. Among the former landowners were the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, the local archbishop and bishops, the monasteries and the churches. At the time of the first dispatch of colonists from Venice to Crete in 1211, the Doge divided all the land of the former Orthodox archbishopric and bishoprics of Crete into three parts, only one of which came into the possession of the newly established Catholic Church on the island; the other two passed to the Venetian state and the future feudatories. Furthermore, Venice ceded the Cretan territory of the former Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople to the new Catholic Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the same time, it confirmed all land already owned on the island by the Orthodox monasteries of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai and Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos.

The dispute between Venice and the Catholic Church about the authority over priests, churches and land property in the city of Candia and its hinterland arose in 1248 and only ended several decades later, in 1323. Thus, in 1248, after the archbishop had protested about his land property, the Duke of Crete ordered an investigation in order to clarify which of the villages and the monasteries of the former Orthodox archdiocese were either under the control of the Catholic Church or under the jurisdiction of the Venetian state and the feudatories.<sup>80</sup> Since the archbishop protested again eighteen years later, it is likely that this investigation never took place. The dispute between the two parties ended with arbitration by Pope Clement IV, who promulgated a bull in June 1266 with his proposals. According to this document, the archbishop would own ‘the parish churches, the monasteries and the charity foundations located in the suburbs of Candia with their courtyard, cemetery and priest house’, while the churches and the oratories (*ecclesie et oratoria*) within the feudatories’ houses would remain in their possession.<sup>81</sup> The Doge of

<sup>79</sup> See above, 69–70. <sup>80</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 188–95.

<sup>81</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 134–8 and especially 137. The Catholic Church continues in the present day to classify sacred places into four categories: churches; public chapels (*oratoria*); private chapels; and semi-public chapels (places where worship is reserved for specific groups). In the Venetian

Venice accepted and ratified the bull, and in March 1267 the Duke of Crete was obliged to implement the Pope's proposals.<sup>82</sup>

The dispute resurfaced in 1320, during the investigation of ecclesiastical land property. The new claim requested a better definition of the rather vague term of 'suburbs' (*burgi*) in the 1266 bull. According to Venice, the Catholic Church illegally possessed churches which were located on plots or in houses owned by feudatories and consequently private. After a systematic and detailed investigation in 1323, the land property (villages, arable land, monasteries) belonging to the archbishop and his churches in the area of Candia and the state villages were finally added.<sup>83</sup>

In an attempt to clarify their ownership, the churches were classified according to their location and the time of their construction. First, the boundaries between the old and the new suburbs of the city were agreed upon, and subsequently the churches were divided into: those located inside the walls; the old suburb; the new suburb; the periphery of the city outside the new suburb; and the state villages. They were also divided into old and new churches; the latter group was further subdivided into those constructed on the ruins of an older church and those erected on an empty plot.<sup>84</sup> Although the meaning of the term 'old church' (*ecclesia antiqua*) is not clear, it is certain that it included all Byzantine churches which had already existed before the arrival of the Venetians, but also all those erected during the first half of the 13th century and certainly before the 1266 papal bull. Again, the category of 'old churches' included those raised on the ruins of older churches, as well as those thoroughly renovated. The investigation and decisions made in the years 1320–3 constituted a landmark in the ownership of the churches, because it offered a clear procedure for the construction of any new church. In turn, it eliminated any controversy about ownership.

According to the classification of the churches, Venice retained all the churches inside the city walls, the old churches in the old suburb and all the churches located in the state villages. The Catholic Church acquired the new churches in the old suburb and all churches in the new suburb of Candia. Finally, the feudatories kept the churches located on their land and within their houses in Candia. A similar arrangement was probably introduced in the cities of Chania and Rethymnon. There is no equivalent information about the churches in the Cretan countryside, since the feudatories owned almost all the churches and there was no dispute

colonies, the Catholic Church included also the private churches, as was the case in the Byzantine Empire; see Rando 1994, 92–8.

<sup>82</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 138–9. <sup>83</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 248–54. <sup>84</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 56–71.

between Venice and the Catholic Church. However, existing documentation reveals that some of the churches in the villages, especially the parish ones, were under the authority of the Catholic Church, insofar as they made a contribution to the archbishop or the local bishop.

The Orthodox and Catholic parish churches were under the authority of the Archbishop of Crete and all worshippers were obliged to attend Mass and celebrate the sacraments there. This was a source of significant revenue for the archbishop and bishops, and thus the local authorities forbade the worshippers from using private churches for the holy sacraments. In any case, the private churches were restricted mainly to the owner's family and occasionally to other people on the saint's feast day.

Not every village had an Orthodox parish church. As far as the parish Catholic churches are concerned, during the 13th and 14th centuries very few were located in the countryside. Ownership of the parish churches in the countryside remains unclear. Although these churches were generally owned by the feudatories, the archbishop or local bishop received a certain annual contribution from some of them at least. Any other church in the villages (apart from the parish church) was under the complete control of its owner. In the case of the village having more than one owner, all churches including the parish church remained in common use by all inhabitants. The common use of a church became necessary when Venice implemented the allocation of just one, or exceptionally two, priests for each village.<sup>85</sup>

The freedom of the Orthodox population to fulfil its religious obligations according to its rite, as well as the existence of Orthodox priests, contributed to the restoration of existing churches or construction of new ones in the cities and villages of Crete.<sup>86</sup> A major stimulus for such activity was the earthquake of August 1303, during which a significant number of churches collapsed or suffered severe damage.<sup>87</sup> The necessary building activity that followed the devastating earthquake offered owners and worshippers the opportunity to produce additional and/or new monumental decoration.

<sup>85</sup> Whenever two or more owners shared a village, the churches were always used in common by the inhabitants of the village. Phrases like *tute le glesie romanica commune* or *glesie e aque e pascoli sia comuni* are frequently found in documents concerning sharing of land; see Gasparis 1997, 347, 350, 362.

<sup>86</sup> For the construction of churches in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Bonnélie 2003–5, 148–51. See also Gratziou 2010, where the construction and the restoration of numerous churches in Crete after the arrival of the Venetians is discussed, as well as their architectural style in relation to the political and ecclesiastical context of the time.

<sup>87</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, 75–80.

It is not certain that a procedure was in place for the construction of a new church or even the restoration of an old one. Documentary evidence demonstrates that at least during the 14th century the consent and permission of the Catholic Church for the construction of a new church was not necessary, especially when the church in question was private.<sup>88</sup> The only requirement for building a new church was the landowner's permission, which determined the ownership of the church. Thus, it was either the Venetian state or the Catholic Church (archbishop and bishops) or the feudatories who issued permits for church building, to one or more persons; these people in turn supervised the church, either directly or indirectly. The owner's permission was required for any kind of renovation in the church. Not infrequently, the owner of the plot (that is, the Catholic Church, a monastic order or a feudatory, and not the state) undertook the construction of a church.

The term 'founder/donor' (κτίτωρ), used in the inscriptions on a church, usually refers to the person(s) who paid for the construction of the church and not necessarily to the owner of the land – although in some cases they would have been one and the same. If a church was built on public land, the founder would have paid for the building and not the Venetian state. Similarly, a person or group of persons who built a church on feudal land was regarded as the founder and not the feudatory, although the latter had to offer the land to begin with.<sup>89</sup> According to the agreements between the two parties, the founder either had the *ius patronatus privatus* and paid an annual rent or a simple right of recognition to the owner of the land. When the founder was not a priest, he would concede the church and its property either to a priest or to any other person to manage it. If the tenant was a layman, then he would in turn concede the church to the priest to officiate in it and use its property (see doc. nos 8, 9).<sup>90</sup>

Thus, we find in many cases a series of persons with different roles and rights in the same church: the owner or tenant of the land, the founder of the church, one or more tenants of the church and finally the priest. Each one of them, apart from the landowner (unless they occupied public land for which a rent was required), had to pay rent to the person who had

<sup>88</sup> Gasparis 2016b. See also doc. nos 5, 6, 13. However, in another case the permission for the construction of a church was given by the Bishop of Arion and the vicar of the Catholic archbishop; see Tsirpanlis 1985, no. 158. In this case, Gratziou 2010, 115–16 suggests that this church supported the Union of the Churches, something, however, which is incompatible with the period.

<sup>89</sup> On this issue, see Kalopissi-Verti 2012a.

<sup>90</sup> Tsirpanlis 1985, no. 164. For additional information on ways in which the churches were usually conceded to individuals, see Bonnélie 2003–5, 152–6. See also doc. nos 10, 10a, 10b.

conceded the church to them. The priest of a parish church, either in the city or in a village, also had to pay an annual contribution to the Catholic archbishop or to the local bishop.

As mentioned above, in addition to the actual building, a church incorporated other elements, which provided revenues for its owner or administrator. Such elements were usually the cemetery, tombs inside the church, houses or a hospice, a well or a wine press, arable land, vineyard, garden or orchard.<sup>91</sup> The property of a church was usually the result of 'investments' made by the founder or a tenant, as well as of donations made by the Venetian state or the Catholic Church.<sup>92</sup> The feudatories had no right to donate to any person or 'institution' all or part of their land, since the Venetian state was the real proprietor of Cretan territory. However, it seems that individuals had found an indirect way to donate or bequeath land to churches, monasteries, charitable foundations or even to the poor, by conceding the revenues (crop or rent) deriving from them. This practice seems to have been quite common, since it prompted the Venetian state to forbid such bequests in 1393.<sup>93</sup>

In general, the most prosperous churches were those located in the cities, especially the parish ones, because of their estates and the number of the worshippers. At the same time, the village churches attracted priests because of the arable land and/or of the house they usually included. A property providing revenues made a lot of churches a significant asset, and

<sup>91</sup> For example, in 1325, the brothers Raniere and Francesco Zeno leased to the stone carver Ioannis Siteiakos the Church of Saint George *dello Parati* in Candia, which the same brothers had previously leased from the Venetian state. The church included tombs inside the building, houses and a well. The new tenant also obtained the right to construct within the church new tombs next to the existing ones, in order to significantly increase his revenues; see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 141v. The next year, Perio de Liberio leased to the priest Therianos the Church of Saint Moni in the suburb of Candia with 'all its *ginechitiis* (*gynaikonitis*: section only for women) and its cemetery'; see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 148v. In 1426, Giovanni Stolfo claimed back the Church of Saint Mary Manolitissa in Candia, because the tenant, the priest Michalis Kalophronas, had not paid the agreed rent. This church had been leased with 'all its niches, cemetery, icons and other ornaments, along with some other houses'; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 5, f. 54r-v (= doc. no. 11). Finally, in 1427, the parish priest of the Catholic bishopric of Chersonissos, Nicolo da Molin, resident of Candia, claimed back from Maria, widow of the priest Ioannis Kalaptis, the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Chersonissos along with 'its cemetery, big and small houses and its trees'; see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 6, 67v-68r.

<sup>92</sup> In 1388, Andreolo Civrano was appointed priest of the Church of Saint Anthony in the suburb of Candia. On this occasion, the Venetian Senate recognised an earlier donation (*gratia*) of the state village of Apano Trifonas, made by the Venetian state to the aforementioned church, and imposed certain rules on the collection of the contributions; see Noiret 1892, 24-5, 52.

<sup>93</sup> In the same decree, the Senate proposed that any feudatory wishing to make a donation could specify in his will that his executors ought first to sell the land and then donate the money; see Noiret 1892, 55-6.

this is among the main reasons that these churches were in great demand, not only from priests interested in their survival, but also from secular people looking for profit. If a church had no assets apart from its building, then the only revenues for the priest or owner came from the congregation's donations.<sup>94</sup>

A village church in the Cretan countryside certainly attracted landless priests to secure the means for their survival. In addition, the feudatories also benefited, since by satisfying the religious needs of their peasants they were in a position not only to maintain but also to attract increased workforce. The landowner would sign an agreement with a priest, offering the usual annual contributions: arable land, animals and house, if the priest was not already a resident of the village (in this case, the priest was a free person who had the right to relocate), and an existing church or a space to build a new one. In many cases, the landowner also loaned money to the priest to restore or to build the church with a proportionate increase in the annual contributions.<sup>95</sup>

It would be naïve to assume that the decoration and iconographic programme of the Cretan churches remained unaffected by their historic

<sup>94</sup> The monk Nikodemos, the tenant of the Church of Saint Anne in the village of Assounia (see n. 76), paid as annual rent half of the profit collected during the saint's feast day (*totam et integram dimidietatem totius lucri quod Deus misserit in die Sancte Anne*); see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 13, notaio Egidio Valoso, 185v. For further examples, see Gratziou 2010, 118–23.

<sup>95</sup> A contract signed on 2 July 1385 highlights an interesting case. Frangula, widow of Mosè Giustinian, leased to the Orthodox priest Kostas Metaxaris, resident of the village Kroussonas, for ten years the 'parish' of the same village, along with land. Metaxaris had the right to build a house at his own expense. The annual rent was fixed at three *hyperperi* and three geese. The priest, if he wished, could also build a second house next to the first; in this case, Frangula would pay for the construction of the walls and Metaxaris for the roof. Furthermore, a clause in the same agreement allowed for the priest to build a church in the village, for the expenses of which Frangula was expected to give him twenty *hyperperi*; see ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 273, notaio Nicolo Tonisto, 4r = doc. no. 12. In this document, the term 'parish' (*enoria*) means the ecclesiastical unit to which the worshippers belonged and which in this case seems to have included the whole village. In other words, the church that Metaxaris would build and in which he would officiate was going to be the main (parish) church of the village, with him as the only priest. In this way, a possible serious rivalry between more churches or priests in one village was prevented. The cases of rivalry between priests were frequent in big villages and/or castles, where more than one parish church or more than one priest coexisted. Such disputes usually had financial motives. For example, in 1450 a conflict erupted in the castle of Bonifacio between the Orthodox priests Georgios Papastratigopoulos and Ioannis Servataris. The former, who had officiated in the parish church of the castle, declared that the latter, in officiating in another church, compromised his interests. After an investigation, the appropriate authorities confirmed that the Cretan government had indeed, in 1445–7, granted to Servataris permission to build a church on a public plot in the castle, for his loyalty to Venice, but on the strict condition that he not impair the revenues of the already existing parish church see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 8, q. 2, 113r = doc. no. 13. Unsurprisingly, the authorities were in favour of the parish church.



context. But what exactly were the main factors in creating the iconographic programme of a church? Specific persons and particular local needs, the general social and religious context, or a combination of both? The long Byzantine visual tradition remained dominant in these programmes, combined with secondary iconographic details reflecting the new social and religious conditions.<sup>96</sup> Contracts commissioning paintings do not usually define the exact content of the decoration. When such instructions are provided, they usually express the explicit wishes of the owner and/or donor.

For example, in 1331 the painter Nicola Vassalo signed an agreement with Marco Mudazzo, to decorate the Church of Saint Mary, located in Mudazzo's village of Varvaroi (present-day Myrtia). According to this agreement, the murals had to be completed to the satisfaction of the donor and owner (*ad tuum libitum*). In a similar contract dating from 1353, the painter Giovanni Gradenigo undertook to paint the Church of Christ the Saviour in the city of Candia according to the instructions of its owner, the monk Daniel Gastrea (*et teneor facere in dicta ecclesia omnes ystorias quas ordinabis mihi*). In another quite interesting contract of 1371, the painter and priest I. (sic) Franco undertook to paint the Church of Saint George in Costanzo Gerardo's village of Kyrmoussi. According to the agreement, 'every surface of the interior of the church, either the walls or the niches' (*tam muros eius quam voltas ... itaquod nichil restet de ipsis vacuum*) should be decorated in the same manner as the Church of the Saviour in the village of Tylissos. Although it is not expressly written in the agreement, it was probably the owner of the church who made that choice. Finally, in 1421, the priest Markos Savopoulos commissioned the painter Angelos Apokauchos to paint the scene of the Last Judgement in the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels located in the suburb of Candia,<sup>97</sup> the iconographic cycle at the core of this publication. The popularity of Hell scenes in the monumental decoration of the island and the enrichment of their content with new elements (as outlined in Chapter 3 of this volume) were the result of the political, social and economic context, together with the natural and agricultural landscape of medieval Crete, as outlined in this present chapter.

<sup>96</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 194–204.

<sup>97</sup> Cattapan 1972, nos 26, 27, 28, 31. For the painter Apokauchos, see Stathakopoulos in this volume, 44. For the relation between a painter and his clientele, see Lymberopoulou 2010a.



## 2.3 Earthly and Heavenly Justice: From Sin to Crime, from Crime to Sin

Crimes and offences are timeless, permanent characteristics of life; some are punishable by both earthly and heavenly justice, others only by the latter. There is no uniform type of crime and sin across time, place and society.<sup>98</sup> It is commonly accepted that crimes are those acts that are defined as such in any given era; in other words, crimes are human acts that the political and judicial authorities within the parameters of a specific society label accordingly.<sup>99</sup> Consequently, they should be studied within their overall cultural context.

Medieval urban and rural societies included every kind of physical or moral crime. The moral dimension of an offence, particularly during the Middle Ages, acquired great importance, since society was governed by strict religious rules. Whether or not punishable by human law, every offence was accountable before divine justice at the Last Judgement and the punishment was Hell.<sup>100</sup> This belief offered to an extent a social relief and a reassurance that nobody could escape justice in some form.

On Venetian Crete, Hell is populated by the damned who during their lifetime committed various crimes, ranging from extremely serious to lesser offences, all punishable according to the penal code. Thus, the sinners first experienced earthly punishment followed by that inflicted by God – both violent and humiliating.

The judicial system enforced the Venetian law (*Statuta Venetorum/Venetiarum*) on Crete.<sup>101</sup> According to their statutes (*statuta iudiciorum*), when the judges on Crete were unable to pass sentence on the basis of the Venetian penal code, they were allowed to take into consideration other similar cases (*de similibus est ad similia*), or to consult the recognised local ‘habits’ (*secundum consuetudinem approbatam*), or finally to base their decisions on their conscience (*sicut iustum et equum eorum providentie apparebit*).<sup>102</sup> The term ‘habits’ describes the law applied in Crete during

<sup>98</sup> For the idea of crime in the Middle Ages, as well as the emerging role of the state in its punishment, see Rousseaux 1996 (esp. 22–3); Hanawalt and Wallace 1999.

<sup>99</sup> Rousseaux 1997 (with extended bibliography on the subject).

<sup>100</sup> Maguire 1994, esp. 232–5.

<sup>101</sup> In a decree of the Great Council of Venice dating from 1440, it is stated that Crete is governed according to ‘our laws and statutes’ (*nostris legibus et statutis est gubernata*); see Cozzi 1980, 33, n. 5. The Venetians of Crete, according to their embassy to the Doge in 1459, were aware that the laws on the island ‘imitate the laws of Venice’ (*imitatur Venetias in legibus*); see Noiret 1892, 449.

<sup>102</sup> The statute of the judges of Crete is edited by Gerland 1899, 93. See also Santschi 1975, esp. 15–17 and 24, n. 41.

the previous Byzantine period.<sup>103</sup> Besides, Venetian and Byzantine law had common roots in the Roman penal code and the Christian faith.<sup>104</sup>

In the Byzantine Empire, 'the penal code as a collection of behavioural rules actually constituted a moral code' and 'the punishment was gradually formed into an act of repayment and restoration of the law and order that had been disturbed'.<sup>105</sup> A similar philosophy characterised the medieval penal code of Venice. At its core lay the *Promissio maleficiorum* of 1181, which was developed in 1232 into the *Promissio de maleficio* by the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo. Tiepolo elaborated, finalised and implemented the penal code of Venice, the well-known *Statuta Venetiarum*, in 1242.<sup>106</sup>

Not surprisingly, the primary aim of the Venetian penal code was to maintain social stability and peace. Thus, the punishments were invariably cruel, in order to prevent a repeat offence. The 13th-century Venetian penal code, which with small amendments survived for two more centuries, included detailed instructions for the punishment of four main crimes: theft, assault, murder and rape.

Just like the Byzantine penal code, its Venetian counterpart classified punishments into four main categories: capital punishment; corporal punishment (mutilation, flagellation etc.); imprisonment; and fine (which included the confiscation of any asset). To these four punishments, the loss of personal freedom and exile should be added. Depending on the seriousness of the crime and the social status of the perpetrator, any one of the punishments or a combination of more than one could be imposed. The punishments for wealthy or noble citizens of Venice or inhabitants of Crete were predominantly high fines, since they could afford to pay them, in contrast with people of lower social and economic strata, who were usually sentenced to imprisonment.<sup>107</sup>

The scenes depicting sinners in the murals of Cretan Orthodox churches acted as a reminder to the worshippers that every crime or offence

<sup>103</sup> In Crete, the Byzantine customs concerned rules regulating land ownership and use of the land or family affairs, rather than criminality; see Maltezou 1995.

<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, very few Cretan penal cases from this period survive in the Venetian archives. Before the 15th century, all judicial cases were recorded in separate files, from which only thirteen cases have been preserved; see Santschi 1970. The surviving cases suggest a procedure resembling that in use in Byzantine times. From the 15th century onwards, penal cases were registered alongside their civil counterparts; see Santschi 1976a, 1976b. These cases (*sentenze civili, memoriali*), along with various decrees, are important sources of information; see Ratti Vidulich 1965; Santschi 1976a.

<sup>105</sup> Troianos 1997a, esp. 14, 16; Troianos 2014, esp. 528–59 (respectively).

<sup>106</sup> On the Venetian, and especially penal law, see Ruggiero 1978; Cozzi 1980, esp. 32–5; Padovani 1995.

<sup>107</sup> On imprisonment in medieval Crete, see Tsougarakis 2014.

corresponded to a sin that could not possibly remain unpunished, even if the perpetrator had managed to escape the clutches of the earthly law. The scenes convey a twofold message: to deter people from committing an offence or crime (a sinful act), and to satisfy those who were the victims of an unpunished offence or crime (a sinful act). Initially, the majority of the sins depicted reflected everyday life in the medieval cities, but gradually sins specific to rural life were also added. Thus, a villager could easily understand the meaning of a sin depicted in the church and its consequences for the person who committed it. Moreover, since the inscriptions accompanying the scene would not have been understood by the majority of people, who at the time were illiterate, the tools and/or parts of the human body employed by the painters explicitly represented a specific sin and a sinner, rendering them easily recognisable by the congregation.<sup>108</sup>

This section proposes to explore the Cretan rural congregation's understanding when confronted with Hell scenes. It also explores the sins that were considered crimes punishable by the Venetian law in Crete, or at least the aspect of these sins that constituted a clear violation of the law. In turn, this presents an opportunity to assess which of these crimes/offences were committed on the island, their frequency and their punishment.

The sins represented in the Cretan wall paintings correspond to crimes which could be grouped in different ways. The most usual classification includes categories of crimes against the person, property, the government and public order, public decency, religion and various others.<sup>109</sup> To examine the specific context of the Cretan Hell scenes, crimes have been grouped into the following six categories:

1. The eternal and universal crimes both in urban and rural contexts, such as murder, theft and robbery;
2. Infringements and offences committed by professionals who were active either in the city or in the village, such as millers, tailors, weavers, tavern keepers, and those cheating at the scales;
3. Infringements and offences committed by professionals who were active mainly in the cities, but were also in frequent contact with villagers, such as the moneylender as usurer (ζουράρης / *zouraris*) and the notary as a forger (ψαλσογράφος / *falsografos*);
4. Offenders and 'sinners' in everyday life in both cities and villages, such as adulterers, fornicators, witches and perjurers;
5. Offenders and 'sinners' exclusively in rural life, such as the superintendent (*curator*), the man who reaps over the boundary line (παραθεριστής /

<sup>108</sup> Gerstel 2002, esp. 215. <sup>109</sup> Rousseaux 1996, 11–12.

*paratheristis*) or the man who ploughs over the boundary line (παραυλακιστής / *paravlakistis*); and

6. Offences relating to religious life and the observance of church rules, as well as infringements committed by the clergymen in both urban and rural contexts.

The offences of the first three categories are undoubtedly subject to justice and punishment according to the law. From the remaining three categories, some of the transgressions could be punishable by human law, while others constitute sins punishable only by heavenly justice.

Probably due to the substantial urban redevelopment that took place in Crete's main cities on the north coast, most of the Hell scenes currently survive in churches in the island's countryside.<sup>110</sup> Consequently, some of these scenes addressed its rural society. While painters employed traditional patterns in representing Hell, it seems likely that in certain cases they introduced a new figure or highlighted another, in order to reflect better the specific social context of their commissioned church.

### 2.3.1 Murder, Theft and Robbery

Gangs of robbers presented a serious problem for vulnerable medieval rural societies. Protection against these was provided by the fortified villages or houses owned by the landowners. Officials, the so-called *capitanei contra furtis*, were responsible for recording the complaints of robbery victims and forwarding them to the judicial authorities. The castellan was responsible for keeping order in the villages in his district with an armed guard that in some cases administered justice.<sup>111</sup> According to Venetian law, the punishment for robbery depended both on the economic damage and the degree of bodily harm the victim had suffered.

Theft was very common in both cities and villages. The urban context offered endless possibilities to thieves with its diverse social and economic strata. In the countryside, thieves were primarily interested in animals and less in material wealth (e.g. tools, agricultural products, furniture or other precious items). In the Venetian penal code, theft was the only crime for which punishments were carefully described. Based on the value of the

<sup>110</sup> See above, 90 and n. 97 on the evidence of the existence of a Last Judgement in the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels in the suburb of Candia.

<sup>111</sup> For the office of the castellan and his role in the Cretan countryside, see O'Connell 2003, 161–77. See also the *Capitularium Castellatorum* in Gerland 1899, 103–4, articles 8 and 17.

stolen property and the degree of bodily harm inflicted, the punishment for theft ranged from a simple lashing to the loss of an eye or to hanging.<sup>112</sup>

Animals were an important asset for the medieval farmer and livestock theft had serious financial consequences for the victim. Thus, Byzantine law distinguished this from any other theft. It was classified according to the number and kind of animals stolen, e.g. stealing whole flocks or a great number of large animals (cows, mules etc.). Stealing just one animal constituted a simple theft and was considered a comparatively lesser crime.<sup>113</sup> The kind of punishment for an animal thief was determined also by the place from which the animals were stolen (i.e. open field or enclosed space). If the thief was a repeat offender, the punishment was severe. Additionally, the social status of the thief and/or the victim influenced the sentence. As an 'urban' state, Venice did not include livestock theft in her penal code; this was adjusted for Crete and provision was made for punishing offenders according to the value of the stolen animals.<sup>114</sup>

Murders and assaults were recorded in both the cities and the villages. Rich documentation exists concerning murders and serious assaults in the Cretan countryside.<sup>115</sup> In the eyes of the Venetian law, the penalty for simple assault was just a fine; punishment for a violent assault, however, was left to the judge's discretion. Rape was a distinct crime, which depended on the status of the victim: whether the woman was a virgin, unmarried but not a virgin, or married. The rape of women or young boys was common in both the cities and villages of Crete.<sup>116</sup> Since assault and rape were not considered primary crimes, the imposed punishment was either imprisonment or fine. Murder, however, especially premeditated,

<sup>112</sup> Ruggiero 1978, 245. See also Piasentini 1992, where the author examines the intensity of the phenomenon following serious political unrest, natural disasters or famine and plagues.

<sup>113</sup> Byzantine law qualified as 'serious' crime the theft of one large animal (e.g. cow, ox, mule, horse), ten sheep or four to five pigs; see Nakos 1997.

<sup>114</sup> In medieval Crete, goats and sheep were often stolen because they were an easy target, while oxen, the main animal used for ploughing, and cows presented a (literally) sizable challenge for the thieves. For an example of cow theft, see Ratti Vidulich 1965, no. 319.

<sup>115</sup> In the archival series of judicial decisions, the so-called *Memoriali*, from the archive of the Duke of Crete (*Duca di Candia*) in the State Archive of Venice (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*) there are numerous references to injuries following assaults. These documents provide not only the names of the aggressors and of the victims, but also state the types of wound inflicted and the name of the doctor who prepared a report for the authorities; see some examples in Santschi 1976a, *Memoriali*, nos 93, 117, 118, 119. Furthermore, in the series of ducal decrees (*bandi*) from the same Archive of the Duke of Crete (*Duca di Candia*), there are also numerous documents concerning accused or suspects who were called to defend themselves in court. This documentation suggests that acts of violence were common in rural Crete; see an example in Ratti Vidulich 1965, no. 385.

<sup>116</sup> For such cases see, Ratti Vidulich 1965, nos 155, 338; Santschi 1976b, 48–9, 50–3.

was punishable by death, very often including ritualistic mutilation and execution.<sup>117</sup> The image of the moribund being led to the place of execution with his severed hand hanging around his neck recalls images of sinners in the Hell scenes.<sup>118</sup>

### 2.3.2 Professional Transgressions (Millers, Tailors etc.)

Among the professionals who broke the law in both urban and rural contexts, the miller holds a significant position, since this was a very important occupation in rural societies. It is related to the theft in weighing the product transported to the mill, or to the end product received by the client, or even to the quality of the end product. A miller could also be accused of withholding water for his water mill and harming the neighbouring lands. The frequent offences committed by millers did not usually end up in court, either because they were difficult to prove or because the affected parties did not have the means of reporting them to the judicial authorities. This is certainly a case where the belief in divine justice was highly important: it is likely that seeing a miller suffering in Hell offered any affected community member a sense of retribution.

The *parazygistis* (παράζυγιστής) in Cretan Hell clearly signifies a man who cheats at the scales. However, no such complaints have been identified so far in judicial sources. In fact, this was an illegal act that hardly affected the countryside, and the threat of Hellfire was perhaps the best way to prevent it. The potential wrongdoers were people associated with agricultural trades, such as millers, *curatores*, merchants or even landowners. The so called *ponderatores* or *mensuratores*, the appointed officials in the state service of *Statara Communis* in the Cretan cities, were responsible for weighing the products delivered by the farmers to the state or the merchants. Alongside these officials, there were also certified professionals who carried out such weighing. Since weighing was directly connected to the collection of duties, appointed officials, the so-called *iusticiarii*, were responsible for ensuring the use of the right weights and measures.<sup>119</sup> In any case, whether in the city or in the village, cheating at the scales was treated as theft and punished according to the value of the stolen product.

<sup>117</sup> Ruggiero 1978, 245–6, 250. See also Santschi 1976b, 50–8.

<sup>118</sup> The image of a sinner in Hell with the object of their sin around their neck is very old, in both the Byzantine and Latin worlds; see Albani 2016, 379.

<sup>119</sup> For the offences committed by tradesmen, and especially the outcome of a sale based on falsified weights and measures in the Byzantine Empire, see Papaïanni 1997. For the state office of weighing and its personnel, see Gasparis 1989, 122–8.

Other professional sinners featured in Hell were the tailor and the weaver – the latter always female. Although production of fabric and clothing were usually part of domestic rural activity, the contact of peasants with such professionals either in the city or in the village was not rare. Nevertheless, such professions were more common within an urban environment. The offences a tailor and/or a weaver could have committed were related either to withholding part of the fabric, the bad quality of the texture, or the over-pricing of the end product.

The tavern keeper, male or female, is another sinner encountered in Cretan Hell. There were numerous taverns in the Cretan city-ports as well as in the castles in the vast countryside. Taverns were associated with immorality, violence and drunkenness. Quarrels that led to injury or murder, as well as gambling and prostitution, were frequently committed in medieval taverns.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, the tavern keeper, just like any other merchant, was able to cheat his customers (e.g. over-charging for poor-quality and watered-down wine and other drinks).

### 2.3.3 Usurers and Notaries

While moneylenders and notaries were mostly active in the cities, from the second half of the 13th century on they also frequented the Cretan countryside. The peasants used them either to borrow money (as loans became an important part of the rural economy) or to sign an agreement. A place in Hell is reserved for usurers and forgers of documents, basically for those in these two professions who exploited villagers in need. Although no sinner in Cretan Hell is identified as a pawnbroker, this group should also be added here. Despite acting within the parameters of the law, they met with the Church's disapproval, since they took advantage of the misfortunes of others. Pawnbrokers were active in the villages, where impoverished farmers pledged valuable objects in exchange for money.<sup>121</sup>

Contracts (i.e. written agreements between two or more parties) became very popular in both medieval urban and rural environments, from the 13th century onwards. Hence, the illiteracy of most of the population at the time created problems in drafting such contracts. In addition, while the languages used on Crete in everyday life were Greek and Italian, the

<sup>120</sup> For example, in 1388, Fricel de Lubliana, 'scalper' in a butcher shop of Candia, murdered Giuliano de Arimino after a fight in a tavern while playing dice. Fricel was sentenced to be blinded in his left eye and to have his left hand cut off; see Santschi 1970, 90. For taverns in medieval Crete, see Gasparis 2019.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Morozzo della Rocca 1950, no. 32; Ratti Vidulich 1965, no. 82.



contracts had to be drawn up in Latin. Thus, notaries were in a position to falsify documents, either for their benefit or for the benefit of one of the participating parties. In Crete there is rich documentation about illegalities committed by notaries, mainly in wills and in contracts facilitating the appropriation of money.<sup>122</sup> Falsification of a document was a serious crime, usually punishable with a fine in both Venice and the Byzantine Empire.<sup>123</sup> Depending on the seriousness of their crimes, notaries could either temporarily or permanently lose their professional licence, which would see them deprived of an income, or even be sentenced to death.

Associated with the latter crime was that of perjury. Any artisan, professional, civil servant or official, including a notary, who violated their duties and brought other people into harm's way, could be considered a perjurer, and they often found themselves in the fire of the Cretan Hell.

### 2.3.4 Sins of a Social/Moral Nature

The most frequently encountered Cretan male and female sinners are identified in inscriptions as  *pornos*  and  *porni*  respectively. In modern Greek, the word means 'prostitute'. However, while this translation is correct in certain cases (see below), in medieval society the word covered a wider spectrum and thus 'fornicator' is a much more appropriate translation.<sup>124</sup>

Prostitution was not a crime in the eyes of the law, unless it was associated with criminal activity. In Byzantium, the law punished only procurers.<sup>125</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the procuress (a woman in charge of a brothel, *μουλιστρα*, which literally means 'seductress' or 'temptress'), is found among the sinners in Hell in some Cretan examples.<sup>126</sup> Such examples further support the translation 'fornicator', which in turn incorporates a variety of sins, starting with adultery.

In medieval society, adultery was punishable by law, especially when it led to separation and divorce. In Byzantium, after the Justinian era, adultery was classified as a crime thanks to the influence of the Church. This law defined adultery as the extramarital affair of a married woman, while the affair of a married or unmarried man with an unmarried woman was designated as prostitution (*πορνεία*).<sup>127</sup> The Isaurian *Ecloga*, dated to the 8th century, describes as fornicator (*πόρνος*) a married man who has

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, Ratti Vidulich 1965, nos 133, 145. <sup>123</sup> Pitsakis 1997.

<sup>124</sup> See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, 157–8. <sup>125</sup> Troianos 1997b, 181.

<sup>126</sup> Mavromatis and Panayiotakis 2015, 154–7, 209. For Cretan examples see cat. nos 7, 19, 45, 70, 83, 98 and 100.

<sup>127</sup> Vassilaki 1986, 42.



sexual relations with another woman. In the Macedonian era (9th–11th centuries), the declared punishment for an adulteress was cutting off the nose, exile and confiscation of property.<sup>128</sup> In Venice, the sentence for adultery depended on the social status and condition of the parties involved. In Crete, female adultery and abandonment of the marital home were punished either by imprisonment or divorce or, in some cases, the forced return of the guilty party to their marital home (see doc. no. 14). The punishment for a man committing adultery either against his wife or with a married woman also varied but was invariably more lenient compared with that for women. Cases of adultery that involved the misuse of the wife's dowry or murder generally ended up in court.<sup>129</sup> Another form of adultery was keeping a mistress (*concubina*), who in some cases might cohabit with the legitimate wife under the same roof (see doc. no. 14).

Bigamy, another form of adultery, was a distinct crime, committed almost exclusively by men who wished to appropriate a dowry.<sup>130</sup> It usually carried a moderate punishment, primarily a fine, which often failed to deter avaricious Venetians, since the dowry was invariably higher than the fine.<sup>131</sup> In Crete, a number of documents record bigamy.<sup>132</sup>

Finally, the fornicator (πόρνος) could also be associated with homosexuality or sodomy, sexual behaviour that was severely punished by both divine justice and the penal code.<sup>133</sup> In Venice, especially from the 15th century onwards, homosexuality was punishable by death;<sup>134</sup> Byzantine law had similar measures in place against homosexuals.<sup>135</sup>

Witchcraft, mainly associated with women, presented a significant problem for medieval Christian societies. During the Early Modern period, and especially in the Catholic world, a wide range of criminal activity was associated with witches, such as spells, potions, divination and sorcery.<sup>136</sup> Such activities led to serious charges; in medieval Crete, although there is no doubt that such women were active, evidence for convictions is scarce.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Leontaritou 1997, 216–19; Troianos 1997b.

<sup>129</sup> See, for example, Santschi 1976b, 53–8 and doc. no. 15.

<sup>130</sup> In Byzantium there are records of female bigamists: Leontaritou 1997, 222–3.

<sup>131</sup> Ruggiero 1978, 247. <sup>132</sup> Ratti Vidulich 1965, no. 370.

<sup>133</sup> See an example of rape and sodomy in a Cretan village in Santschi 1976b, 48–9.

<sup>134</sup> Ruggiero 1978, 252; Moschonas 2002.

<sup>135</sup> Pitsakis 1993; Troianos 1997b, 192–4. There is no evidence that female homosexuality was punishable by Byzantine law, probably because it would have been easier to conceal it; see Leontaritou 1997, 222; Troianos 1997b, 193–4.

<sup>136</sup> For the activity of the sorcerers and their role in the Byzantine society, see Troianos 1993; Merghiali 1997.

<sup>137</sup> For such a rare case, see Santschi 1970, 91–6. See cat. nos 35, 45, 46, 50, 65, 76 and 78(?), where a witch is included among the sinners; in the last example the sinner is male.

A group of acts that led the offenders directly to Hell was related to family and female everyday life. While these offences were condemned by the Church, they were not always punished according to the penal code. They relate to childbearing, the raising of children and everyday social contact and behaviour. This category includes, for example, women who either produced or drank potions in order not to conceive. In addition, those who helped women not to conceive and/or to abort a foetus might be considered 'witches'.<sup>138</sup> In the eyes of the Church, such activities were equivalent to murder and unsurprisingly considered mortal sins. The penal code regarded abortion as a punishable crime if it either led to the woman's death or if her husband complained.<sup>139</sup>

The exact meaning of the sin of a woman who 'refuses to nurse a baby' (η μη θηλάζουσα τα νήπια / *i mi thilazousa ta nipia*) or 'refuses to nurse another's baby' (η μη θηλάζουσα ξένο βρέφος / *i mi thilazousa xeno vrefos*) or 'rejects babies' (η αποστρέφουσα τα νήπια / *i apostrefousa ta nipia*) is rather vague. The first case could refer to a woman who for psychological or social reasons refused to nurse or care for her baby: the same as a woman 'who rejects babies'. During the Middle Ages infants were often abandoned, because of a pregnancy outside marriage or a household in serious financial difficulty.<sup>140</sup> In 12th-century Byzantium, however, the abandonment of an infant was considered equivalent to premeditated murder and therefore its parents, if apprehended, were prosecuted.<sup>141</sup> The rich evidence recording this activity confirms that it was a widespread phenomenon on the island.<sup>142</sup>

The sin of the woman 'who refuses to nurse another's baby' seems to be a different case. The high mortality of women in childbirth or the inability to produce breast milk led affluent families to use wet nurses. The paid service of a wet nurse could be considered a sin when the agreement was not honoured, while refusing to nurse an orphan was a serious sin worthy of punishment in Hell since it put the baby's life at risk. However, although the Church considered it to be a serious sin, this act was not punishable by law and, consequently, cannot be traced in the sources.

Finally, another group of mainly (but not exclusively) female sinners in Hell consists of those who eavesdrop on others, gossip, lie or spread false

<sup>138</sup> See an example in Santschi 1976b, 63–9. <sup>139</sup> Troianos 1987.

<sup>140</sup> Eastburn Boswell 1984. In medieval Europe people either abandoned children (*expositio*), or gave them to a religious institution to bring them up (*oblatio*). For medieval society, the *oblatio* was an almost pious act, since it was believed that the child would have a better and happier life within a religious community.

<sup>141</sup> Leontaritou 1997, 215–16.

<sup>142</sup> Maltezou 1987a, esp. 221–2. See also two examples in Ratti Vidulich 1965, nos 142, 288.

rumours harming members of the local society (η παρακαθήστρα / *i parakathistra*; η σουρεύτρα / *i soureutra*; η παραφουκραστρέα / *i parafouk-rastrea*; η καταλαλούσα / *i katalalousa* and ο καταλαλών / *o katalalon*; η ψεύτρα / *i pseutra*). This behaviour definitely violated the moral code of the Christian faith, but it did not break any laws.

### 2.3.5 The Sins of the Farmers

A place in Hell is also reserved for all those who have committed offences related to peasants' daily work and financial obligations. According to Sharon E. J. Gerstel, 'no scene better exemplifies the desire for the orderly peasant life recommended by the Farmer's Law than the representation of agrarian sinners in Hell'.<sup>143</sup> The superintendent (*curator* / κουράτορας / *kouratoras*), i.e. the agent of the feudatory and owner of the land cultivated by the farmers, held a leading role in rural society. He was generally a resident in the same village and responsible for monitoring the proper course of agricultural and livestock holdings, collecting the annual contribution of the peasants to their feudal lord, and storing the agricultural products in the lord's warehouse.<sup>144</sup> He represented therefore a form of authority among the villagers and was in a position to abuse his power by pressing the farmers. The image of the *curator* in Hell acted as a deterrent for such people, offering them a glimpse of their eternal life as a warning against the cruel, unjust or unlawful conduct of state administrators towards peasants.<sup>145</sup> It is obvious that such conduct was considered a sin, but not against the law, unless it brought harm to others. However, no such cases have been identified in the sources so far.

The preposition *παρα*<sup>146</sup> is the prefix of the terms defining all those who take part in the next group of the damned; it refers directly to any kind of infringement, illegal activity and misconduct related to rural life. These are men who reap over the boundary line (*παραθεριστής* / *paratheristis*) or plough over the boundary line (*παραυλακιστής* / *paravlakistis*) and those

<sup>143</sup> Gerstel 2002, 217.

<sup>144</sup> For the superintendent (*curator*) and his role in the Cretan villages, see Gasparis 1997, 56–7.

<sup>145</sup> Baun 2007, 256 wrote that the Apocalypses of the *Theotokos* and of *Anastasia*, which describe tours of Hell, show no mercy to corrupt officials. According to this author (252), an archon and a priest were the two types of authority figures with whom the average person in medieval times came into contact – and this is certainly true of rural Venetian Crete.

<sup>146</sup> The Greek preposition *παρα* as a prefix could be identified with the English prefix *dis-*, *un-*, *in-* (in the sense 'against'), used in words that define a person who violates the law or the rules, like 'unlawful', 'illegal', 'disobedient' etc. The same prefix exists also in the Greek terms for other sinners, for example the gossipers (e.g. *παραφουκάστρα*), who disrespect social rules.

cheat at the scales (παραζυγιαστής / *parazygiastis* or παρακαμπανιστής / *parakampanistis*).

In all these cases, the offences were punishable if a complaint was made. Anybody reaping over the boundary line was also guilty of theft, since they effectively appropriated another's product. The boundaries of the fields were well defined, and the farmers were obliged to maintain them.<sup>147</sup> Thus, contracts and land registers often include relevant clauses or land marking. The control and sometimes the redefinition of the field boundaries, in the case of a complaint, were made by the castellan or his secretary; fief boundaries were the responsibility of the appropriate officials, called *partitores communis*. The authorities paid similar attention to damages to cultivations and boundaries caused by animals that were left free or unguarded by their owners (see doc. no. 16). In all cases concerning boundaries, the responsible officials used as witnesses either the *curator* or villagers who were able to offer testimony. The Byzantine law of all periods, from the 6th to the 15th century, included matters of land ownership and punishment for any related offences.<sup>148</sup>

### 2.3.6 Religious Sins

The offences in the context of religious life and the violation of the Church's rules primarily incurred moral and ecclesiastical condemnation, even more so when committed by priests. Hence, the priest who did not take care of his church, or those who opted to sleep in on a Sunday rather than attend the liturgy, or did not bring offerings to the church, or gossiped during the Mass, all belong in this category and incurred divine condemnation. However, the penal code also condemned serious offences such as sacrilege, heresy, proselytism and blasphemy.<sup>149</sup> There were two types of punishable blasphemy – that committed by members of a specific faith group and that committed by believers outside this group. In Crete, where two different rites of the same faith existed side by side, blasphemy closely related to daily life was committed either by the worshippers of the same rite against 'God, Saint Mary

<sup>147</sup> For the farmers' obligation to take care of the land boundaries (hedges or ditches), see Gasparis 1997, 152–3.

<sup>148</sup> Nakos 1997, 152–6. Among the various Greek terms defining the violation of the boundaries and the appropriation of foreign land there are also: περί ὄρων ἰθυστέων, ἀποκίνησις ... ἄλλοτριῶν ὄρων, παρόρισις αὐλάκων τοῦ πλησίον, ἀρπάζων γῆν, μετατιθεῖς τὰ ὅρια.

<sup>149</sup> According to Byzantine law, such crimes were: apostasy, idolatry and proselytism, heresy, sacrilege, disturbance of the holy faith, the violation of ecclesiastical asylum, magic, divination and superstition, and grave robbing see Troianos 1979. For blasphemy in the legal traditions of Christians, Jews and Muslims, see Tolan 2016. See also an example of heresy and conversion in Santschi 1976b, 72–9.

and the Holy Saints' or by those of one rite against the other. The first case was punished either with a day in the pillory (*berlina*) or with a fine of five *hyperperi* (see doc. no. 17). Blasphemy against the Catholic Church by Orthodox worshippers was considered very serious, because of the potential anti-Catholic and anti-Venetian sentiment it might imply (see doc. no. 18). There is no doubt, however, that the blasphemers depicted among the damned in the Orthodox Cretan churches identify those who swore against God and the saints rather than against the Catholic faith.

Orthodox and Catholic priests and monks who committed crimes were tried and punished as laity.<sup>150</sup> The impact of sinful acts committed by priests and/or monks on the local society carried more weight than any transgression committed by the laity. However, not only the priests, but also their wives had an important position in local society and were expected to lead by moral example within the community (see doc. no. 20). It is not a coincidence that Byzantine Hell includes in its flames the priest's wife who either fornicates or remarries.

\* \* \*

The representation of Hell and its punishments, as already noted, was a powerful deterrent mainly for crimes which were not subject to legal sanction, or for which culprits could easily avoid punishment. If for the rural population the scenes of Hell and its sinners were an indirect reminder of how 'crimes' would be punished in the afterlife, for city residents it was the earthly Hell which directly confirmed the consequences of any kind of illegality and crime. In fact, the execution of any punishment in public spaces was a re-enactment of what certain Hell scenes of the Orthodox churches depicted. It is worth noting that in both western Europe and the Byzantine Empire so-called 'mirror punishments' existed, which reflected the biblical penalty 'an eye for an eye'. These punishments aimed at maiming the body part responsible for the crime, or torturing the perpetrators in the same manner in which they had harmed their victims.<sup>151</sup> The 'mirror

<sup>150</sup> For example, in 1320 the Catholic Church protested that its 130 priests were judged and condemned by the ducal court or other secular courts, and not by the archbishop. Venice replied that this was the appropriate way, since the offences committed by the priests were covered by the civil or criminal code. To document this response and constitute a precedent, the Cretan authorities gathered and recorded older convictions of priests by secular courts; see Tsirpanlis 1985, 149–66. The moral decline of Orthodox priests on Crete during the 14th century is mentioned by Joseph Bryennios after he visited the island; see Stathakopoulos in this volume, 42 (section 1.4). See also two examples in Santschi 1976b, 69–71 and doc. no. 19; Aalberts 2000.

<sup>151</sup> In the Byzantine penal code, for example, we find the following punishments: the cutting off of the tongue in the case of perjury; the cutting off of the hand in the case of forging coins; the

punishments' of any penal code had parallels in the representations of Hell, where the sinners are eternally tortured.

The city residents not only witnessed public executions, but were also aware of the places (*locus tormenti* or *camera tormenti*) and the methods of inquisition used by the appropriate officials to obtain a confession, prior to trial and sentencing. Some of the punishments imposed and carried out (usually in public), as well as the ways of inquisition, strongly recalled the scenes depicting the damned in Hell.

The most common torture used to induce confession was hanging by a rope (*expositus ad cordam tormenti* or *expositus ad cordam tormenti sine lapide*), which could be accompanied simultaneously by a heavy stone being hung from the tortured man's legs for several hours (*positus ei ad pedes unus lapis ponderis L librarum in quo stetit bona hora*). Furthermore, if the accused continued to deny the charges, the torturers added a series of drops up and down or pulls (*saccata/sibi data una saccata*) and swinging (*cavalla/sibi date due cavalle una post aliam*), which made the hanging excruciatingly painful. The image of the accused hanging with a stone in the interrogation room is strongly reminiscent, for example, of the miller with a millstone hanging from his neck in Hell.<sup>152</sup>

The detailed descriptions of punishments in judicial documents create harsh images, which acted or were at least intended to act as deterrents, even in the eyes of people familiar with such spectacles.<sup>153</sup> A condemned man who remained in the pillory or peg for hours or even days on end, the mutilation of body members (a finger or fingers, a hand or hands, an eye or eyes, the nose etc.), a condemned man walking in the city streets naked and often carrying his amputated member around his neck, shouting out the crime that he had committed, and finally an execution by hanging or burning, were all scenes of Hell on earth. While these terrifying images, painted and real, did not deter everyone from committing crimes, they certainly must have deterred some from risking such a gruesome fate.

cutting off of the penis in the case of bestiality; the burning alive of arsonists responsible for fire within a city; and the cutting off of the hand of arsonists responsible for fire outside a city. The 'mirror punishments' survived in the Byzantine penal law for centuries, but it seems that they were actually rarely implemented. In western European medieval penal law, these punishments had a stronger judicial power and were more various compared to those in the Byzantine Empire. They were also included in the feudal law of the Assizes, implemented in Latin-dominated Greek territories excluding Crete; see Pitsakis 2002.

<sup>152</sup> The Gospel according to Mark 9:42 also employs the same image: 'And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.'

<sup>153</sup> For a panorama of punishments carried out in Crete during the 16th century, probably no different from those in earlier centuries, see Tsakiri 2008, 127–258, esp. 256–8. See also Tsakiri 2015.

## 2.4 Documents

1. Ordination. Permission granted by the Cretan authorities to Georgios Mouristos and Ioannis Lalachos, the former resident in the suburb of Candia, the latter in the village of Kalyvia, at the request of Marco Marsiliano and Donato Dandolo respectively, to travel outside Crete to be ordained priests by an Orthodox bishop. 18 March and 5 April 1391.

*Die XVIII marcii 1391.*

*Data fuit licentia Georgio Muristo habitatori burgi in Nea Moni eundi extra insulam pro faciendi se ordinari clericum grecum ab episcopo greco et hoc ad petitionem Marci Marsiliani sutoris.*

*Die V aprilis 1391.*

*Similis licentia data fuit Iohanni Lalacho habitatori casalis Calivia ad petitionem ser Donati Dandulo.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29bis, q. 22/5, 33v)

2. Certificate. The castellan of Coron and Modon certifies that Ioannis Kafouros was ordained priest by the Orthodox Bishop of Coron. 16 August 1415.

*Spectabiles et egregii amici carissimi significamus vobis, quod iuxta relationem nobis factam per episcopum nostrum grecorum Ianni Caffuro promotus est ad officium sacerdotale per ipsum episcopum nostrum iuxta mores grecorum. Et ideo ad instantiam et requisitionem literarum vestrarum providimus hec vobis significare, paratus et cetera.*

*Marchus Dandulo Coroni et Mothoni castellanus.*

*Koronii die XVI augusti 1415*

*Recepta die XXI augusti 1415*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 1r)

2a. Certificate. The castellan of Coron and Modon certifies that Georgios Gerakas, son of the late priest Ioannis, was ordained priest by the Orthodox Bishop of Modon. 1 October 1415.

*Egregii et potentes amici carissimi notificamus vobis, quod lator presentis Georgius Geraca quondam papatis Iohannis, qui cum literis precessoris nostri receptis XXVI mensis elapsi ad has partes accessit pro faciendo se fieri papatem grecum, de nostra licentia per episcopum nostrum grecum huius loci promotus extitit ad sacerdotale officium secundum consuetudinem grecorum, paratus et cetera.*

*Michael Trivisano Coroni et Mothoni castellanus.*



*Data Motoni, prima mensis octubris 1415*

*Recepta die VII novembris 1415*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 10v)

3. Appointment. Permission granted by the Cretan authorities to the priest Ioannis Sourianos to celebrate Mass in the nunnery of Messambelitis, but not to reside there. 1 February 1403.

*Per dominationem dat fuit licentia papati Iohanne Suriano calogero confessori, quod possit ire ad monasterium de Messoabeliti, in quo habitunt calogree, et celebrare in ecclesia Salvatoris, que ibi est, in diebus Dominicis et altris diebus festivis divina officia et non possendo ibi habitare.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 11, q. 12, 1v)

4. Report by Antonio Abramo, castellan of the castle of Bonifacio (present-day Monofatsi), to Pietro Civrano, Duke of Crete. Upon request of the feudal lord Antonio Pasqualigo, the Cretan authorities ordered the castellan to visit the village of Kouradochorio and ascertain whether a priest was positioned there, as well as how many people lived in the village. The castellan reported that he personally visited the village and questioned several of its inhabitants. He confirmed that the village did not have a priest and relied on the priest from the nearby village of Ligortynos for religious services. The castellan estimated that eighteen families lived in Kouradochorio and concluded that there was a great need for a priest. 24 July 1416.

*Magnifico et potenti domino Petro Civrano honorabili ducha Crete et eius consilio Antonius Habramo castellanus castri Bonifacii cum omnia reverentia et recommendatione se ipsum recepi litera dela signoria vestra a petitione del nobel homo ser Antonio Pasqualigo commandandome che io debia cavalchar al casal Curadochorio et examinar diligentemente sel habita algun papa in lo dito casal et sel fo usado che habitasse per altri tempi papa et quante famegie habitano al dito casal notificando ala signoria vestra como lo ho cavalcado alo casal Curadochorio et ho examinado pluzion persone zura per sacramento como non habita in lo dito casal algun papa ma dalo casal Ligordino vien altro papa et officia lo dito casal. Apreso o fato nonbrar le case et fameie habita in lo sovrascrito casal et o trovato habitar fameie XVIII al mio parer e dè bisogno al dito casal papa et la manificentia vestra commanda como ipsa e piase.*

*Die 24 iulii 1416*

*Recepta die 25 iulii 1416*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, 46r)



5. Permission granted by the Cretan government to the priest Ioannis de Gruera to complete the building of the Church of Saint Anthony, which he had founded in the city of Candia and which was formerly forbidden by the local authorities. 27 September 1390.

*Millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo, mense iulii, die vigesimo septimo, indicione tertiadecima.*

*Per magnificum dominum Dominicum Bono honorabilem ducham Crete et dominum Maurum Caravello consiliarium, absente domino Anthonio Bembo altero consiliario, concessum fuit de gratia papati Iohanni de Gruera quod possit complere illam ecclesiam quam fecit fundari in civitate sub vocabulo beati Anthonii, non obstante precepto alias sibi facto per dominationem oretenus, ut non prosegueretur laborerium dicte ecclesie et quod fideiussio ob hoc sibi accepta cancelletur.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 11, q. 11.1, 39v)

6. Controversy between Thodoria wife of the noble Leonardo Gradenigo and the noble Giacomo Abramo about a church that Thodoria claims she built in the village of Aitania. The Cretan government ordered the castellan of Pediada to investigate on whose land the church was built. If the land belonged to Thodoria, she could complete the building of the church. If the land belonged to Abramo, then Thodoria had to stop the construction immediately. 3 August 1450.

*Pediade*

*Per altre nostre letere rescrivessimo sopra la differencia che pende tra la Todoria del nobele homo ser Lunardo Gradenigo d'una parte e lo nobele homo ser Iacomo Abramo del'altra per I glesia che la dita Todoria fa lavorar in lo logo de Athania; e per questa te replichemo soto brevità che debis andar in persona e veder se la dita glexia vien hedificada su lo logo dela dita Todoria e, se cussi è, debis quella far percomplir, se veramente vien hedificada su lo logo del' Abramo, debis farli commandamento che non la lavora, perchè, se cussi sera, perderà la favrega d'esa et [ . . . . . ]semo<sup>154</sup> cum servacion dele raxon de intrame le parte.*

*Data die III augusti 1450.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 8, quaderno 2, 120v)

7. Lease for a church. The Duke of Crete rented to the priest Georgios Sepe the Church of Saint George in the village of Ambroussa, which belonged to the Venetian state, for an annual rent to be paid in two six-monthly

<sup>154</sup> Square brackets indicate illegible words.

instalments. Sepe was obliged to pay the rent to the Public Treasury until the authorities decided who was entitled to this rent. 19 July 1370.

*Anno Domini MCCCCLXX, mense iulii, die XVIII, indicione VIII. Per magnificum dominum Iohannem Gradonico honorabilem ducham Crete et dominum Petrum Gabriel consiliarium, absente domino Andrea Bredani altero consiliario, dictum et ordinatum est quod ecclesia Sancti Georgii posita in casali nomine Ambrussia, quam tenebat papas Kyriako Sepe quondam villanus comunis, detur ad afflictum papati Georgio Sepe fratri dicti quondam papatis Kyriaci ad officiandum eam cum conditione quod ipse teneatur dare omni anno pro affictu ipsius tantum quantum inveniri et haberi potest ab aliis personis cum veritate. Quem quidem afflictum ipse solvere debeat in duabus pagis, videlicet in fine quorumlibet sex mensium pagam unam, scilicet medietatem dicti affictus, et hoc duret ad beneplacitum dominationis. Et pecunia dicti affictus presententur in camera comunis et ibi conserventur quousque per dominationem fuerit determinatum cui spectare debeat dictus affictus.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 2, 154r)

8. Lease for a church. Ioannis Apladas, resident in the village of Kounavoi, rents to the priest Grigorios Foscolo half of his church dedicated to Saint Michael and located in the suburb of Candia, along with half of its cemetery, for one year with a rent of eight *hyperperi*.<sup>155</sup> The owner was responsible for maintaining the church in good condition. 21 October 1385.

*Die vigesimo primo. Manifestum facio ego Iohannes Aplada habitator casalis Cunavus, quia cum meis heredibus do, concedo atque afficto tibi papati Gregorio Foscolo habitatori Candide et heredibus tuis medietatem ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Iese et medietatem sui cimiterii michi tangentem, positam in burgo Candide, amodo usque ad annum unum proxime venturum, itaque in dicto tempore possis omnes tuas utilitates et voluntates in ea et ex ea facere, nemine tibi contradicente, et pro affictu dicte ecclesie et sui cimiterii, silicet pro anno predicto, habui et recepi a te yperpera cretensia octo. Quam quidem ecclesiam teneor omnibus meis expensis manutenere et conservare. Est autem sciendum quod dictum annum debet incipere a die quo tibi dedero clavum ipsius mee ecclesie et teneor tibi ipsam presentare usque ad quintadecima proximi mensis. Si igitur contra hanc manifestacionis cartam irre temptavero, tunc emendare debeam et cetera. Pena yperpera XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes ser Phylippus Capello et ser Georgius Chercoli. Complere et dare.*

(ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 273, notaio Nicolo Tonisto, 12r)

<sup>155</sup> On the monetary units used in Crete, see above n. 25.

**9.** Lease for a church. Filippo Capello rented for life to the monk Galaktios, called Poulimenos, the Church of Saint Nicholas, as well as a small house and a piece of land located next to the river of Saint Nicholas. The monk was obliged to live there for the rest of his life and to maintain both the church and the house. He was entitled to keep any collections from the worshippers for candles and incense for the church. 15 November 1385.

*Eodem. Manifestum facio ego Philippus Capello habitator Candide, quia cum meis heredibus do et concedo tibi calogero Galactio dicto Pulimeno habitatori burgi Candide ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai el Costo et unam domumculam pro habitacione tua ac eciam terram michi tangentem, que est apud fluminem Sancti Nicolai predicti, amodo in antea usque ad finem vite tue et debes in dicto monasterio habitare et scopare dictam ecclesiam ac eciam tuo posse facere debes omnem bonum in dicta ecclesia et scopare debes domumculam, et totus introitus ipsius ecclesie silicet ceres et incensum esse debeat tuus. Teneris vero dictam domumculam in culmine manutere et conservare omnibus expensis tuis et nullo modo possis toto tempore vite tue desabitare de dicta ecclesia, sed ibi morare debes per totum tempus vite tue. Ad hec autem manifestum facio ego predictus calogerus Galactio, quia promitto tibi et sum contentus omnia et singula suprascripta atendere et observare. Si qua igitur nostrum contra hanc manifestacionis et concessionis cartam ire temptavero, tunc emendare debeat et cetera. Pena yperpera XXV. Contractu firmo. Testes Iohannes Tonisto et Bartolomeus de Millano. Complere et dare. Dedi.*

(ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 273, notaio Nicolo Tonisto, 14r)

**10.** Lease for a monastery. Ioannis Koutaiotis was the new tenant of the state monastery of the Holy Apostles in the village of Pigadoulia near Candia. 18 March 1370.

*MCCCCLXX, mense marcii, die XVIII, indicione VIIIA. Dictum est per magnificum dominum Iohannem Gradonico honorabilem ducham Crete et dominum Andream Bredani consiliarium, absente domino Petro Gabriel altero consiliario occasione infirmitatis, quod Nicodimus calogerus exeat de tenuta monasterii Sanctorum Apostolorum positi in territorio casalis Pigadulia et quod Iohannes Cutagioti filius quondam Mathei ponatur in tenutam et possessionem dicti monasterii, salvo tamen et reservato iure Theostiricti calogeri ieromonachi.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 2, f. 149r)

**10a.** Lease for a monastery. Ioannis Koutaiotis, the tenant of the monastery of the Holy Apostles in the village of Pigadoulia, was obliged to recognise

that the monk Iosif had rented part of the estate of the monastery since 1369. 18 March 1370.

*Die suprascripto. Dictum est per suprascriptum dominum ducham et dominum consiliarium antedictum, absente domino Petro Gabriel altero consiliario occasione infirmitatis, quod Iohannes Cutagioti debeat attendere et observare calogero Iosef ieromonacho afflictatione sibi factam de monasterio Sanctorum Apostolorum posito in territorio casalis Pigadulia sibi affictato per cartam scriptam manu Georgii Aymo notarii sub anno Domini MCCCCLXVIII, mense marcii, indictione septima, die decimo octavo.*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 26, q. 2, f. 149r)

**10b.** Agreement. The priest and monk Iosif, resident in the monastery of the Holy Apostles in the village of Pigadoulia, accepted as his partner the monk and carpenter Loukas so they could manage together the part of the same monastery that Iosif had rented from Ioannis Koutaiotis. 30 July 1370.

*MCCCCLXX, mense iulii, die penultimo, indictione VIIIA. Dictum est per magnificum dominum Iohannem Gradonico honorabilem ducham Crete et dominum Petrum Gabriel consiliarium, absente domino Andrea Bredani altero consiliario, quod amodo in antea quousque papa Iosef calogerus steterit in monasterio Sanctorum Apostolorum de Pigadulia, in quo ad presens ipse residet, esse debeat secum socius et particeps Lucas calogerus marangonus in ea parte qua participare debet vigore unius carte scripte manu Georgii Chamogeni notarii greci sub anno MCCCCLXVIII, mense iunii, die VIII, indictione septima, quam suprascriptus papa Iosef calogerus sibi fieri fecit recipiens eum socium et participem in afflictatione sibi facta per Iohannem Cutagioti de predicto monasterio Sanctorum Apostolorum. Et insuper de omnibus proventibus dicti monasterii habitis a die qua dictus papas Iosef redivit ad ipsum monasterium post refutationem factam per eum de afflictatione predicta usque ad presentem diem participare debeat similiter dictus Lucas calogerus in ea parte qua participare debet et participiat illam partem quam habere debet secundum continentiam carte predictae non obstante refutatione predicta facta per suprascriptum papatem, que facta fuit ficticie et fraudulenter in preiudicium dicte Luce.*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 26, q. 3, 69v)

**11.** Concession of a church. In 1424, Giovanni Stolfo conceded ‘eternally’ (*in gonico*) to the Orthodox priest Michalis Kalophronas his Church of Saint Mary Kera Manolitissa with all the tombs inside, the cemetery, the icons and other ‘ornaments’, as well as certain of its houses. The annual

rent was agreed at twenty-six *hyperperi*.<sup>156</sup> Two years later, Stolfo claimed back his church and houses, since the tenants had been driven out by Kalophronas' high rent charges. According to the documents and the testimonies presented by both sides, it was decided that the priest Kalophronas could keep the church and its houses. 31 October 1426.

MCCCCXXVI, mense octubris, die ultimo

*Coram magnifico domino Laurentio Capello ducha et capitaneo Crete suoque consilio comparvit Iohannes Stolfo habitator burgi Candide et citari fecit papatem Michali Calofrona, de inde exposuit dicens quod ipse affictaverat, dederat et concesserat in gonicho quandam suam ecclesiam vocatam Maria Cheramanolitisa cum omnibus suis archis, cimiterio, anchonis et aliis ornamentis dicte ecclesie cum certis aliis domibus suprascripto papati Michali, et quod de fictu dicti papatis habitatores sive sergentes domorum suarum refutabant dictas domos et nolebant habitare in eis in grave preiudicione dicti Iohannis. Et ideo dum sepe conquiesciens fingit de hoc dicto papati tandem venit ad pactum cum eo quod dictus papa fuit contentus relinquere dictam ecclesiam libere et dimittere sibi dictam ecclesiam. Ipse papas nolebat ipsam dimittere, sicut commisserat. Quare petebat sententialiter, quod ipse papas Michali relinquat et dimittat dictam ecclesiam dicto Iohanni, cum per testificationes productas in curia, notatas in libris curie archiepiscopalis cedat prolasse pactum predictum. Ex adverso suprascriptus papa Michali Calofrona produxit quandam cartam manifestacionis et concessionis, completam et roboratam manu Georgii dela Gronda notarii Veneciarum in 1424 mense marcii die primo, per quam dictus Iohannes Stolfo concessit sibi dictam ecclesiam in gonico et alias quasdam domos pro *yperperis* XXVI, solvendis sibi annuatim in duabus terminis; item per unam aliam cartam manu dicti notarii concessit sibi quandam aliam domum; contra quas concessiones, factas per cartam publicam, dictus Iohannes Stolfo ire non poterat nec dicta concessio facta per eum per instrumentum publicum poterat anulari, nisi per aliud instrumentum seu cartam solemniter factam, et quod licet videantur fuisse aliqua verba super dicta materia inter dictum papatem et dictum Iohannem, tamen non fuerint ita conclusiva aut cosficatia, ut desolvere possint cartas concessionis sepedictas [ . . . . . ] dictas cartas opus fuisset alia solemnitate et ideo petebat absolvere a predicta petitione. Per suprascriptum dominum ducham et capitaneum et suum consilium auditis petitionibus, responsionibus, iuribus et rationibus dictarum partium, visis aliquibus testificationibus acceptis in curia archiepiscopatu [inc . . . ] utriusque partis, vigore quarum testificationum non apparet, propterea dictas cartas concessionis esse [in] neque patizatas, dato sacramento dicto papati et ipso*

<sup>156</sup> On the monetary units used in Crete, see above n. 25.

*iurante verum esse, ut supra defendebat, sententialiter dictum est, quod suprascriptus papas Michali Calofrona sit absolutus a suprascripta petitione dicti Iohannis.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 5, f. 54r–v)

**12.** Lease for a village parish. Frangula Giustinian rents to the priest Kostas Metaxaris the parish of her village of Kroussonas for ten years, as well as a piece of land for him to build a house for his residence at his own expense. The annual rent is set at three *hyperperi* and three *gracile*,<sup>157</sup> as well as the usual gifts and compulsory service (*angarie*). At the end of the ten years the tenancy could be renewed indefinitely. In addition, if the priest wanted to build a church in the village, Frangula had to contribute twenty *hyperperi* towards the expenses. 2 July 1385.

*Die secundo mensis iulii 1385. Manifestum facio ego Frangula Iustiniano relictæ ser Moisis Iustiniano tamquam gubernatrix filiorum meorum habitatrix Candide cum meis successoribus do, concedo atque afficto tibi papati Coste Metaxari habitatori casalis Crusiona et tuis heredibus totam enormiam dicti mei casalis Crusione et tantum territorium in dicto casali, ubi tu volueris [ . . . . . ] edificandum domum unam in tuis expensis, amodo usque ad annos decem proxime venturos completos cum plena virtute et potestate et cetera, et pro affictu sive terratico predictæ silicet enorie et domus debes michi vel successoribus meis dare [ . . . . . ] yperpera cretensia tria et gracilas tres, incipiendo facere primam pagam in MCCCcoctuagesimosexto, mense iulii, et si forte in complementum dicti temporis iterum volueris dict[ . . . . . ] enormiam et domum, teneor tibi ipsas dare cum carta inde in antea usque ad illud tempus quod tu volueris ipsas accipere cum conditione et meis suprascriptis et [ . . . . . ] apud dictam domum habere unam aliam domum, teneor ego predicta Frangula facere muros in meis expensis, tu autem in tuis expensis facere cohopercionem [ . . . . . ] nichilominus michi vel successoribus meis exenia et angarias solitas secundum usum. Est autem sciendum quod si tu predictæ presbiter volueris hedificare et facere ecclesiam super territorio dicti mei casalis, pro adiuvamen dicte ecclesie debeo tibi dare yperpera cretensia viginti. Si igitur et cetera. Pena yperperorum viginti quinque. Contracru firmo. Testes Moscoleus Candachiti et Iohannes Tonisto. Complere et dare.*

(ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 273, notaio Nicolo Tonisto, f. 4r)

<sup>157</sup> On the monetary units used in Crete, see above n. 25.

**13.** Controversy between the priest Georgios Papastratigopoulos and the priest Ioannis Servataris, both residents in the castle of Bonifacio (present-day Monofatsi). The castellan confirms that the Duke of Crete Andrea Donado (1445–7) granted the priest Ioannis for his devotion to Venice a piece of land inside the castle to build a church, with the provision that his presence did not decrease the revenues of the priest Georgios' parish church. The priest Ioannis was obliged to respect this agreement. 7 May 1450.

*Bonifacio*

*Intexa la controversia che gera tra papa Georgi Papastratigopulo dito Servo e papa Iani Servatari avanti de nui [ . . . . ] emo [ . . . . . ] et terminado che al dito papa Iani sie observado la gratia a lui fata per miser Andrea Donado olim ducha de Crede e per il se confero chome lazase e secondo la forma de le letere dogal in questo modo, zoè che dito papa Iani possa hedificar la gesia a lui concessa da far hedificar in quel castello per so devocion non ins[ . . . ] ab algun fu [ . . . . . ] lo dito hedificio sie quello luogo che li fo dessigna al tempo che have la gratia et non altrui [ . . . . . ] quel non possa derogar ne tuer le regalie et iurisdiciones dela parochia over parochiam dela gesia del dito papa Georgi per algun modo et azo che questo fu observado per futura memoria te commandemo che le presente letere debis far registrar in le[ . . . . . ] de quel castello e per soa informacion demandemo qui inclusa la gratia a lui fata e la copia de la letera dogal predeta [ . . . . . ] registrar.*

*Die VII maii 1450*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 8, q. 2, 113r)

**14.** Adultery. Kali, wife of Ioannis Diakonopoulos, reported to the authorities the violent behaviour of her husband, with whom she could no longer live. She also reported that she had been thrown out of their home, where her husband was cohabiting with his mistress. Although the court forced the accused to take back his wife, he sent her away again. Finally, the court gave permission to Kali to leave the house together with her young daughter, and her husband was obliged to pay her within one year thirty *hyperperi*<sup>158</sup> for their living expenses, and to return her clothes. 15 February 1391.

*Die XV februarii 1390. Coram magnifico domino Domenico Bono honorabili ducha Crete et eius consilio comparvit Cali uxor Iani Diaconopulo exponens quod tanta est sevitia et asperitas suprascripti Iani viri sui quod nullo modo potest secum conversari, quia ultra sevitiam et asperitatem suam tenet in domo quandam concubinam, propter quam dictus Iani pluries expulit eam de domo, et sicut pridie notum est, dominatio scripsit castellano Prigiotisse, quod deberet*

<sup>158</sup> On the monetary units used in Crete, see above n. 25.



*facere notum suprascripto viro, quod acciperet dictam Cali uxorem suam in domum et ipsam tractaret tanquam uxorem. Qui Iani uno die suscepit eam et alio die sequenti iterato expulit eam, sicut constat per literas dicti castellani. Quare, cum non habeat unde vivere possit et habeat sub ubere quandam puelam filiam dicti Iani, petebat sibi subveniri de quadam provisione, qua possit ducere vitam suam et alere dictam infantulam non obstante absentia suprascripti Iani, qui fuit citatus ad comparandum coram dominatione ad certum terminum sibi prefixum per castellanum Prigiotisse. Idcirco per eundem magnificum dominum ducham et eius consilium audita petitione dicte Cali et habito clare per personas fidedignas sevitiam et asperitatem dicti Iani tenet unam concubinam in domo et expulit pluriens de domo suprascriptam Cali uxorem, attento etiam quod suprascriptus Ianni fuit admonitus et requisitus debere accipere suprascriptam Cali in domo et ipsam tractare tanquam uxore et expellere dictam concubinam, que suprascriptus Iani contempsit facere, visis literis castellani Prigiotisse quibus constat ipsum castellanum dictus Iani quod deberet comparere ad respondendum dicte Cali et noluit comparere, in concordio sententialiter dictum est, quod suprascriptus Ianni debeat dare et solvere suprascripte Cali uxori sue pro provisione sua et dicte infantule, quam habet ad pactus, yperpera triginta ad rationem anni hoc modo, videlicet yperpera decem statim et sic successive yperpera decem in principio quorumlibet quatuor mensium, insuper dare teneatur eidem suos panos lineos et laneas et omnes res quas dicta Cali habebat pro usu sue persone. Et hec provisio duret per annos duos et minus ad beneplacitum dominationis non obstante absentia suprascripti Iani.*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 29bis, q. 22.4, 14v–15r)

15. Adultery. Alisia, wife of Costanzio Longovardo, having committed adultery, was imprisoned. The couple had separated, and the court decided that Costanzio should retrieve all his property including his ex wife's dowry, while Alisia could keep her extra dowry property and all the wedding gifts. 26 August 1370.

*MCCCLXX, mense augusti, die XXVI, indicione VIIIa. Per magnificum dominum Petrum Cornario honorabilem ducham Crete et eius consilium factum fuit preceptum Constantio Longovardo, quod de cetero non debeat facere Alisie uxori sue aliquam novitatem vel violentiam in rebus quas ipsa habet et tenet nunc et quas habebit amodo in antea quam eo tempore quo per dominium factus fuit processus contra ipsam Alisiam privando eam dote sua et condemnando eam stare certo tempore in carcere occasione adulterii, de mandato dominacionis fuerunt divide et separate omnes res reperte penes ipsam Alisiam et fuerunt date dicto Constantio ille res que erant sue et quas ipse habere debebat quocumque iure et relique res que fuerunt dicte Alisie*



*acquisite iure dimissoriarum et donationum sibi factarum date et assignate fuerunt Alisie tamquam sue, itaquod dictus Constantius nullum ius habere debebat in eis sicut de predictis omnibus plene constitit.*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 3, 76r)

**16. Damage to cultivation.** The ducal decree established penalties for damage caused by either humans or animals to any kind of cultivation. 1350. Fragment of the document.

*Clamatum fuit publice per Iohannem Martino gastaldionem quod nulla persona audeat intrare vel dannum facere in blado, vinea vel iardino aut arboribus sub pena grossos duodecim pro qualibet persona contrafaciente et qualibet vice et ultra hoc satisfaciat de danno ...*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 232r)

**17. Blasphemy.** According to the ducal decree, anyone who blasphemed against God, the Virgin Mary or any saint was condemned to remain a day at the pillory (*berlina*) or to pay a fine of five *hyperperi*.<sup>159</sup> 28 December 1364. Fragment of the document.

*Die XXVIII decembris, indicione IIIa. Clamatum fuit publice per Iohannem Marino gastaldionem quod quicumque de cetero blasphemaverit Dominum Deum vel Dominam Sanctam Mariam vel aliquem sanctum vel sanctam stare debeat uno die in berlina vel solvere debeat yperpera quinque, prout dominio videbitur pro qualibet vice qua quilibet contrafecerit ...*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 116v)

**18. Blasphemy.** The Duke of Crete called the Orthodox priest Georgios Klimis to apologise before the Latin Archbishop of Crete, because he (i.e. the Orthodox priest) spoke against the Catholic rite. 28 January 1350. Fragment of the document.

*Die XXVIII ianuarii, indicione III. Clamatum fuit publice per Iohannem Marino gastaldionem quod cum papas Georgius Climi habitator burgi Candide incusatus sit dixisse verba nefanda contra sanctam fidem catholicam, dominus archiepiscopus Crete, quia hoc spectat ad spiritualia, et dominus ducha et eius consilium mandantur quod predictus papa Georgius personaliter debeat comparere coram ipsis amodo usque ad dies octo proximos ad excusandum se de predictis, alioquin ...*

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 231v)

<sup>159</sup> On the monetary units used in Crete, see above n. 25.

**19.** Robbery and theft by a monk. The monk Gavalas, called Panagiotis, was outlawed by ducal decree. The monk, resident in the village of Varni, was accused of theft, robbery and other offences. 26 March 1368.

*Die XXVI marcii, indicione sexta. Clamatum fuit publice per Iohannem Marino gastaldionem in lobio et extra portam civitatis Candide quod cum calogerus Gavala dictus Panagioti, qui solitus erat morari in casali nomine Varni, fuit accusatus perpetrasse rauberias, furta et alia mala quam plurima, dominus ducha et eius consilium cupientes habere ipsum in suo forcio ne scelera per eum commissa transeant impunita faciunt notum omnibus et mandant quod quicumque presentabit in forcio domini predictum calogereum Gavala dictum Panagioti vivum habeat a comuni yperpera centum.*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 15, 144r)

**20.** Inappropriate behaviour of an Orthodox priest's wife. Kali, wife of the priest Ioannis Aiassis, was accused of inappropriate behaviour towards the men of the village Apolychnos where she lived. She was consequently obliged to leave the village. The Duke of Crete ordered the castellan of the area to assess Kali's property in that same village and inform him of the outcome. 18 May 1416.

*Magnifico et potenti domino domino Petro Zivrano honorabili ducha Crete et eius consilio, Petro Quirino castellanus castris Novi con homnia reverencia et recomandacione se ipsum recepta letera dela signoria vestra per raxon que Cali muier de papa Iani Aiassi non sta ben con li homeni del caxal Ipolighno ser per Nicolaum de Pari trivisurier intende cazar quella del dito caxal, e perche quella Calli ha in lo caxal stabelli la signoria vestra manda comadandone che io debia far stimar li diti stabelli e la stima d'essi debia mandar ala signoria vestra, unde notifico ala signoria vestra che io son sta in lo dito caxal Ipolighno cum persone suficiente et fisi stimar tre zardini messi in lo dito caxal Ipolighno dela dita papadia e la stima scritta qui de soto li qual stimemo valea la parte dela dita papadia per embatichi.*

*Zardin I lo qual è apreso in le caxe del dito ser per Nicolaum, stimado iperperi 45.*

*Zardin I che sè soto al dito caxal, stimado iperperi 20.*

*Zardineto I drie la gexia, iperperi 12.*

*Data die XVIII mazo 1416*

*Recepta die XXII maii 1416.*

(ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 1, q. 6bis, 37r)

## 3 | Hell on Crete

ANGELIKI LYMBEROPOULOU

Για τον Βασίλη μας, που βιάστηκε

### 3.1 Introduction

The inhabitants of Axos in the former province of Mylopotamos in the prefecture of Rethymnon, alive and active around the end of the 14th century, would have frequented, among others, the Church of Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50) in their village. At the end of the holy liturgy, when everybody headed towards the exit via the door situated in the west wall of the church, they received a spectacular warning – a wagging finger – against a sinful life. For this church is home to one of the richest representations of Hell on Crete (vol. 2, Fig. 66).

The upper part of the west wall is occupied by the Last Judgement, with the Deesis placed centrally, and the Apostle Tribunal (the Apostles as Judges) in two separate frames underneath, to the left and right. To the right of the door, a rectangular frame with the inscription ‘The River of Fire’ shows the end section of the red river that carries sinners away from Christ, based on Daniel 7:10. The frame is not very well preserved; nevertheless, it is clear that the river has a number of inhabitants, including little black devils.

Immediately below this Place of Hell formed by the River of Fire, there are four registers of four squared frames each. The twelve frames in the top three registers show the torments of Individual Sinners, punished for a range of social and moral transgressions, such as Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of attending church. These twelve squares, which include a total of twenty sinners, look as if they are ‘bound within the confines of a prison’.<sup>1</sup> The bottom register, finally, contains four compartments with Communal Punishments inflicted on larger, anonymous groups of sinners,

<sup>1</sup> Conostas 2001, 117, n. 97.

derived from biblical references to Hell. These are (left to right): the Sleepless Worm (following the inscriptions in Greek that usually accompany this scene, since Mark 9:44, 46 and 48 refer to the 'Undying Worm'); the Gnashing of Teeth (Luke 13:28); the Tar (Pitch; Isaiah 34:9); and the Outer Darkness (Mathew 8:12, 22:13 and 25:30).<sup>2</sup>

This representation of Hell would have conveyed a powerful visual message around the end of 14th century. Our current culture is visually extremely rich and artificially colourful; however, this was not the case at the time the church was decorated, and these Hell scenes would have been among the most striking man-made images the inhabitants of Axos saw during their lifetimes. The representation of the Last Judgement and the fate that awaits those who do not obey the moral and social rules dictated by Christian teaching would have certainly caught the eye of the congregation. As the last image they would have contemplated on their way out, it was meant to stay with them and deter them from sinful acts, at least until the next time they were confronted with it.

What were the criteria for choosing how to represent Hell within the iconographic programme of a church like the one at Axos? Who made this choice? Was it the artists or the patrons or their combined efforts? Are there geographical and/or chronological patterns emerging from an analysis of these choices? Was there a source (visual and/or literary) that dictated why certain types of sinners are depicted and others not? Does the fact that out of six possible Communal Punishments usually only a varying selection is represented indicate a level of freedom in the choice? Given that the representation of Hell appears to have had an important function of social restraint, why was it not shown in all churches on Crete? This chapter aims at exploring such questions by examining systematically and in detail the evidence presented by the representations of Hell found in churches from the Venetian period on Crete, based on research of unprecedented scale.

### 3.2 Traditions

Images of the Last Judgement and of Hell were considered instrumental for repentance and for the conversion of non-believers.<sup>3</sup> A well-known example is the conversion to Christianity of the pagan Bulgar ruler Boris, around 864, upon seeing a representation of the Last Judgement painted by a Greek

<sup>2</sup> See Albani 2016. <sup>3</sup> Conostas 2001, 109 and n. 63.

monk called Methodios.<sup>4</sup> Before that, the Last Judgement was used in a treatise, one of the earliest references to the subject, written around 770 and directed at the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (r. 741–75), probably in the hope of changing his negative position on icons.<sup>5</sup> The fear of punishments in Hell and/or of the ‘fearful’ Last Judgement is frequently encountered in the sources.<sup>6</sup>

There is the possibility that the now lost Church of Saint John at the Hippodrome at Constantinople included a 10th-century mosaic cycle of the Last Judgement.<sup>7</sup> The first dated representation of the Last Judgement in monumental art appears in Cappadocia, in the Church of Saint John in the Güllüdere Valley, dated 912–20.<sup>8</sup> One of the earliest surviving representations of Hell in Byzantine art is the Last Judgement in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 74, fol. 93v, dated to the 11th century (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume).<sup>9</sup> The image of Hell in this miniature has two of the three main components in common with the later representation found at Axos: it shows the River of Fire and compartments of Communal Punishments. The only identifiable sinner here is the Rich Man from the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:24). Having refused the Poor Lazarus scraps from his table, the Rich Man ends up in Hell suffering from thirst and hunger; he is depicted here naked, pointing at his mouth, on the far left of the River of Fire. He is, however, perhaps not shown as an Individual Sinner, but as another biblical reference to the consequences of immoral behaviour.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mango 1972, 190–1; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 259 and n. 32. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 58 and n. 195.

<sup>5</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 258 and n. 30.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Maximos Planoudis (1260–1305) in one of his letters is terrified by the punishments in Hell as depicted in panels and he ‘trembles in the prospect of experiencing them’, see Leone 1991, letter 73. I would like to thank Eirini Panou for bringing this to my attention. For references to the ‘fearful and terrible resurrection’ (i.e. Last Judgement), see also Lauxtermann and Thonemann 2020.

<sup>7</sup> Information provided by Paul Magdalino during his lecture ‘The Church of St John at the Hippodrome and the End of Antiquity in Constantinople’, delivered at the University of Birmingham on 22 November 2018. Since the church was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, the author of Revelation, the early 17th-century French traveller Julien Bordier mentions that the mosaic cycle was based on the Apocalypse. It should be noted, however, that by the time Bordier visited Constantinople the church had already been demolished, and therefore he would not have witnessed the iconographic programme at first hand. Furthermore, apocalyptic cycles are not part of Byzantine iconography; it is therefore more likely that the Last Judgement would have been depicted here. See Gréois 2006 and 2010. I would like to thank Paul Magdalino for providing this information.

<sup>8</sup> See Warland in this volume, 258 (section 5.4).

<sup>9</sup> See Angheben 2002, 106 and fig. 1 (with further discussion).

<sup>10</sup> It is conceivable that the Individual Sinners as a component of Hell have their origin in the image of the Rich Man.

The 11th-century representation in Paris BnF gr. 74 is clearly based entirely on biblical material. The same is true for other early representations, such as the late 11th-century mosaic in Torcello (see Fig. 4.5 in this volume), and two 12th-century icons from Mount Sinai.<sup>11</sup> The only major component of Hell as found in the representation in Cretan churches that is not of biblical origin is that of the Individual Sinners. One of the first representations to show Individual Sinners is the Church of Saint Stephen at Kastoria, dated to the late 9th or early 10th century on stylistic grounds.<sup>12</sup> The Church of the Virgin Mavriotissa, also in Kastoria, and dated to the 12th or 13th century, marks the first time that the Individual Sinners are depicted carrying the instruments of their sin.<sup>13</sup>

Hell as shown in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Axos, then, combines all the components that were inherited from the earlier Byzantine iconographic tradition, and subsequently expanded on Crete itself. In fact, Axos represents perhaps the most complete representation of Hell as conceived on Crete, having the largest range of Individual Sinners found in any church, and lacking only two of the potential six compartments of Communal Punishments in Hell. This is as good as it gets for visually representing what awaits in eternity those who sin.

While the Old and the New Testaments reinforce the idea that one descends to Hell, that Hell is 'beneath' the earth's surface,<sup>14</sup> the eye-level location of Hell and its punishments at Axos, as in the majority of the Cretan churches, underlines the powerful message that this iconographic subject was meant to convey. Axos is also typical in that the representation is found on the west wall of the nave; Hell scenes are rarely found towards the east end of a church, and, in fact, never within the sacred space of the sanctuary.<sup>15</sup> Axos, finally, shows an arrangement of the three major components that is most common on Crete, with the Place Formed by the River of Fire at the top, the frames with Individual Sinners in the middle

<sup>11</sup> For Torcello, see Polacco 1984; for the Sinai icons, see Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–8, 128–30, fig. 150 and 130–1, fig. 151.

<sup>12</sup> See Semoglou in this volume, 287.

<sup>13</sup> Mouriki 1975–6, 161–2. On the plaques hanging from the perpetrators' necks declaring their transgressions, see also Albani 2016, 379.

<sup>14</sup> Shrimplin 2000, 12.

<sup>15</sup> In the 13th-century Church of Saint George at Kouvaras, in Attica, the Last Judgement 'is situated on the upper part of the masonry screen of the Sanctuary'; see Mouriki 1975–6, 145. Gerstel 2002, 207 and n. 8, mentions Symeon of Thessaloniki, who, although he wrote in the 15th century, almost certainly reflects theological interpretations of the interior of an Orthodox church: 'the nave symbolises the heavens and paradise and the far end of the nave and the narthexes represent the creation of the earth for us and all the creatures upon earth'.

registers, and the compartments of Communal Punishments at the bottom.<sup>16</sup>

That being said, many variations on the basic scheme are possible. The examination of the material as presented in Appendix 1 reveals that the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire hardly ever appears outside of a representation of Last Judgement, while Individual Sinners and/or compartments of Communal Punishments can actually exist independently. In those cases, the punishments are generally accompanied by a representation of the Crucifixion; in a very few cases, other scenes closely associated with redemption and salvation take its place, e.g. the Dormition of the Virgin, the Weighing of the Souls and, as at Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16), the Fall of Jericho, which is considered a prefiguration of the Last Judgement.<sup>17</sup>

Appendix 1 outlines the various combinations found in Hell in the churches from the Venetian period on Crete, which are:

- A ‘full’ Hell (i.e. a representation that includes the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments);
- The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on its own (without Individual Sinners and without Communal Punishments);
- The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire combined with Individual Sinners;
- The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire combined with Communal Punishments;
- Individual Sinners combined with Communal Punishments;
- Individual Sinners on their own.

It should be noted that no Cretan examples show compartments of Communal Punishments on their own.

On the basis of the evidence presented in the Appendix, this chapter explores:

- The inhabitants of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire flowing from Christ’s throne: the punishing Angels; heretics and their followers (e.g. Sabellius, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius); those who adhere to

<sup>16</sup> Examples of ‘full’ Hell where this structure is not observed: Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments out of place in Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); Communal Punishments out of place in Strovles (Kalogero), Saint George (cat. no. 38); Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42); Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90). This represents 29.4% of the examples that display a ‘full’ Hell, as in Axos (17), and a mere 7.9% of all combinations (63).

<sup>17</sup> Réau 1956 (vol. 2), 219–20, 223.

a different Christian doctrine (e.g. Roman Catholics, who in the eyes of the Greek Orthodox are considered heretical); infidels; rulers who actively opposed and/or persecuted Christianity (e.g. Herod,<sup>18</sup> Nero, Decius, Diocletian, Julian); Satan; Judas; the Dragon of the Depths; and the Rich Man as a synecdoche for rich people (since, according to Matthew 19:24 and Mark 10:25 ‘it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God’);

- The frames with Individual Sinners suffering punishments reflecting their particular transgressions;
- The compartments of Communal Punishments (presented in order of their popularity on Crete): the Gnashing of Teeth; the Sleepless Worm; Outer Darkness; Tartarus; Tar (Pitch); and Everlasting Fire.

This detailed approach is based on the systematic gathering of evidence in a project sponsored by the Leverhulme Foundation, undertaken with the aim to document all surviving monumental representations of Hell from the Venetian era (1211–1669).<sup>19</sup> The analysis will highlight the diversity of the representation of Hell on Crete, its geographical dispersion and chronological range, and the potential patterns in the iconographic choices made by the patrons (including that of the dedication of a church). At the heart of this assessment lies an interest in iconography as well as in the society that produced these monuments.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3 The Diversity of the Cretan Hell

The adherence to established patterns and iconographic subjects in Byzantine art is well known – in fact, it has been used as an argument supporting the idea of its stagnation and lack of imagination over the course of many centuries. The reasons for this ‘faithful’ reproduction had of course its roots in religious dogma rather than in a lack of competent artists.<sup>21</sup> The shaping of Byzantine art is largely dependent on religious

<sup>18</sup> Herod’s sin is that he ordered the Massacre of the Innocents in his attempt to eliminate Christ, who Herod erroneously believed was going to usurp his earthly rule (Matt. 2:16) and, later, ordered the beheading of John the Baptist (Matt. 14:8–11; Mark 6:22–8; Luke 9:9).

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed explanation and the chronological boundaries of this research, see the Introduction to this volume, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Note that stylistic comparisons, while perhaps informative regarding the financial and geographical circumstances of the commission, are not the focus of this chapter, nor of this volume.

<sup>21</sup> Lymberopoulou, forthcoming b.



debates surrounding Iconoclasm and to the extent that icons (in the broader senses of the word, as ‘images’) are explicitly and fundamentally different from idols and that they partake in the divine essence of the saintly figure and/or event they present.<sup>22</sup>

A study of, for example, the iconographic development of the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem would reveal a number of details that changed and/or were added over the duration of the existence of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>23</sup> Yet the core of the iconographic subject remained unchanged: Christ is always shown riding on a donkey, commonly arriving from the left, followed by His disciples, moving towards a group of people standing outside the city of Jerusalem, while children are depicted laying garments on the streets and climbing up trees to witness the event.<sup>24</sup> While Byzantine artists were given some liberty regarding the details (for example, the number of disciples included in the Entry to Jerusalem could vary), its core elements remained the same. However, judging from the various combinations of components found in the representation of Hell on Crete, such a rule of consistency does not apply to this iconographic subject.<sup>25</sup>

So far, 107 churches have been identified from Venetian Crete that include the subject of Hell within their iconographic programme; more may be discovered in the future.<sup>26</sup> For the purposes of this publication, however, this number (107) represents 100% of the representation of Hell on Crete; found in 12.7% of the total number of known churches on the island.<sup>27</sup> The dispersion of the number of churches with representations of Hell across the four prefectures on Crete is as follows:

- The prefecture of Chania has forty-seven churches (43.9%);<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The literature on Iconoclasm is vast; see, indicatively, Brubaker 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 66–71; see also Lymberopoulou 2018b, 121–7.

<sup>24</sup> Certain examples also show the *spinario* as part of the group of children included in the scene. See Lymberopoulou 2018b, 124–6.

<sup>25</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 3 remarks ‘The striking lack of coherence in this composition is something unusual in Byzantine art.’

<sup>26</sup> At the beginning of this research project, seventy-seven churches that included representations of Hell were identified; the additional thirty were located in the course of the project.

<sup>27</sup> Based on the Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961 catalogue, the number of churches on Crete is 845. While the actual number is almost certainly higher, this provides an established count on which statistical calculations can be based; see Lymberopoulou 2013, 105.

<sup>28</sup> In six of these churches, the Hell scenes are no longer preserved: Anydroi, Saint George (cat. no. 3); Kandalos (Ellinika), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18); Mertes, Saint Theodore (cat. no. 25); Palaia Roumata, Saints Spyridon and John (cat. no. 29); Stratoi, Saint Marina (cat. no. 37); and Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45). For this last church, however, a record of some of its Hell scenes survives in a publication by Lassithiotakis 1971, 116 (no. 137).

- The prefecture of Rethymnon has twenty-six churches (24.3%);<sup>29</sup>
- The prefecture of Herakleion has nineteen churches (17.8%);<sup>30</sup>
- The prefecture of Lassithi has fifteen churches (14%).<sup>31</sup>

Overall, taking into account *all* churches rather than only those containing Hell, Chania has a slightly lower density of churches than Rethymnon and Herakleion, with Lassithi having a much lower density than the other three;<sup>32</sup> Chania, however, includes the former province of Selino, which has by far the highest density of churches on the entire island.<sup>33</sup> If we set off the number of churches containing Hell against the total number of churches in each prefecture, the percentages become as follows:

- Chania: 47 churches with Hell iconography out of a total of 253 churches (18.6%);
- Rethymnon: 26 churches with Hell iconography out of a total of 187 churches (13.9%);
- Herakleion: 19 churches with Hell iconography out of a total of 314 churches (6.1%);
- Lassithi: 15 churches with Hell iconography out of a total of 95 churches (15.8%).

So Hell is the most popular subject in Chania both in terms of absolute numbers (forty-seven churches containing Hell) and in terms of the percentage of churches in the prefecture (18.6%); however, in terms of

<sup>29</sup> Three of these churches do not preserve their Hell scenes any more: Fourfouras, Virgin (cat. no. 54); Kissos, Virgin (cat. no. 60); Melambes, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 63).

<sup>30</sup> One of these churches does not preserve its Hell scenes any more: Larani, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 87). Furthermore, it was not possible to visit and to record one church in this prefecture at Mpentenaki (Bentenaki), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89).

<sup>31</sup> One of these churches does not preserve its Hell scenes any more: Neapoli, All Saints and Saint Anne (cat. no. 105). Furthermore, it was not possible to visit and to record two churches in this prefecture: Avgos, Saint Eirini (cat. no. 97); and Siteia, Monastery of the Faneromeni (cat. no. 106).

<sup>32</sup> LyMBEROPOULOU 2013, 105–9. Out of a total 845 churches on the island, Chania has 253 churches in an area covering 2,376.8 km<sup>2</sup>, which translates as one church per 9.39 km<sup>2</sup>; Rethymnon has 187 churches in an area covering 1,498.4 km<sup>2</sup>, which translates as one church per 8 km<sup>2</sup>; Herakleion has 314 churches in an area covering 2,641.22 km<sup>2</sup>, which translates as one church per 8.41 km<sup>2</sup>; and Lassithi has 95 churches in an area covering 1,823 km<sup>2</sup>, which translates as one church per 19.18 km<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that the prefecture of Lassithi has the fewest churches because the Venetian authorities considered the area as a hotbed for revolts and took a series of harsh measures to control it; see Stathakopoulos in this volume, 38 and n. 70. The relation between Venetian measures against revolts and a low church density in rural Crete is also attested in the former province of Sfakia, in the prefecture of Chania; see LyMBEROPOULOU 2010a, 162–3.

<sup>33</sup> LyMBEROPOULOU 2013, 107. Selino has one church per 2.83 km<sup>2</sup> (130 churches in an area covering 369.1 km<sup>2</sup>).

the percentage of churches per prefecture, the differences in popularity between Chania, Rethymnon and Lassithi are not huge, with only Herakleion scoring significantly lower. Yet, within each of the four prefectures, the relative composition of the primary components of Hell is different.

In the prefecture of Chania, out of forty-seven churches:<sup>34</sup>

- Eight have a ‘full’ Hell;
- Five have only the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire;
- Six combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners;
- Two combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Six combine Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Fourteen have only Individual Sinners.<sup>35</sup>

This analysis suggests that Individual Sinners were the preferred representation of Hell in this prefecture, appearing in thirty-four churches overall and in fourteen churches on their own.

In the prefecture of Rethymnon, out of twenty-six churches:<sup>36</sup>

- Eight have a ‘full’ Hell;
- Three have only the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire;
- Four combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners;
- One combines the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Four combine Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Three have only Individual Sinners.<sup>37</sup>

Evidently, the ‘full’ Hell was the preferred composition in Rethymnon, appearing in eight churches, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire the most popular component, appearing in sixteen churches overall and in three churches on its own.

In the prefecture of Herakleion, out of nineteen churches:<sup>38</sup>

- Two have a ‘full’ Hell;

<sup>34</sup> For a full account, see Appendix 1.

<sup>35</sup> For the remaining six see n. 28 above.

<sup>36</sup> For a full account, see Appendix 1.

<sup>37</sup> For the remaining three see n. 29 above.

<sup>38</sup> For a full account, see Appendix 1.

- None has only the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire;
- Four combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners;
- Four combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Four combine Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Three have only Individual Sinners.<sup>39</sup>

In Herakleion, there is clearly not a preferred type of composition, with all components appearing in similar numbers and combinations of components occurring more often than the only component (Individual Sinners) that appears sometimes on its own.

In the prefecture of Lassithi, out of fifteen churches:<sup>40</sup>

- None has a 'full' Hell;
- Two have only the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire;
- Five combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners;
- Three combine the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with compartments of Communal Punishments;
- Two combine Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments;
- None has only Individual Sinners.<sup>41</sup>

The absence of the 'full' Hell is notable here; the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is the most popular component in Lassithi, appearing in ten churches, but combinations of two components are preferred to any single component.

While statistics should always be interpreted with caution, some interesting patterns appear to be emerging here. For example, the correlation between Hell being the most popular subject in the Chania prefecture and the relative predilection for the Individual Sinners there may suggest a greater concern with the negative consequences of antisocial behaviour in this prefecture, perhaps especially in the remote rural corner of Selino.

Similarly notable trends can also be found among the dedications of churches containing Hell (Appendix 2):

<sup>39</sup> For the remaining two see n. 30 above. <sup>40</sup> For a full account, see Appendix 1.

<sup>41</sup> For the remaining three see n. 31 above.

- In Chania, the majority of the forty-seven churches are dedicated to the Virgin (eight), followed by Saint George as a close second (seven).<sup>42</sup> Christ and Saint Nicholas are the patrons of four churches each, Archangel Michael and Saint Paraskevi of three churches each. The Holy Apostles and Saint John the Baptist have two churches each dedicated to them. There are also single dedications to: All Saints; Saint Athanasios; Saint Catherine; Saint John Chrysostom; Saints Constantine and Helena; Saint Eutychios; Saint John the Evangelist; Saint Marina; Saint Panteleimon; Saints Peter and Paul; Saint Prokopios; Saint Theodore; and Saint Zosimas;<sup>43</sup>
- In Rethymnon, too, the majority of the churches are dedicated to the Virgin (seven), followed by Saint John the Evangelist (four); Christ and Saint George (three each); Saint John the Baptist (two); and the Holy Apostles, Saints Basil, Constantine, Nicholas and Stephen (one each);
- In Herakleion, there is not a clear preference regarding the dedication of the churches: the Virgin, the Archangel Michael and Saint George each have three churches dedicated to them; Christ and Saint Paraskevi, two; and Saints Catherine, Constantine and Helena, John the Baptist, Paul, Pelagia and Phanourios, one each;
- In Lassithi, once more, the majority of the churches are dedicated to the Virgin (four), followed by Saint George (three); Christ and the Holy Apostles (two); and Saints Eirini, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (one each).

From these figures, it is clear that a larger percentage of churches containing Hell (20.6%) are dedicated to the Virgin than among Cretan churches in general (17.4%),<sup>44</sup> with the percentage in Chania (17.0%) and Herakleion (15.8%) more or less matching the general average and that in Rethymnon (26.9%) and Lassithi (26.7%) being significantly above the average. This higher than average number of dedications to the Virgin should not surprise us, as she is one of the principal intercessors for the salvation of the soul.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> In the cases of double churches, which have two naves and hence two patron saints, the patron saint of the nave where Hell is located has been included in the analysis.

<sup>43</sup> The church at Palaia Roumata (Kissamos), dedicated to Saints Spyridon and John (cat. no. 29), no longer survives and therefore it is not possible to know where the hell scenes were situated.

<sup>44</sup> There are 147 (out of 845) dedicated to the Virgin on Crete. See Gerola-Lassithiotakis 1961, 142 (under Blacherna Panagia), 143 (under Zoodochos Pigi), 144 (under Panagia).

<sup>45</sup> The bibliography on the Mother of God and her importance in Orthodox Christianity is vast; see, indicatively, Vassilaki 2000b and 2005.

The most striking aspect to be revealed by these statistics, however, is the sheer diversity of the representation of Hell on Crete. The popularity of Hell as an iconographic subject was not equally dispersed across the island. It is not linked to a single church dedication, or even a small group of related dedications. And most of all, the main components of the representation vary constantly, from church to church and from prefecture to prefecture. This theme of variation continues when we examine the individual components and the ingredients within them in detail. Here, too, we find some general trends, but always with numerous exceptions and modifications.

### 3.4 The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and its Inhabitants

Daniel 7:10 tells us that ‘A fiery stream issued and came forth from him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgement was set and the books were open.’ In the iconography of the Last Judgement, this has been translated into the image of a River of Fire flowing from the throne of Christ, as represented at Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70, vol. 2, Figs 88 and 89). What starts as a narrow stream widens towards the end into a gushing river, populated by various figures. In the majority of churches on Crete, this end section of the river is conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame.

In one form or another, and in various combinations with other components, this Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is represented in just over half (53.3%) of the 107 churches catalogued in this publication.<sup>46</sup> In the majority of the ten cases in which the scene is identified by an inscription, it is labelled as the ‘River of Fire’;<sup>47</sup> it is once called the ‘Everlasting Fire’,<sup>48</sup> once the ‘Eternal Fire’,<sup>49</sup> and once

<sup>46</sup> The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire can be found in 57 out of 107 churches. See Appendix 1. The actual percentage may have been slightly higher, as the iconographic programme of a number of the 107 churches has been lost.

<sup>47</sup> **Chania:** Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32); Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47); **Rethymnon:** Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Roustika, Virgin and Christ (cat. no. 68); **Lassithi:** Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102). There are no examples from the Herakleion area.

<sup>48</sup> **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

<sup>49</sup> **Herakleion:** Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91).

simply Η ΚΟΛΛΙΣ, 'Hell'.<sup>50</sup> It is clear, however, that the scene is an element of the Last Judgement, and it is hardly ever shown outside of this context.

The theological aspect of this component of Hell is further highlighted by the fact that it is the place where we encounter heretics and their followers, such as Sabellius, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius; emperors and other public figures who persecuted Christianity, such as Nero, Decius, Diocletian; emperors who resisted Christianity, such as Julian; members of the Western (i.e. Roman Catholic) clergy; and infidels. They are pushed into the fire by vengeful angels and appear before or around the figure of Satan, who is shown enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, holding Judas in his lap.

Villagers on Crete may well have heard of these people and they were certainly aware of the existence of infidels (primarily of Jewish and Muslim peoples), yet their sins did not have a direct impact in their daily lives. It is likely that this is reflected in the fact that they appear as a crowd floating or standing in the fiery river; unlike the Individual Sinners, they are dressed and they are not subjected to humiliating and degrading punishments.

### 3.4.1 Angels

There are nine orders of incorporeal (angelic) beings, divided into three hierarchies.<sup>51</sup> Angels form the ninth order, in the third hierarchy; in other words, they are the lowest ranking of these beings. They are assigned a number of roles throughout the Last Judgement:<sup>52</sup>

- They attend the Apostle Tribunal, and are often shown standing behind the enthroned Apostle-Judges (e.g. vol. 2, Fig. 86);
- They hold the Scroll of Heaven, as narrated in Revelation 6:14, 'And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together' (e.g. vol. 2, Fig. 123);<sup>53</sup>
- They signal with trumpets the moment when the Earth and the Sea are Giving up their Dead for all the body parts to be reassembled before the final judgement (e.g. vol. 2, Figs 120 and 135);

<sup>50</sup> **Chania:** Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42, vol. 2, Fig. 54). The term Η ΚΟΛΛΙΣ literally means 'punishment'. See Weyl Carr in this volume, 346–7.

<sup>51</sup> First Hierarchy: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Second Hierarchy: Dominions, Powers, Authorities; Third Hierarchy: Principalities, Archangels, Angels; see Arthur 2008, 43–6.

<sup>52</sup> See Kazhdan 1991, vol. 1, 97. Only Seraphim, Cherubim, Archangels and Angels are depicted in Byzantine iconography.

<sup>53</sup> See Maderakis 1978, 198.

- They are responsible for the Weighing of the Souls so that judgement can be passed according to the deeds people performed during their lifetimes (e.g. vol. 2, Figs 30 and 61);
- They push all those who have been found guilty of sinful acts into the River of Fire with spears and/or tridents (e.g. vol. 2, Figs 5 and 7).<sup>54</sup>

This latter role may echo the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, which mentions that the western angels control the entrance to Hades; this narrative also mentions supervising and guarding angels.<sup>55</sup> In the representation of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, strictly speaking, they are not inhabitants of Hell; they appear as the antithesis of the fallen angels (devils), who reside in Hell and torment the sinners. As such, they are already included pushing sinners into the fire in the 11th-century image in Paris BnF gr. 74, fol. 93v (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume).

In contrast to the devils that are invariably depicted as black creatures,<sup>56</sup> the angels appear in colourful attire, mostly combining the colours brown, green and red. In two cases, both from Rethymnon prefecture, the angel pushing sinners into the River of Fire is described as ‘the Angel of Fire’, and is accordingly depicted dressed fully in red.<sup>57</sup> In three examples, all from the area of Herakleion, these angels are labelled as ‘Angel(s) of the Lord’.<sup>58</sup> In nineteen cases, the angels are shown pushing sinners into Hell with spears, or occasionally with tridents, e.g. Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90, vol. 2, Fig. 115) and Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99, vol. 2, Fig. 132).<sup>59</sup> The number of angels in the scene varies between one and eight.

<sup>54</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 58 is of the opinion that the angel(s) is/are pushing the sinners towards their ‘master’, the Devil.

<sup>55</sup> Baun 2007, 204, 205. <sup>56</sup> For the idea of devils depicted as black, see Marinis 2017a, 21.

<sup>57</sup> **Rethymnon:** Hagios Vasileios, Saint Basil (cat. no. 56), vol. 2, Fig. 72; and Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72), vol. 2, Fig. 93. The single angels at **Chania:** Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 31, and Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 33, are also depicted fully dressed in red, but lack this specific description.

<sup>58</sup> **Herakleion:** Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 110 ([two] ‘Angels of the Lord’); Monastery of Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86; ‘Angel of the Lord’); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115 ([four] ‘Angels of the Lord’).

<sup>59</sup> These churches are: **Chania:** Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), vol. 2, Fig. 5; Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 7; Garipas, Saints George and John the Baptist (cat. no. 8), vol. 2, Fig. 13; Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23), vol. 2, Fig. 29; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 31; Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 33; Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32), vol. 2, Fig. 41; **Rethymnon:** Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51), vol. 2, Fig. 68; Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61), vol. 2, Fig. 78; Hagios Vasileios, Saint Basil (cat. no. 56), vol. 2, Fig. 72; Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72), vol. 2, Fig. 93; **Herakleion:** Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 110; Monastery of Kera Kardiotissa,



### 3.4.2 Heretics

Among the sinners pushed into the River of Fire by angels, a prominent place is held by heretics: Christian theologians and/or clergy who were considered to have ‘betrayed’ the Christian faith by questioning the nature of Christ and the Trinity. Early Christian doctrine struggled to find a balance between monotheism (e.g. Rom. 3:30, ‘Seeing *it is* one God . . .’) and the Trinitarian language of Scripture and worship (e.g. Matt. 28:19, ‘Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost’). Debates gave rise to various teachings that were branded as heretical by the ‘official’ Christian Church, usually in Ecumenical Councils. Among the heretics encountered in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire are Sabellius and his followers, Arius and his followers, Macedonius and his followers, and the followers of Nestorius.

The principles of Sabellius (*fl.* c. 220) are known only indirectly via his opponents. He allegedly taught that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were different manifestations of one divine reality. The best-known heretic, the Alexandrian presbyter Arius, probably based himself on Sabellius’ ideas. Arius proposed, in the early 4th century, an idea that gained in popularity despite the fact that it was denounced as a heresy in the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325: he maintained that three distinct persons are united in one godhead. While God is self-existent and without origin, the Son is finite and has an origin and, therefore, is of a different order of existence. Macedonius, who was also active in the 4th century, was a Bishop of Constantinople and a moderate Arian theologian. Macedonius’ teaching wavered between attributing to Christ an ‘identity of essence’ (*‘homousios’*) and ‘perfect similarity’ with the divinity of God the Father. In 360, at a local council, he was deposed and exiled. After his death in 362, a heretical Christian sect rejected the divinity of the Holy Spirit; because of the similarities of their views to the teaching of Macedonius, they were called ‘Macedonians’. Macedonius’ views were officially declared heretical by both Pope Damasus I in 374 and the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381. Nestorius (385–450) was a Patriarch of Constantinople, whose teaching on the two natures of Christ was branded heretical at the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431, when he was

Virgin (cat. no. 86; ‘Angel of the Lord’); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95), vol. 2, Fig. 121; Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131; Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 132; Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102), vol. 2, Fig. 135.

deposed from the patriarchate. The dyophysites (lit. 'two natures') supported the notion that the divine Son was 'indwelling' in the human being Jesus of Nazareth, and they distinguished between His two natures. For this reason, they also rejected the characterisation of the Virgin Mary as 'Theotokos' (Mother of God) since they insisted she only gave birth to the human (not to the divine) Jesus.<sup>60</sup>

Among the fifty-seven representations of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on Crete, heretics and/or their followers appear in nine. At Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84, vol. 2, Fig. 110) an inscription identifies a group simply as 'Heretics' (ΟΙ ΕΡΕΤΙΚΙ) amidst the red flames of Hell. The remaining eight cases confirm the image of Arius as the archetypal heretic, since he and/or his followers are shown in all of them.<sup>61</sup> Sabellius and/or his followers join him in four instances;<sup>62</sup> Macedonius and/or his followers, in three;<sup>63</sup> the followers of Nestorius, only in one.<sup>64</sup>

In some of the examples, the heretics have kept their ecclesiastical garments and their insignia, e.g. L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24, vol. 2, Fig. 30); Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72, vol. 2, Fig. 93). In most cases, they lack the normal Orthodox characteristics. For example, in Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41, vol. 2, Fig. 52) the *epitrachilia* worn by the busts of Arius and Macedonius bear some floral decorative patterns rather than the crosses.<sup>65</sup> Probably the most daring representation is found at Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6, vol. 2, Fig. 7), where the followers of Arius are depicted without any insignia on

<sup>60</sup> Hanson 1988; for a useful summary and further reading on Christology and heresy, see Louth 2010.

<sup>61</sup> Arius appears in **Chania**: L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 52; **Rethymnon**: Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72), vol. 2, Fig. 93; with his followers, in **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 7; only his followers, in **Chania**: Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18; **Rethymnon**: Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70), vol. 2, Fig. 89; **Herakleion**: Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131.

<sup>62</sup> Sabellius appears in **Chania**, L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; his followers can be seen in **Chania**, Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18; in **Herakleion**, Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; and in **Lassithi**, Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131.

<sup>63</sup> Macedonius appears in **Chania**, Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 52; his followers can be seen in Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18 and in **Lassithi**, Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131; in these two churches, the followers of Sabellius are also found (see previous note).

<sup>64</sup> **Herakleion**: Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; in this church the followers of Arius and Sabellius are also depicted (see above, notes 61 and 62 respectively).

<sup>65</sup> For the Orthodox ecclesiastical garments, see Papas 1981 (with extensive bibliography). See also Walter 1982, 9–26.

their garments and Arius himself is standing naked, his genitals just about covered by the strategically placed hand of one of his followers.

It is possible that in a further four churches, Orthodox clergy depicted in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire also refer to heretics.<sup>66</sup> In these examples, there are no accompanying inscriptions to identify either a leader or a group of followers; therefore, they could also represent priests who do not adhere to the Christian moral code, or (in later examples) supporters of the Union of the two Churches.<sup>67</sup> The representation of a bearded cleric wearing a Western bishop's mitre in Hagios Vasileios, Saint Basil (cat. no. 56, vol. 2, Fig. 72) and in Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90, vol. 2, Fig. 115) may well allude to this latter perceived 'heresy'; beards are not customary for Western clergy,<sup>68</sup> meaning the artist represented either a Western bishop according to his Orthodox knowledge of what a bishop looked like, or an Orthodox bishop with a Western mitre, or a Western bishop who had adopted some of the customs of his Orthodox peers. The 'heresy' of these clerics would have been a lot more directly relevant to the inhabitants of Crete than those of Sabellius, Arius and Macedonius.

The relation between Cretans and Venetians on the island during their prolonged coexistence (1211–1669) has been an issue of debate in the literature. Some scholars have portrayed a relation of mutual hate and suspicion, based on the various revolts the Venetian colonists had to face, particularly in the 13th century.<sup>69</sup> However, there is evidence of increasing integration, especially through trade and intermarriage, from the 14th century.<sup>70</sup> The shortage of Catholic priests in rural Crete forced Venetians stationed in various castles in the countryside to attend Orthodox services. This practice is attested by repeated decrees issued by

<sup>66</sup> **Herakleion:** Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95), vol. 2, Fig. 121; Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131; and Meseleroi, Saint George (cat. no. 104), vol. 2, Fig. 136.

<sup>67</sup> See Stathakopoulos and Weyl Carr in this volume, 48–51 and 406–7, n. 176 respectively. See also Lymberopoulou 2013, 63–71.

<sup>68</sup> In his *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, written sometime before the end of 1205, the Cistercian monk Gunther of Pairis mentions that 'There he [Abbot Martin] found a certain old man, handsome of face and with a long white beard – definitely a priest, but quite different in appearance from our priests . . .'; see Andrea 1997, 109 (chapter 19). It should be noted that both Cretan examples are dated before the Ferrara/Florence Council and therefore cannot be representing Unionists. A point should be made, though, about the Orthodox clergyman sporting a Catholic mitre in Hell at Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), who, based on the date, may represent a Unionist.

<sup>69</sup> A major supporter of this position is the late and prolific scholar of Venetian Crete, Stavros Maderakis; see, indicatively, Maderakis 2008.

<sup>70</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 200–1; Lymberopoulou 2013, 63–71, 79–81.

the Venetian Senate forbidding this, and by dedicatory inscriptions in churches, in which donors declare that their church was built only with contributions by Orthodox Christians.<sup>71</sup> It is possible that this shared use of churches is one of the reasons for the presence of Western elements – items of material culture, aspects of iconography – in many iconographic programmes from Venetian Crete.<sup>72</sup> One Catholic saint, Saint Francis of Assisi, even found a place in the Gallery of Saints in certain Orthodox churches,<sup>73</sup> and in fact remains popular on Crete even today.<sup>74</sup>

Nonetheless, mutual religious acceptance was limited, as is reflected in the inclusion of members of the Roman Catholic clergy in eleven representations of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire – two more than the number that include the traditional heretics mentioned above.<sup>75</sup> In three representations, the Roman Catholic clerics are in the company of the traditional heretics, suggesting that their presence here is indeed a condemnation of their beliefs rather than a general anti-Venetian statement.<sup>76</sup> It is in fact doubtful that Catholics who may have visited the churches where their clergy is depicted among the sinners would have considered this as a political attack against their rule on the island. There was a long-standing tradition of condemning clerics to Hell for various forms of immoral behaviour in Western art and literature.<sup>77</sup>

In terms of heresies that were contemporary to the inhabitants of Venetian Crete, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire occasionally also appears to include Jews and Muslims. Possible representations of Jews wearing the typical pointed hats they were given as a distinctive

<sup>71</sup> Lymberopoulou forthcoming a.

<sup>72</sup> Vassilaki-Mavarakakis 1982; Lymberopoulou 2006, 194–221; Lymberopoulou 2013.

<sup>73</sup> Ranoutsaki 2011. <sup>74</sup> Lassithiotakis 1981. See also Ranoutsaki 2011.

<sup>75</sup> These churches are: **Chania**: Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), vol. 2, Fig. 5; Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 8; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), vol. 2, Fig. 45; **Rethymnon**: Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos (cat. no. 55), vol. 2, Fig. 71(?); **Herakleion**: Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79), vol. 2, Fig. 102; Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 105; Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), vol. 2, Fig. 117; Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92), vol. 2, Fig. 119; **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 132.

<sup>76</sup> **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6; Arius and his followers); L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24; Arius and Sabellius); **Herakleion**: Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90; the followers of Sabellius, Arius and Nestorius).

<sup>77</sup> See Duits in this volume for a further discussion. The association between Franciscan friars and the Devil is reflected also a couple of centuries later in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, written between 1588 and 1592. In Act 1, Scene 3 (lines 24–7), the devil Mephistopheles tellingly suggests to Faustus: 'I charge thee to return and change thy shape. / Thou art too ugly to attend on me. / Go, and return an old Franciscan friar; / That holy shape becomes a devil best': O'Connor 2003.

characteristic in Western art can be found in two churches.<sup>78</sup> Muslims appear for certain in Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70, vol. 2, Fig. 89), where a group of sinners is labelled the 'Followers of Ishmael' (HCMAH/INO'I). They wear distinctive helmets with a long, thin ornament or plume; similar helmets can be found in five other churches.<sup>79</sup> Outside of the context of Hell, this type of helmet is also found in Cretan representations of Saint George with the Boy from Mytilini; according to the legend, this Christian boy was saved by the saint at the time he was about to serve wine to his Saracen captors, and he is usually shown seated on the back of the saint's horse, holding a glass of wine and wearing a helmet with a long, thin ornament or plume, suggesting that this was seen as 'Saracen' headwear.<sup>80</sup>

### 3.4.3 Secular Sinners

In addition to heretics, a number of infamous secular sinners can be found floating in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire at times. One of them is King Herod, responsible for the Massacre of the Innocents (Matt. 2:16–18), who appears twice, in Mpentenaki (Bentenaki), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89; with Herodias) and in Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96, vol. 2, Fig. 135) – perhaps surprisingly rarely given the popularity of this passage from the Gospel and the fact that the massacred babies are placed among the first martyrs of Christianity.<sup>81</sup> The iconographic programmes of the two churches in fact do not include a representation of the Massacre of the Innocents, although this subject is encountered nineteen times in Cretan iconographic programmes that include Hell.<sup>82</sup> At Kavousi, Herod is shown under the left wing of Satan enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths,

<sup>78</sup> **Chania:** Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23), vol. 2, Fig. 29; **Rethymnon:** Drymiskos, Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52), vol. 2, Fig. 69. See also Duits in this volume, 228 and n. 95, for a discussion of the Jewish hats.

<sup>79</sup> **Rethymnon:** Drymiskos (Katsogrida), Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52), vol. 2, Fig. 69; **Herakleion:** Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 105; Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115. Furthermore, attire and headdress identify Muslims in Rethymnon, Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58), vol. 2, Fig. 75, while in Herakleion, Apano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97 the partly surviving inscription, 'μ(η) γ(α)ρι', could have been referring to Saracens (Αγαρηνοί / 'Agarinoi'). For 'Saracens'/'Ishmaelites', see Tolan 2012.

<sup>80</sup> Lymberopoulou 2013, 73–7 and 96–9. <sup>81</sup> Classen 2005, 123.

<sup>82</sup> With eleven surviving examples from Rethymnon, this scene seems to have been popular as a subject there, since it represents 42.3% of all churches with Hell scenes in the area. Nevertheless, the total of nineteen examples represent only 17.7% of the 107 churches with Hell scenes from Crete. The surviving examples are: **Chania:** Anisarak, Virgin (cat. no. 2); Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6; this church also includes the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist); Kakodiki,

holding Judas, suggesting that he has been almost made a part of that ungodly trinity (see section 3.4.4 below). Nevertheless, the presence of Herod in Hell remains a rarity, not only on Crete, but also elsewhere: outside of Crete, he can only be found in the 13th-century church of Saint George near Kouvaras in Attica, where he is accompanied by Herodias.<sup>83</sup>

Traditional figures appearing in Hell are emperors who actively opposed Christianity, shown with the Byzantine imperial insignia of a bejewelled crown and a *loros*.<sup>84</sup> They are already included in Hell in the 11th-century Paris BnF gr. 74, fol. 93v (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume),<sup>85</sup> in one of the two 12th-century Sinai icons and in the mosaic at Torcello (see Fig. 4.5 in this volume).<sup>86</sup> On Crete, they are occasionally identified by inscriptions. For example, in Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4, vol. 2, Fig. 5) the letter ‘δ’ appears twice in Hell, probably identifying the Roman emperors Decius (r. 249–51) and Diocletian (r. 284–305), who both ordered the persecution of Christians.<sup>87</sup> They are in a group with Nero (r. AD 54–68) (‘..ρov’), who had many Christians executed after accusing them of setting fire to Rome in AD 64.<sup>88</sup> The emperor Julian (r. 361–3), known as Julian the Apostate because of his attempt to restore the pantheon of the ancient Greek and Roman gods at the expense of the newly established Christian Church,<sup>89</sup> is identified at Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84, vol. 2, Fig. 110).<sup>90</sup> Mostly, however, the imperial figures included in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire remain anonymous.<sup>91</sup> At Vathiako, Saint

Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); **Rethymnon**: Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 55); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59); Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61); Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 62); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70); Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72); **Herakleion**: Ano Viannos (Rizou), Saint Pelegia (cat. no. 76); Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91); **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

<sup>83</sup> Mouriki 1975–6, 157–8. <sup>84</sup> Kazhdan 1991, vol. 2, 1251–2.

<sup>85</sup> See Angheben 2002, 106 and fig. 1.

<sup>86</sup> For Torcello, see Polacco 1984; for the Sinai icon, see Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–8, fig. 150.

<sup>87</sup> Syme 1971, 208–20 (from Decius to Diocletian). <sup>88</sup> Syme 1971, 106–10.

<sup>89</sup> See Tougher 2007.

<sup>90</sup> The Greek letters ‘ΟΙΟΥΛΑ’ could be the surviving part of the inscription identifying the emperor Julian (Ο ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ).

<sup>91</sup> Further examples with imperial figures in Crete are: **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 7; Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 31; **Rethymnon**: Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58), vol. 2, Fig. 75; **Herakleion**: Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 132.

George (cat. no. 72, vol. 2, Fig. 93), the group of four emperors is accompanied by the inscription ‘the Emperors of the Wrong Faith’.<sup>92</sup>

According to Matthew 19:24 and Mark 10:25, ‘it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.’ Thus, it should not be surprising to find ‘rich people’ in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire. At Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81, vol. 2, Fig. 105), two women and one man with prominent headgear may represent ‘rich people’ (the two women with extravagant clothing could also be prostitutes).<sup>93</sup> A more frequently seen figure is the Rich Man from the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:24), mentioned above as part of the representation of Hell in the 11th-century manuscript, Paris BnF gr. 74 (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume). As in this latter image, he is sometimes shown in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, e.g. at Episkopi, where he is accompanied by the partially surviving inscription ‘Π[ΛΟΥ] CIOC’ (πλούσιος/*plousios*).<sup>94</sup> In other churches, this biblical sinner is instead included among the Individual Sinners, or even among the compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.4.4 The Ungodly Trinity: Satan, Judas and the Dragon of the Depths

As a sinister counterpart to the Holy Trinity of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost residing in Heaven, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is dominated by the Anti-Holy Trinity of Satan, Judas and the Dragon of the Depths: the image of Satan enthroned upon a dragon, clutching Judas to his breast.<sup>96</sup> The interchangeable identity of the three figures (perhaps reflecting the unity of the Holy Trinity) is underlined in Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), where an inscription informs us that the ‘Dragon of the Depths is holding the Son of

<sup>92</sup> Η ΒΑΣΙΛΥΧ Η ΚΑΚΟΔΟΕΥ; see vol. 2, 699. <sup>93</sup> Vassilaki 2000a, 63–5.

<sup>94</sup> See also Vassilaki 1998, 473–6. Maderakis 1980–1, 56, n. 152 mentions that Saint John Chrysostom explains the placement of the Rich Man at the edge of the River of Fire, opposite the Poor Lazarus; see PG 48, cols 987 and 1008. However, this notion of the Rich Man appearing close to Lazarus is rarely observed on Crete – probably at Hagios Vasileios, Saints Paraskevi and Basil (cat. no. 56, vol. 2, Fig. 73), at Kritsa, Christ the Lord (cat. no. 98, vol. 2, Fig. 131) and possibly at Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69).

<sup>95</sup> For a detailed analysis of this figure, see below Section 3.5 on Individual Sinners.

<sup>96</sup> The inscription ‘Antichrist’ can be seen in the proximity of the trio in at least three Cretan examples, two in **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 8; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 52; and one in **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131.



Perdition’;<sup>97</sup> the phrase ‘Dragon of the Depths’ here could equally point to the Dragon of the Depths or Satan, while the ‘Son of Perdition’ could indicate either Satan or Judas. Satan, or the Devil, is traditionally identified with the ‘great dragon, the ruler of the power of darkness’.<sup>98</sup> John 17:12 refers to Judas as the ‘son of perdition [destruction]’, while in Thessalonians 2:3 the same phrase is used as a reference to Satan.<sup>99</sup> In Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47), the inscription ‘the Prodigal Son’ accompanies the group. In Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), Satan holds a Judas with horns on his head, and is enthroned on a similarly horned dragon.<sup>100</sup> In L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), the trio is accompanied by an inscription reading ‘the Spirit of Evil’.

Essentially, Satan and all the other devils, while tormenting the sinners in Hell, also share their fate, burning in eternity in the same flames.<sup>101</sup> Judas is often portrayed as the arch-traitor; in the *Inferno* of his *Divine Comedy*, Dante place Judas along with two other arch-traitors in the mouth of Satan in the ninth circle of Hell.<sup>102</sup> In Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74), he is accompanied by the inscription ‘the traitor and awful Judas’.<sup>103</sup> However, it is not only his betrayal that put him in Hell; Saint Peter also betrayed Christ (Luke 22:54–62), but by ‘weeping bitterly’ once he realised what he had done, he repented, demonstrating the power of asking for forgiveness. Judas chose instead to commit suicide, which makes repentance impossible,<sup>104</sup> a choice that locked him in the arms of Satan in eternity, as seen in Crete in a total of twenty-two surviving examples.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>97</sup> ‘Son of Destruction’ is an alternative translation. <sup>98</sup> Marinis 2017a, 20.

<sup>99</sup> Mastoraki 2010, 429 and n. 19.

<sup>100</sup> One could, perhaps, view this as a counter-image to the Hospitality of Abraham, where sometimes all the angels bear cruciform nimbi to underline the unity of the Holy Trinity, e.g. at Çarikli Kilise, dated to the middle of the 11th century; see Restle 1967, vol. 2, XXI, fig. 206; Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 131. See also LyMBEROpoulou 2006, 24–5 and n. 26.

<sup>101</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 88. In Cyprus Satan can also be labelled as ‘Archon’ or ‘Hades’ – basically, they are interchangeable; see Weyl Carr in this volume, 367 and n. 70.

<sup>102</sup> On the literary traditions of Hell in western Europe, see Vorgrimler 1993, 175–90 (Dante); on the early illustrations of Dante’s *Inferno*, see Brieger, Meiss and Singleton 1969; Stolte 1998. Evidence supports that Dante was known in Venetian Crete; see Panagiotakes 1995, 307–14.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Β . . . ΤΩ ΠΡΟΔΟΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΙΩ ΙΟΥΔΑ(?)’ (*to prodoti kai athlio Iouda*; the inscription uses correctly the dative in Medieval Greek).

<sup>104</sup> Marinis 2017a, 36. See also Pitsakis 2006; Zarras 2006.

<sup>105</sup> **Chania:** Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), vol. 2, Fig. 5 (‘son of perdition’); Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 8 (‘antichrist’); L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30 (‘spirit of evil’); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 31; Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32), vol. 2, Fig. 42; Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), vol. 2, Fig. 45 (Judas with horns); Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39), vol. 2, Fig. 48; Voutas (Frameno), Virgin (cat. no. 44), vol. 2, Fig. 57; Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47), vol. 2, Fig. 62 (‘prodigal son’);



Some examples show Satan alone (that is, without either Judas or the dragon);<sup>106</sup> in others, Satan is depicted enthroned upon the dragon without holding Judas.<sup>107</sup>

In a number of churches, the Dragon of the Depths is identified by inscriptions;<sup>108</sup> it is possible that the commissioning community wanted to highlight this monster, which has its origins in biblical passages. Stavros Maderakis has suggested that Job 20 and 21:10–12 inspired the representations of the Dragon of the Depths.<sup>109</sup> ‘The dragon of the depths’ is certainly mentioned in the liturgy during the Pentecost.<sup>110</sup> There is, however, also a connection between the Dragon of the Depths and Leviathan, described in Isaiah 27:1, ‘In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that *is* the sea.’ Gregory the Great (pope between 590 and 604) comments on the description in Job 41, where Leviathan infects the air with his nostrils spewing out smoke (Job 41:20), which Gregory interprets as ‘evil thoughts’.<sup>111</sup> Like Leviathan, the Dragon of the Depths is often depicted as a sea creature with a fish tail, and, in other cases, with a coiling serpentine tail. Leviathan is always ready to

**Rethymnon:** Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51), vol. 2, Fig. 68; Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 55), vol. 2, Fig. 71 (damaged around the area of Judas); Hagios Vasileios, Saints Paraskevi and Basil (cat. no. 56), vol. 2, Fig. 72; Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66), vol. 2, Fig. 84; **Herakleion:** Apano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74); Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79), vol. 2, Fig. 103; Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), vol. 2, Fig. 117; **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95), vol. 2, Fig. 121; Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96), vol. 2, Fig. 123; Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131.

<sup>106</sup> **Chania:** Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23), vol. 2, Fig. 29; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 52 (badly damaged; the possibility that Satan is holding Judas here cannot be excluded); **Herakleion:** Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80), vol. 2, Fig. 104 (badly damaged); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 105; Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 110; **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96), vol. 2, Fig. 124 (here Satan appears twice: once riding the Dragon of the Depths holding Judas, vol. 2, Fig. 123, and a second time in the neighbouring frame, where Hell continues, ‘addressing’ a group of naked sinners depicted in a single file with a chain around their necks).  
<sup>107</sup> **Rethymnon:** Drymiskos (Katsogrida), Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52), vol. 2, Fig. 69 (badly damaged); Roustika, Virgin and Christ (cat. no. 68); Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72), vol. 2, Fig. 93; Lassithi, Fourni, Saint George (cat. no. 94); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 132 (the dragon has two heads).

<sup>108</sup> **Chania:** Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), vol. 2, Fig. 5; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47), vol. 2, Fig. 62; **Rethymnon:** Drymiskos (Katsigrida), Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52), vol. 2, Fig. 69; Hagios Vasileios, Saints Paraskevi and Basil (cat. no. 56), vol. 2, Fig. 72; Vathiako, Saint George (cat. no. 72), vol. 2, Fig. 93; **Herakleion:** Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74).

<sup>109</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 66. <sup>110</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 71 and n. 199. <sup>111</sup> Schmidt 1995, 48.

swallow a sinful soul,<sup>112</sup> and the Dragon of the Depths is repeatedly depicted devouring souls on Crete.<sup>113</sup> Psalm 73(74):13–14 mentions ‘the heads of the dragon’ and ‘the heads of Leviathan’,<sup>114</sup> implying a creature with more than one head. On Crete, the Dragon of the Depths is sometimes portrayed as a double-headed dragon, possibly based on Western models.<sup>115</sup>

On one single occasion, at Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4, vol. 2, Fig. 5), the ungodly trinity of Satan, Judas and the Dragon of the Depths is accompanied by a secular sinner, who is not normally included in the theologically and ecclesiastically underpinned Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire: the Murderer. There are of course many biblical references to the sin of murder, not least in the Book of Revelation.<sup>116</sup> Yet the Murderer is more commonly found among the ranks of the sinners whose actions have a more direct impact on everyday society. It is to this component of Hell, the Individual Sinners, that the next section will be devoted.

### 3.5 Individual Sinners

The Individual Sinners are those who are guilty of professional, social and religious transgressions in everyday life. They are rendered as separate figures undergoing specific punishments, placed in frames: either in squares,<sup>117</sup> in

<sup>112</sup> Schmidt 1995, 49 and 196 and n. 46.

<sup>113</sup> **Chania:** Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 8; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), vol. 2, Fig. 45; Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42), vol. 2, Fig. 54; Voutas (Frameno), Virgin (cat. no. 44), vol. 2, Fig. 57; Vouvas, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 46), vol. 2, Fig. 60; Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47), vol. 2, Fig. 62; **Rethymnon:** Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51), vol. 2, Fig. 68; **Herakleion:** Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80), vol. 2, Fig. 104; Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90), vol. 2, Fig. 115; **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131; Voulismeni (Vigli), Virgin (cat. no. 107), vol. 2, Fig. 137.

<sup>114</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 71.

<sup>115</sup> **Chania:** Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 8; Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47), vol. 2, Fig. 62 (left side damaged); **Herakleion:** Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80), vol. 2, Fig. 104 (left side damaged); **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96), vol. 2, Fig. 123; Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), vol. 2, Fig. 131 (left side damaged); Kritsa, John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 132; Voulismeni (Vigli), Virgin (cat. no. 107), vol. 2, Fig. 137. See also Duits in this volume, 219–22.

<sup>116</sup> Revelation 21:8 states: ‘But the fearful, and unbelieving and the abominable and murderers and whoremongers and sorcerers and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone . . .’. The association between the wall painting and this biblical passage at Asfentiles may reflect the dedication of the church to Saint John the Evangelist, author of the Book of Revelation.

<sup>117</sup> In **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 5, 11, 13, 14, 17? (the extent of damage does not allow us to discern whether the sinners are displayed in squares or in a row), 28, 30? (the extent of damage does

rows,<sup>118</sup> within a large single frame,<sup>119</sup> or sometimes in a combination of the above three options.<sup>120</sup> Squares are the most popular choice (at least thirty-one examples),<sup>121</sup> followed by rows (at least twenty-three examples),<sup>122</sup> single frames (nine examples), and combinations (seven examples).<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, it seems that the prefecture of Rethymnon did not favour either single frames or combinations. The dominant colours of the backgrounds against which the sinners are shown within their frames are white and blue, while red, ochre and more rarely black are also occasionally in use.

All the sinners are depicted naked, in a manner much more graphic than is common in the Byzantine tradition, with the bare breasts of women and occasionally male genitals (but never female genitals) prominently on display. Men are depicted both with and without a beard, signifying various ages; women are shown with loose hair, as opposed to covered, which was the accepted presentation of females once they passed childhood, at least before the mid-15th century.<sup>124</sup> For present-day scholars, the representation of Individual Sinners provides further information on the material culture of the period, as certain sinners are identified by the tools of their profession. Tavern keepers are accompanied by jugs and jars, millers by mill- and grindstones, farmers by ploughs.<sup>125</sup> Occasionally even elements of contemporary fashion feature in Hell.<sup>126</sup>

not allow us to discern whether the sinners are displayed in squares or in a row), 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 44, 47; in **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 62, 68, 70, 73; in **Herakleion**: cat. nos 77, 80, 86, 88; in **Lassithi**: cat. nos 95, 96.

<sup>118</sup> In **Chania**: cat. nos 1, 8, 12, 16, 17? (the extent of damage does not allow us to discern whether the sinners are displayed in a row or in squares), 27, 30? (the extent of damage does not allow us to discern whether the sinners are displayed in a row or in squares), 31, 35, 40, 42, 43, 45; in **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 49, 55, 64, 65, 66, 69, 71; in **Herakleion**: cat. nos 74, 76, 83, 90; in **Lassithi**: cat. no. 101.

<sup>119</sup> In **Chania**: cat. nos 7, 19, 20; in **Herakleion**: cat. nos 75, 79, 82, 85; in **Lassithi**: cat. nos 99, 107.

<sup>120</sup> In **Chania**: cat. nos 6 (single frame and squares), 9 (square and row), 10 (single frame and squares), 21 (single frame and square); in **Herakleion**: cat. no. 78 (row and square); in **Lassithi**: cat. nos 98 (row and square), 100 (row and square).

<sup>121</sup> It is not possible to identify the kind of presentation in two examples.

<sup>122</sup> It is not possible to identify the kind of presentation in two examples.

<sup>123</sup> At Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), the murderer is uniquely seen in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire; this is probably related to the dedication of the church (see above, 140 and n. 116).

<sup>124</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 216–17. According to Mylopotamitaki 1986, 120, from the mid-15th century onwards many women left their hair loose.

<sup>125</sup> According to Maderakis 1979, 52, the plough depicted in Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40, vol. 2, Fig. 51) consists of one of the most accurate representation of ploughs.

<sup>126</sup> For example, Cretan Hell includes men, and occasionally women, wearing specific types of hats: **Chania**: Chania, Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), vol. 2, Fig. 26; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24), vol. 2, Fig. 30; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 52; **Rethymnon**: Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64;

The Individual Sinners have professions that would have been exercised by members of the congregation (e.g. millers, tailors), they have committed acts that went against the social and moral, and devotional code of the time (e.g. blasphemers, eavesdroppers and slanderers, falsifiers of documents, fornicators, thieves). Their section of Hell is probably the one that villagers on Crete would have identified with most directly. Showing them being tormented in Hell would have been on the one hand preventative, stopping people from performing deeds that would earn them a 'hot' ticket, and on the other satisfying, indicating the fate of those at the hands of whom villagers might have suffered. One striking aspect, however, is the unevenness with which particular professions are represented; there are, for instance, no shoemakers, no coopers, and no representations of a whole range of other professions that must have been commonplace on 14th- and 15th-century Crete.<sup>127</sup> This may suggest a certain amount of dependency of this iconography on written sources.<sup>128</sup>

Out of the 107 churches that include representations of Cretan Hell in their iconographic programme, seventy-three show the punishments of Individual Sinners (68.2%, see Appendix 1). Among these:

- Seventeen representations form part of a 'full' Hell (there are no examples of this in the prefecture of Lassithi);
- Nineteen representations accompany the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (examples can be found in all prefectures);
- Seventeen representations accompany compartments of Communal Punishments (examples can be found in all prefectures);
- Twenty representations stand alone (the majority of these, fourteen, can be found in Chania).

Drymiskjos (Katsogridi), Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52), vol. 2, Fig. 69; Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 55), vol. 2, Fig. 71; Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66), vol. 2, Fig. 84; **Herakleion**: Apano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 105 (here both male and female sinners feature with hats); Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), vol. 2, Fig. 145. For broad-brimmed hats, worn by a number of these sinners, see vol. 2, cat. no. 81, 736 and n. 27.

<sup>127</sup> The much-praised Cretan olive oil became a famous product from the island rather late, in the 16th century; this would explain the lack of punishments relating to olive oil production from Cretan Hell scenes; see Lymberopoulou 2006, 199. Rural households were baking their own bread and therefore professional bakers would not have been part of its society. Still, the majority of the professions mentioned in Maltezou 1987b do not appear in Cretan Hell; see also Gasparis 1989; Gasparis in this volume, 96–8, 101–2; and Panopoulou 2019.

<sup>128</sup> See Stathakopoulos in this volume, 22–42.

Since not all examples survive, it is not straightforward to establish the number of separate different sinners shown in Cretan churches. It is equally difficult to group them neatly into categories. Stavros Maderakis, in his lengthy and invaluable publication on Cretan Hell, identifies forty-nine sinners and groups them into eleven categories, sometimes with subcategories.<sup>129</sup> For example, Cretan Hell includes thieves, but also examples of a thief and robber (cat. no. 21) as well as of a robber (cat. no. 58). I would suggest that these different categories and subcategories essentially refer to the same sinner, a thief, and should count as one single sin. One could argue, of course, that those who cheated at the scales, or tailors who overcharged their clients or withheld material when delivering a finished order, also count as thieves. These latter examples, however, are theft in a professional capacity and therefore distinctive.

The same approach could be applied to the various female sinners who are labelled either as not nursing children, as not nursing babies, as rejecting babies, or as drinking potions in order not to conceive. I would argue that all of these female sinners have committed the same sin: in a nutshell, they have gone against society's expectations of women becoming mothers and behaving in a motherly way towards children in general. Similarly, a transgression committed in equal measure by both genders can count as the same sin – most notably the sin of fornication, which has female and male representatives throughout Crete.

Based on this line of reasoning, I have classified thirty different types of Individual Sinners among the currently identified Cretan wall paintings. They are, in alphabetical order:

1. Anti-Children<sup>130</sup> (female only; social); twenty-six surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 19, 21, 31, 40, 42, 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 65, 71; Herakleion cat. nos 74,<sup>131</sup> 76, 79, 82,<sup>132</sup> 83, 86; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 98, 99, 101;
2. Antisocial Communication (both genders; social; this group includes eavesdroppers, gossipers and slanderers); twenty-five surviving examples: Eavesdroppers, seven surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 10, 12,

<sup>129</sup> Maderakis 1979, 73–80. Vassilaki 1986, 42, mentions forty-two punishments of sinners, without, however, providing a list.

<sup>130</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4).

<sup>131</sup> At Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74), the word that survives is *nipia* (babies), so this female may be guilty of either rejecting or not nursing babies (or perhaps both, like the woman at Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82); see below, n. 221).

<sup>132</sup> At Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), the female sinner is identified as one who 'rejects and does not nurse' babies (see below, n. 221).

- 19; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 82 (male), 83; **Lassithi**: cat. nos. 98, 99; Gossipers, nine surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 16, 33, 34, 35, 42; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50 (male), 65; **Lassithi**: cat. nos 96, 101; Slanderers, five surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 7 (male), 28, 47; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 76, 82; either gossipers or slanderers (snakes are biting the sinners' mouth),<sup>133</sup> four surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 13 (male), 20 (male); **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 52 (male), **Lassithi**: cat. no. 100;
3. Avarice (male only; social); one recorded example: **Herakleion**: cat. no. 76;<sup>134</sup>
  4. Bad Judge (male only; professional); one surviving example: **Herakleion**: cat. no. 82;
  5. Blasphemer/Invokes Devil (male only; social, religious); five surviving examples in total: Blasphemer, two surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. no. 42; **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 50;<sup>135</sup> the Man Who Invokes the Devil, three surviving examples (two abbots and one layman): **Chania**: cat. no. 4; **Lassithi**: cat. nos 95, 96;
  6. Bestialist (male only; social); one surviving example: **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 50;
  7. Cheats at the Scales (predominantly male, three female examples; professional); twenty-one surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 1, 6, 7, 10, 12, 19 (female), 20, 33, 34, 40, 45;<sup>136</sup> **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 70; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 74, 76, 82, 83, 86, 88, 90 (female); in **Lassithi**: cat. nos 96, 101 (female);<sup>137</sup>
  8. Farming Transgressions (including farmers who plough over the boundary line, reap over the boundary line and various combinations; male only; social); forty-three surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19,<sup>138</sup> 20, 21,<sup>139</sup> 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46;

<sup>133</sup> A snake is possibly biting the liar's mouth (cat. no. 47, see below no. 12); however, since the sin of lying is an isolated example within the Cretan material, it would perhaps be safer to assume that such punishment usually identifies the more frequently depicted gossipers and slanderers within this context.

<sup>134</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 47).

<sup>135</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 102–3 (section 2.3.6).

<sup>136</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

<sup>137</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>138</sup> The church at Karydi, Virgin (cat. no. 19), includes a farmer who ploughs over the boundary line and another who reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>139</sup> At Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), the same male farmer is identified as both ploughing and reaping over the boundary line.

- Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 64, 65,<sup>140</sup> 66, 69, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 74, 79(?), 82,<sup>141</sup> 85, 86, 90; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 95, 98,<sup>142</sup> 99, 100, 101 and 107;<sup>143</sup>
9. Fornicator<sup>144</sup> (both male and female; social); at least fifty-five surviving examples in total, including at least twenty-six male:<sup>145</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13(?), 19, 21, 34, 35, 39, 44(?), 45;<sup>146</sup> **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 51(?), 58(?), 62, 65, 66, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76(?), 78, 82,<sup>147</sup> 86(?); **Lassithi:** cat. nos 96, 98; and at least twenty-nine female:<sup>148</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 6(?), 7(?), 10, 11, 16, 19, 21, 31, 32,<sup>149</sup> 39, 42, 45;<sup>150</sup> **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 49(?), 50, 58, 65, 66, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76, 78, 82,<sup>151</sup> 86; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 98, 99,<sup>152</sup> 100, 106);<sup>153</sup>
  10. Fortune-Teller (grain-reader) (female only; professional and social); one surviving example: **Herakleion:** cat. no. 76;
  11. Glutton (male only; moral); one surviving example: **Herakleion:** cat. no. 76;<sup>154</sup>
  12. Liar (female only; social); one surviving example: **Chania:** cat. no. 47;
  13. Magistrate (male only; professional); one surviving example: **Lassithi:** cat. no. 95;

<sup>140</sup> The church at Mourne, Saint George (cat. no. 65), includes a farmer who ploughs over the boundary line and another who reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>141</sup> The church at Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), includes a farmer who ploughs over the boundary line and another who reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>142</sup> The church at Kritsa, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 98), includes a farmer who ploughs over the boundary line and another who reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>143</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 101–2 (section 2.3.5).

<sup>144</sup> As one of three capital sins: Eastmond and James 2007, 177 (the other two being murder and idolatry). Punishment for the sin of fornication is the most frequently encountered in Cretan churches (see discussion below).

<sup>145</sup> Labelled as  *pornos*  unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>146</sup> In the church at Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45), Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24), mentions both a  *pornos*  and a  *moichos* .

<sup>147</sup> In Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), the inscription ‘fornicator and adulterer’ ( *pornos kai moichos* ) accompanies one of the male sinners.

<sup>148</sup> Labelled as  *porni*  unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>149</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 9).

<sup>150</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

<sup>151</sup> In Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), a female sinner is identified as ‘the priest’s wife who fornicates’.

<sup>152</sup> Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), includes both a female fornicator and a female ‘who is not a virgin’, the latter also suggesting sexual activity outside marriage.

<sup>153</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4).

<sup>154</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 47).



14. Margiristrea (female only; unclear sin); one surviving example: **Chania:** cat. no. 19;<sup>155</sup>
15. Miller (male only; professional); eighteen surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21, 35, 38, 42, 43; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 51, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 79, 86; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 101;<sup>156</sup>
16. Murderer<sup>157</sup> (male only; social); sixteen surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 4, 16, 19, 20, 32, 33, 35, 43, 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 55, 65, 70; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 79; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 99;<sup>158</sup>
17. Not Giving Offerings to the Church (female predominantly, with at least four surviving examples showing a female, and one a figure of unidentifiable gender; social); five surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. no. 35; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 49, 50, 55; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 96;<sup>159</sup>
18. Notary who Falsified Documents (male only; professional); five surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 19, 27, 45;<sup>160</sup> **Herakleion:** cat. no. 76; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 98;<sup>161</sup>
19. Perjurer (male only; social); four surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 40; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 76; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 99;<sup>162</sup>
20. Priest who is Neglectful or Abuses his Place in the Church (male only; professional and religious); five surviving examples in total: three of 'a priest who neglects his church': **Chania:** cat. no. 10(?), 20; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 99; and two of 'a priest who abuses his [position in the] church': **Chania:** cat. no. 6(?); **Lassithi:** cat. no. 100;<sup>163</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Kalogerakis suggests that this sinner depicts either *machinarea* (causing strife) or *martiriprea* (who cannot keep secrets); see Kalogerakis 2005, 94 and 108 respectively.

<sup>156</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>157</sup> As one of three capital sins: Eastmond and James 2007, 177 (the other two being idolatry and fornication).

<sup>158</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 94–6 (section 2.3.1).

<sup>159</sup> The five examples are at Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35; female); Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49; female); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50; female); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55; unidentified gender); Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96; female). In all examples the sinners are depicted as if they are kneading. Kneading bread was an area in which women were employed in the cities; see Panopoulou 2019, 213. However, it is unlikely that this is a reference to bakers, since the majority of rural Greek households baked their own bread certainly until the mid-20th century. For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 102–3 (section 2.3.6).

<sup>160</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

<sup>161</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

<sup>162</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

<sup>163</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 102–3 (section 2.3.6).



21. Procureess (Bawd, Madam) (female only; professional, social); seven surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 7, 19, 45;<sup>164</sup> **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 70; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 83; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 98(?), 100(?);<sup>165</sup>
22. Rich Man/'Rich Lazarus' (male; social; twenty-eight surviving examples): **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 6, 13, 19, 24, 27, 28, 35, 40, 41, 42, 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 56, 61, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 75, 81, 82, 88; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 95, 96, 98, 99;
23. Sunday Sleepers (couples; religious and, in some cases, social); nineteen surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 9, 10, 13, 21, 32, 34, 35, 46; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 55, 59, 60,<sup>166</sup> 62, 70; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 75, 79; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 96 and 99;
24. Tailor (male only; professional); twelve surviving examples in total: **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 10, 21, 43; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 55, 58, 69, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 76; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 98 and 99;<sup>167</sup>
25. Tavern Keeper (male predominantly, one female example; professional and social); up to nine surviving examples in total: in **Chania:** cat. nos 1 (female), 31, 42, 43, 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 51, 55, 58(?);<sup>168</sup>
26. Thief (male; social); thirty-three surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 33, 35, 40, 43, 45,<sup>169</sup> 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 52, 55, 65, 66, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76, 78, 86; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 96, 98, 99, 100, 101;<sup>170</sup>
27. Troublemaker (female only; social); one surviving example: **Chania:** cat. no. 19;
28. Usurer (predominantly male, with only one tentative female example; professional and social); fifteen surviving examples: **Chania:** cat. nos 1, 6, 19, 35; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 49(?), 50, 58, 71, 73; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76, 79, 83 (female?), 88; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 96 and 99;<sup>171</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

<sup>165</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4).

<sup>166</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 36). For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 102–3 (section 2.3.6).

<sup>167</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>168</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2). While women tavern keepers are attested in the sources, this was mostly undertaken by married couples; see Panopoulou 2019, 212, 217.

<sup>169</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24) as the 'rope thief' (ο κλεπτοσκήνης; *o kleptoskinis*). Rope-making was certainly a thriving market; see Panopoulou 2019, 231.

<sup>170</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 94–6 (section 2.3.1).

<sup>171</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

29. Weaver (female only; professional, although possibly not in the villages, and social); eight surviving examples: **Chania**: cat. nos 2, 7, 19, 38, 43; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 55, 71;<sup>172</sup>
30. Witch (predominantly female, with possibly one male example, a sorcerer; social); seven in total: **Chania**: cat. nos 35, 45,<sup>173</sup> 46; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 65; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 76, 78(?) (male).<sup>174</sup>

Broadly speaking, these sinners are guilty of transgressions of either a professional nature (e.g. Miller), a religious nature (e.g. Invokes the Devil), or a social nature (e.g. Thief). Some sinners are exclusively male (e.g. farming transgressions), others exclusively female (e.g. all sins related to the lack of 'maternal' behaviour). Yet none of these broader distinctions gives rise to neat broader categories. Professional sins could also have a social dimension (e.g. the Tavern Keeper, since taverns were usually associated with excessive drinking, fornication, brawling etc.). Religious sins equally can have a social aspect (e.g. Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of attending church often also commit sins of the flesh, indicated by the fact that they are shown as a couple lying naked in bed: Chania, cat. no. 21; Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 55, 59, 70). Some professional sins (e.g. the Miller, or the Tailor) are exclusively male, but others are not (e.g. the Tavern Keeper).

Therefore, it is preferable to group the Cretan sinners according to the number of surviving examples found in the churches. On Crete, for example, certain types of transgressions appear only once and therefore could point towards a specific local preoccupation. In other words, the community could have placed in Hell specific sins that were at the centre of the congregation's attention at the time the church was decorated. There may have been a specific individual in a village associated with that particular sin. Thus, the following sinners may well suggest a particular social focus related to the time of decoration: the Avaricious Person;<sup>175</sup> Bad Judge; Bestialist;<sup>176</sup> Fortune-Teller (female who predicts the future by

<sup>172</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>173</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

<sup>174</sup> For this group of sinners within the social context of Crete, see Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4).

<sup>175</sup> Mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 47).

<sup>176</sup> The example is included at Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), one of the two richest displays of individual sinners in Cretan churches.

reading grains);<sup>177</sup> Glutton;<sup>178</sup> Liar;<sup>179</sup> Magistrate;<sup>180</sup> ‘Margiristrea’; and Troublemaker.

The diversity of the sinners appearing in Cretan churches may suggest that for rural communities, these were not ‘personifications’ of sins, but rather representative of real people whose bad behaviour earned them a place in Hell. The priest who was preaching for the salvation of his congregation’s soul could have made references to specific examples, known to the community – and that would have included highlighting examples of bad priests previously serving the community or serving in neighbouring villages (see the discussion below). This is implied by the fact that many sins are represented as both male and female; in the case of fornicators, both genders are often depicted within the same church. The Church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula (cat. no. 35) further supports this hypothesis, since its Individual Sinners include a Thief who has actually been assigned a name, ‘Leontis’ (*o kleftis o Leontis*, vol. 2, Fig. 45). One could only assume that Leontis must have been a well-known thief, probably of livestock, active in the area; his inclusion in Hell must have satisfied, to a degree, his victims’ desire for justice as they watched him receiving eternal punishment.

The second group includes types of sin that appear more often, but in relatively small numbers (lower than ten). These are (in ascending order): Perjurers (4) (a sin prohibited in the Ten Commandments);<sup>181</sup> Priests who Neglect or Abuse their Position in their Church (4);<sup>182</sup> Blasphemers and Those Who Invoke the Devil (5);<sup>183</sup> Notaries who Falsified

<sup>177</sup> This particular female sinner (*kritharistra*), included in Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76), is identified as a ‘witch’ by Vassilaki 1986, 43. However, I think this sin is different in nature compared to that of a witch, which is also found in Cretan churches, including in the Church of Saint Pelagia (see above, 148, no. 30). This was probably the equivalent of the very popular, present-day fortune-telling by reading the remnants of Greek coffee at the bottom of a cup, which the Orthodox Church regards as equally sinful; see Gerstel 2015, 85 and n. 68.

<sup>178</sup> As a sinful desire, see Eastmond and James 2007, 177–8.

<sup>179</sup> A snake is depicted biting the liar’s mouth (vol. 2, Fig. 63). The punishment inflicted here resembles that reserved for gossipers and slanderers (see above 143–4, no. 2, n. 133); nevertheless, the inscription makes it clear that here it is the sin of lying that it is singled out.

<sup>180</sup> For the magistrate (*kouratoras*), see also Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>181</sup> ‘Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.’

<sup>182</sup> Since other transgressions have been grouped together on the basis of their overarching sin (e.g. anti-children, antisocial communication, farming), it was deemed necessary to present these examples together since they involve condemning professional and religious behaviour of priests towards the church in which they were officiating. It should be noted that the sinner at Kritsa, Panagia Kera (cat. no. 100), is not identified in the inscription specifically as ‘priest’, and since he is depicted naked this cannot be verified by his attire either. The verb ‘to work’, which is used in the inscription, could, perhaps, support his identification as a priest. On ‘bad’ priests, see Tsamakda 2012, 156–9.

<sup>183</sup> For blasphemy in the legal tradition of Christians, see Gasparis in this volume, 102, n. 149.

Documents (5);<sup>184</sup> Those Who Do Not Give Offerings to the Church (5);<sup>185</sup> Procuresses (7); Witches or Sorcerers (7);<sup>186</sup> Weavers (8); and Tavern Keepers (9). These sinners likely refer to social and moral issues that were recurring, but of which particular villages may have suffered more than others at the time of the decoration of the church.

A case in point is that of the Weaver, whose presence is actually challenging to explain. It is unclear if she represents a professional or a moral category.<sup>187</sup> Weaving was a sector of employment of women mostly in the cities.<sup>188</sup> In most villages, however, women would have done their own weaving, and not commissioned work from a professional. Maria Vassilaki has suggested that weavers committed the sin of gossiping while carrying out their task;<sup>189</sup> however, weaving was a solitary job for the women at home and it could not have offered many opportunities for gossip or slander – certainly no more than other domestic tasks. Georgios Kalogerakis has instead put forward an idea based on discussions with his contemporary female villagers: they told him that women who were weaving the dowries for upper-class ladies often complained about the burden of their workload or spoke ill of the brides-to-be.<sup>190</sup> Again, it is not clear how much weaving in Cretan villages would actually have been commissioned by third parties.<sup>191</sup> Sharon E. J. Gerstel provides an insightful justification, associating weaving with women venturing outside the home (and thus having ‘loose’ morals) as well as with superstition relating to taboo days for weaving (such as Wednesday, Friday and Sunday).<sup>192</sup> Another possibility would be to relate this sin to pride, which women took in their end products – a distant echo of the ancient Greek myth of Arachni.<sup>193</sup> Whether female weavers were considered gossipers, habitual complainers, as weaving on taboo days, or boastful of their output, it is likely that such a qualification formed part of a shared image of the Weaver, of which perhaps individual villages knew a specific

<sup>184</sup> For notaries who falsified documents (*falsografos*), see also Gasparis in this volume, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

<sup>185</sup> Gerstel 2015, 83–4. <sup>186</sup> See Mpolanakis 2002, 117–18; Gerstel 2015, 84–5.

<sup>187</sup> This sinner is never described as ‘thieving’, as is, for instance, an example depicting a tailor (see below). Gasparis groups her with the professional sinners, see Gasparis in this volume, 96–7 (section 2.3.2).

<sup>188</sup> Panopoulou 2019, 209–11, 222–3. <sup>189</sup> Vassilaki 1986, 44. <sup>190</sup> Kalogerakis 2005, 94–7.

<sup>191</sup> Panopoulou 2019, 222, mentions that in the tailoring sector women were employed as experts to estimate dowries’ products.

<sup>192</sup> Gerstel 2015, 95–6.

<sup>193</sup> According to the ancient Greek myth, a young girl called Arachni (which translates as ‘Spider’) took great pride in her weaving abilities, which led her to challenge the goddess Athena to a contest. The goddess of wisdom took offence and condemned the young girl to spin her loom in eternity, hence turning her to a spider: Kakridis 1986, vol. 3, 334–5. See also Lymberopoulou 2019. Nevertheless, at the core of this myth lies also a measure against pride, a sin according to Christian belief.

instance that prompted them to have the repercussions of this sin shown in Hell in their local church.

The third and final group consists of types of sin that appear ten times or more. There are marked variations in this group, between types of sin that just reach double figures and types that appear in 50% of cases where Individual Sinners are shown. Nonetheless, this group appears to include sins that must have been widespread on Crete. They are (in ascending order):

- The **Tailor**, who appears twelve times. Apart from his identifying inscription, the Tailor can be recognised by his regular attribute, a pair of scissors, the main tool of his profession, e.g. at Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58). The main transgression of the Tailor may have been to keep behind spare pieces of (expensive) cloth from commissions, as is suggested by at least two Cretan examples. At Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71, vol. 2, Fig. 91), the Tailor is depicted with a piece of red cloth across his lap. At Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21, vol. 2, Fig. 26), one of the most interesting examples of this particular sinner, the Tailor is labelled ‘thieving’ in the accompanying inscription (‘the thieving tailor’) and has a pair of open scissors hanging from around his neck. The position of the tailor himself reflects that of the tool of his profession, since he is depicted sitting with his legs spread wide, just like a pair of open scissors. Furthermore, he wears a hat of expensive red cloth and has a piece of spare cloth lying next to him;
- The **Usurer**, who appears fifteen times. This sinner reflects a linguistic cultural interaction, since in eleven of the fourteen examples, he is identified as *zouraris*, the Greek transliteration of the Latin word for usurer, *usurarius*.<sup>194</sup> Maria Vassilaki has suggested that usurers are placed in Hell as an example of rich people who have accumulated their wealth by exploiting the dire needs of others.<sup>195</sup> Furthermore, based primarily on 17th-century sources, Vassilaki draws attention to usury as a major problem for the Cretan countryside, something which Charalambos Gasparis also highlights in his chapter in this volume.<sup>196</sup> While usurers in Cretan wall paintings are predominantly male, with only one tentative female example, in the Apocalypse of Paul both male and female moneylenders are mentioned, whereas in the Apocalypse of

<sup>194</sup> See Duits in this publication, 226–7. See also Duits 2018, 90–1. Only in two cases is the Usurer accompanied by a variant of the proper Greek term: in Chania, cat. no. 6 and in Rethymnon, cat. no. 73.

<sup>195</sup> Vassilaki 1998, 476–81. <sup>196</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

the Virgin these sinners are female.<sup>197</sup> Based on archival evidence from Venetian Crete, certain women would have been in a position to lend money and thus exercise usury.<sup>198</sup>

- The **Murderer**, who appears sixteen times. The majority of the examples, ten, are situated in the prefecture of Chania.<sup>199</sup> In twelve cases, the Murderer is accompanied either by a sword (Chania, cat. nos 1, 19, 35, 43; Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 55, 65, 70; Lassithi, cat. nos 99) or a dagger (Chania, cat. nos 32, 47). While swords and daggers are of course obvious instruments to commit murder with, this may also indicate the influence of the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, which places murderers ‘who use swords’ among the worst sinners in the outer fire;<sup>200</sup> in other words, this could be a representation derived directly or indirectly from a textual source.<sup>201</sup>
- The **Miller**, who appears eighteen times. In Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), the accompanying inscription makes it clear that the sin landing the Miller in Hell is stealing from customers (*o mylonas opou varyzygiazei*; ‘the miller who cheats while weighing the goods’). In the majority of the examples, the sinful millers are depicted with a millstone around their necks (in Chania, cat. nos 2, 13, 14, 21, 35, 38, 43; in Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 51), while in one example the millstone has been placed under his head as a sort of a pillow (in Chania, cat. no. 42).<sup>202</sup> Sharon E. J. Gerstel has described this display as a ‘perverse imitation of a halo’,<sup>203</sup> an inversion that would tie in with the ‘ungodly’ trinity formed by Satan, Judas and the Dragon of the Depths in Hell, discussed above.<sup>204</sup> At the same time, the representation of the miller’s punishment evokes Mark 9:42, ‘And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea’.
- **Those Who Sleep on Sunday** appear nineteen times. This is the only sin which the congregation present in the church were fully aware they were

<sup>197</sup> Baun 2007, 87. <sup>198</sup> Panopoulou 2019, 214.

<sup>199</sup> Cat. nos 1, 4, 16, 19, 20, 32, 33, 35, 43 and 47. At Chania, Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4), the murderer is included in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, hanging upside down, as described above.

<sup>200</sup> Baun 2007, 88. <sup>201</sup> See Stathakopoulos in this volume, 22–42.

<sup>202</sup> The suggestion here is that the millstone is tied around his neck and choking him in eternity with its weight. In this and in the remaining examples, millers are accompanied by other tools of their trade, such as smaller grindstones and scoops. At Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71), a naked miller is suspended upside down with his genitals prominently exposed, reminiscent of the murderer in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire at Chania, Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4).

<sup>203</sup> Gerstel 2002, 215. <sup>204</sup> See above, 137–40 (section 3.4.4).

not committing (which could of course invite the question why it was not included in *every* representation of Hell).<sup>205</sup> There are two main variants of this sin:<sup>206</sup> they are mostly shown as a couple,<sup>207</sup> lying in bed under covers, but the couple can be either dressed,<sup>208</sup> or naked.<sup>209</sup> In the latter case, there is the suggestion that fornication is added to the transgression of not attending the liturgy.

- He or she who **Cheats at the Scales**<sup>210</sup> appears twenty-one times – with the majority of the examples, seventeen, depicting men, and the remaining three, women.<sup>211</sup>
- Those sinners punished for forms of antisocial communication (the **Eavesdropper**, the **Gossiper**, the **Slanderer**) appear twenty-five times. These sinners can be of either gender, but are predominantly female. At Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), the term used to identify the eavesdropper is *parafoukastra*, someone who sits nearby and listens. The term *parakathistis/parakathistra* generally identifies the gossiper; it literally suggests somebody who sits nearby, aiming at overhearing

<sup>205</sup> These sinners, along with the man who cheats at the scales, are the most frequently depicted in Cyprus; see Weyl Carr in this volume, 389.

<sup>206</sup> In some examples it is not clear whether the couple is naked or not: **Chania**: Anisaraki, Virgin (cat. no. 2), vol. 2, Fig. 3 (probably a couple, based on the remnants of the surviving inscription); Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18 (probably a couple); Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32), vol. 2, Fig. 42 (red cover); Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34), vol. 2, Fig. 44; Vouvas, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 46), vol. 2, Fig. 60; **Rethymnon**: Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 62; probably a couple); **Herakleion**: Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79), vol. 2, Fig. 103 (badly damaged); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96), vol. 2, Fig. 129 (red cover).

<sup>207</sup> In three cases, the sin is represented by a single male sinner, either fully covered or naked. The sinner is placed under a cover with alternating red and yellow stripes at **Chania**: Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35), vol. 2, Fig. 45; he is naked at **Chania**: Hagia Eirini, Virgin (cat. no. 10), vol. 2, Fig. 15; and at **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99), vol. 2, Fig. 133. At Kritsa he is accompanied by the inscription '[he] who sleeps on Holy Sunday the fire burns underneath him'; a comparable image is found on Cyprus. See Weyl Carr in this volume, 404 and n. 166.

<sup>208</sup> **Chania**: Hagia Eirini, Christ (cat. no. 9), vol. 2, Fig. 14 (under red cover); **Herakleion**: Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97.

<sup>209</sup> **Chania**: Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), vol. 2, Fig. 27 (red cover); **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), vol. 2, Fig. 66 (red cover); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ (cat. no. 55), vol. 2, Fig. 71 (cover has red and white stripes); Kissos, John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59), vol. 2, Fig. 77; Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70), vol. 2, Fig. 90 (white cover with brown stripes).

<sup>210</sup> These sinners, along with those who sleep on a Sunday, are the most frequently depicted in Cyprus; see Weyl Carr in this volume, 389. The identifying inscriptions read *parakampanistis* for men; *parakampanistra* or *parakampanistrea* for women. In two examples, the word *parazygriatis* (Herakleion, cat. no. 82) and *parazygiastrea* (Chania, cat. no. 19) has been used.

<sup>211</sup> See above 144, no. 7.



conversations and spying, the implication being that such a person will spread the information they have come across.<sup>212</sup> Finally, term *katalalon/katalalousa* is used to identify the slanderer; the Greek prefix *kata*, ‘against’, underlines the aggressive and more threatening aspect of this action compared to the other two. The large number of these sinners suggests that overhearing of confidential information and the spreading of (false) rumours must have been serious problems in small village communities.<sup>213</sup>

- The women falling short of maternal expectations (the **Woman who Does Not Nurse Babies** and the **Woman who Rejects Infants** and variants) appear twenty-six times. This is the most frequently encountered exclusively female sin on Crete, highlighting the pressure on women to conform to their traditionally defined roles (although the care and nursing of babies and infants was also vital for survival in a society with high infant mortality rates).<sup>214</sup> The Cretan wall paintings show only one example of a female who actively takes measures against conceiving (Herakleion, cat. no. 83).<sup>215</sup> In the other examples that still preserve their inscriptions,<sup>216</sup> the women are identified either as ‘rejecting babies’,<sup>217</sup> or as ‘not nursing babies’,<sup>218</sup> including ‘not nursing a baby who is not her own’,<sup>219</sup> in one instance the female is identified as ‘rejecting and not nursing babies’.<sup>220</sup> Despite the variation among the terms, the social issue indicated by them appears to be essentially the same.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>212</sup> In one example, the word *soureutra* (‘chatterbox’) identifies the (female) gossip: **Chania**: Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35).

<sup>213</sup> See also Gerstel 2015, 96–100.

<sup>214</sup> Gerstel 2015, 85–92. For a different perspective on ‘lack of maternal instinct’, see Stathakopoulos 2011.

<sup>215</sup> Another possibility to interpret this would be to assume that it identifies the female who drinks a potion to abort an unwanted pregnancy. Either action would be difficult to carry out within a small rural community, with the latter the less likely of the two.

<sup>216</sup> In Chania, cat. no. 1, the inscription survives partially; cat. no. 13 does not have any inscriptions. The women are identified on the basis of the punishment they suffer, with snakes biting their breasts. At Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74), only the word *nipia* (babies) survives.

<sup>217</sup> *Apostrefousa nipia*: Chania, cat. nos 2, 5, 7, 11, 19, 40, 47; Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 65 (the word for ‘babies’ used here is *vrefi*); Herakleion, cat. nos 76, 79, 86; Lassithi, cat. no. 101.

<sup>218</sup> *Mi thylazousa nipia*: cat. nos 31, 71, 98 (*vrefi*); *mi vyzanousa nipia*: cat. nos 21, 99; *mi vyzainousa paidia*: cat. no. 42.

<sup>219</sup> *Mi thylazousa xeno vrefos*: Chania, cat. no. 10. In rural Greek areas, it was customary for women who were producing enough milk to nurse their own baby (or babies) to help out, without payment, their fellow villagers who had difficulties in doing so.

<sup>220</sup> Herakleion, cat. no. 82.

<sup>221</sup> Weyl Carr in this volume, 357–8 and n. 39, mentions: ‘Maderakis 1979, 79 points out that both the woman who turns away [i.e. rejects] her children and the woman who refuses to nurse children sometimes appear in the same monument, implying different sins.’ Maderakis refers



- The **Rich Man** (also mislabelled as the Rich Lazarus) appears twenty-eight times. As mentioned above, he is based on the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus found in Luke 16:24, a full quotation of which frequently accompanies this particular sinner.<sup>222</sup> He would have presented a great example to instruct the congregation in basic Christian values, such as being kind to others who are less fortunate. As also mentioned above, he had been part of the iconography of Hell in Byzantine art for a long time; he is usually depicted pointing to his mouth, following the passage from Luke 16:24.<sup>223</sup> Perhaps because he is in a sense the original Individual Sinner, his position within the components of Hell was not fixed: he could be included in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire,<sup>224</sup> among the Individual Sinners,<sup>225</sup> or among the compartments of Communal Punishments,<sup>226</sup> or even in his own space.<sup>227</sup>
- The **Thief** (or alternatively the Robber) appears thirty-three times. Thieves and Robbers are almost invariably shown carrying livestock,

to Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), where the female sinner is described as both 'rejecting and not nursing children'. To my knowledge, there are no Cretan examples where more than one woman with anti-infant tendencies is included in the same church. Gerstel and Katsafados in this volume also disagree with Maderakis and are of the opinion that these differently worded inscriptions effectively identify the same sin.

<sup>222</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 2, 6, 19, 24, 40, 47; **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 56; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 82; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 95, 98. See also Semoglou in this volume.

<sup>223</sup> This is the case whether the sinner is accompanied by Luke's passage (**Chania:** cat. nos 2, 6, 19, 40; **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 56; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 82; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 98) or by an inscription identifying him as the 'Rich Lazarus' (**Chania:** cat. nos 28, 35, 41; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 70, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 81, 88), or by both (**Chania:** cat. nos 24, 47; **Lassithi:** cat. nos 95 and possibly 96, where the remnants of letters can still be discerned), or by no inscription at all (**Chania:** cat. nos 13, 27; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 61, 64, 65, 69; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 75, where he has very prominent teeth). At Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99) the inscription accompanying the sinner reads 'Everlasting Fire'.

<sup>224</sup> **Chania:** cat. no. 24 (vol. 2, Fig. 30); **Herakleion:** cat. nos 75 (vol. 2, Fig. 97), 81 (vol. 2, Fig. 105); **Lassithi:** cat. nos 95 (vol. 2, Fig. 121), 96 (vol. 2, Fig. 123), 98 (vol. 2, Fig. 131; in a separate square), 99 (vol. 2, Fig. 132). He could also be at the edge of the River of Fire, opposite Lazarus in Paradise, following John Chrysostom: see n. 94 above.

<sup>225</sup> Within squares in **Chania:** cat. nos 2 (vol. 2, Fig. 3), 13 (vol. 2, Fig. 18), 28 (vol. 2, Fig. 37); in **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50 (vol. 2, Fig. 66), 70 (vol. 2, Fig. 90); in **Herakleion:** cat. no. 88 (vol. 2, Fig. 114). Within frames of sinners in **Chania:** cat. nos 6 (vol. 2, Fig. 9), 19 (vol. 2, Fig. 24), 42 (vol. 2, Fig. 54); in **Herakleion:** cat. no. 82 (vol. 2, Fig. 107). Part of a row with sinners in **Chania:** cat. nos 35 (vol. 2, Fig. 45), 40 (vol. 2, Fig. 51); in **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 64 (vol. 2, Fig. 80).

<sup>226</sup> In **Chania:** cat. no. 41 (vol. 2, Fig. 53).

<sup>227</sup> In **Chania:** cat. nos 27 (vol. 2, Fig. 35; underneath the Apostle Tribunal), 47 (vol. 2, Fig. 61; within the square depicting the Weighing of the Souls); in **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 56 (vol. 2, Fig. 73), 61 (vol. 2, 659; separate spandrel), 69 (vol. 2, 683; to the right of the compartments of Communal Punishments), 71 (vol. 2, Fig. 92; under the compartments of Communal Punishments).

particularly goats. This would suggest that livestock theft, especially goat theft, was a widespread problem in rural Crete, as in fact it still is today. As mentioned above, at Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35, vol. 2, Fig. 45) the Thief is even identified specifically as one 'Leontis' – presumably a local pest for goatherds. Only a handful of examples show Thieves who are not carrying goats; it is possible that in these cases the intention was to allude to a more general concept of theft.<sup>228</sup> It should be noted that another reason for the widespread appearance of the Thief as a character in Hell may be that this is one of the sins on which there rests a clear biblical prohibition, in the Ten Commandments: 'Thou shalt not steal.'

- **The Farmer who Ploughs over the Boundary Line**<sup>229</sup> (or alternatively the Farmer who Reaps over the Boundary Line)<sup>230</sup> appears no fewer than forty-three times. Sharon E. J. Gerstel has pointed out that this is one of the most frequently occurring sins in Cretan churches.<sup>231</sup> Since the well-being of rural societies relied predominantly on agricultural activities, it is not surprising that special laws were introduced in the 14th century to regulate them.<sup>232</sup> This is an exclusively male transgression, reflecting the male-dominated household of medieval and Renaissance societies.<sup>233</sup> That this sin referred to contemporary reality is clear from the fact that, as Stavros Maderakis has noted, the reproduction of ploughs in the Cretan murals has been very helpful in reconstructing this historical farming tool.<sup>234</sup> Sharon E. J. Gerstel has suggested that the manner with which the offending farmers are punished, with the blade of the plough inserted in their rectum, could be a twisted visual representation of ploughing land.<sup>235</sup> It has even been tentatively put forward that there might be a covert allusion to homosexuality in the punishment of this sin.<sup>236</sup> It should also be noted, however, that the Farmer who Ploughs

<sup>228</sup> In **Chania**: cat. nos 6, 9, 10, 11 and 20. In the examples in cat. nos 47, 78 and 99 it is not clear whether the sinners carry anything on their backs. According to Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24), the thief in cat. no. 45 was a rope thief.

<sup>229</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 21, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 74, 79(?), 82, 85, 86, 90; **Lassithi**: cat. nos 95, 98, 99, 100, 101. It should be noted that at Kitiros (cat. no. 21), the same sinner is identified as both a man who ploughs and reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>230</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 19, 21; **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 65; **Herakleion**: cat. no. 82; **Lassithi**: cat. nos 98, 107. As mentioned in the previous note, at Kitiros (cat. no. 21), the same sinner is identified as both the farmer who ploughs and reaps over the boundary line.

<sup>231</sup> Gerstel 2002.

<sup>232</sup> Gerstel 2002, 215–16. The laws were introduced by Constantine Harmenopoulos.

<sup>233</sup> This does not mean that women were not a pivotal force in farming.

<sup>234</sup> Maderakis 1979, 52–7 (particularly in reference to the plough depicted at Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios, cat. no. 40, vol. 2, Fig. 51).

<sup>235</sup> Gerstel 2002, 215. <sup>236</sup> See Duits in this volume, 233.

over the Boundary Line is in clear breach of the tenth of the Ten Commandments: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.'<sup>237</sup>

- The **Fornicator** is the clear winner among Cretan sinners, appearing no fewer than fifty-five times. In the majority of the examples, both male and female Fornicators are included among the sinners,<sup>238</sup> meaning that while this is the most frequently depicted sinner, it is not the sinner who appears in the largest number of churches.<sup>239</sup> The inscriptions that identify the Fornicator mainly employ the terms *pornos* and *porni*. The female noun in (modern) Greek language usually signifies a prostitute. While this translation might be appropriate for larger towns and cities,<sup>240</sup> it is unlikely that in small rural communities, prostitution as a profession existed on a large scale. Charalambos Gasparis demonstrates in his chapter in this volume that the terms *pornos* and *porni* cover a wide variety of people engaging in sexual activities,<sup>241</sup> which outside of the strict confines of marriage was a major sin within medieval and Renaissance Christian social parameters. Therefore, a translation as 'Fornicators' for both the male and female sinners of this type seems more appropriate. At Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82, vol. 2, Fig. 107), one of the male sinners is identified as '*pornos* and *moichos*', 'fornicator and adulterer', the latter making clear that the term could indeed refer to sexual activities outside of wedlock.<sup>242</sup> At Kritsa, John the Baptist (cat. no. 99, vol. 2, Fig. 133) both a female Fornicator (*porni*) and a female who is not a virgin (*diageirismeni*) have been included among the sinners. Both these sins are of the same type, referring to carnal relations outside of marriage. The frequency with which these sinners

<sup>237</sup> In Deuteronomy 5:21, this is restated as: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house or fields, nor his male or female slaves, nor his ox or ass, or anything that belongs to him.'

<sup>238</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 21, 39, 45 (mentioned by Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24)); **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 58, 65, 66, 71; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76, 78, 86; **Lassithi:** cat. no. 98.

<sup>239</sup> While the Fornicator is included in a total of thirty-six churches, the Farmer is the clear winner in this respect, with a presence in thirty-eight churches.

<sup>240</sup> Maltezou 2000, 19–20.

<sup>241</sup> Gaca 1999, 40 suggests that '... when we encounter *pornai* in our early Christian, patristic and Byzantine studies, we must not simply assume that *pornai* are prostitutes, even though a few of them may be. If we make such a quick assumption, we are likely to take a complex biblical metaphor literally.' See also Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4). Gasparis suggests that the Procuress could be grouped in the category of fornicators; however, a distinction has been made between an activity that generates money and similar actions that are primarily the subject of social condemnation.

<sup>242</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 98–101 (section 2.3.4).

appear indicates the importance rural societies attached to the social regulation of sex.<sup>243</sup> It should be noted, however, that once again this popular type of sinner also had roots in the Ten Commandments: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.'

Based on the surviving identifiable examples, it is clear that there was no 'universal' Individual Sinner who features in all monuments. Nonetheless, the surviving examples would suggest that the sins against which Cretan congregations appear to have been most predisposed, were those that threaten social order of small rural communities: thieves, those with a cavalier attitude towards land boundaries, women not engaging in maternal tasks, and people engaging in extramarital sex. There is no evidence to support a bias against women.<sup>244</sup> On the contrary, the majority of the Individual Sinners (fifteen) are exclusively male, including some of the most popular types: the Avaricious Man; Bad Judge; Blasphemer; Bestialist; Farmer; Glutton; Magistrate; Miller; Murderer; Notary; Perjurer; Priest; Rich Man; Tailor; Thief. By contrast, only eight Individual Sinners are exclusively female: Anti-Children; Fortune-Teller; Liar; 'Margiristrea'; Not Giving Offerings; Procuress; Troublemaker; Weaver. Six Individual Sinners could be of either gender: Antisocial Communication; Cheat at the Scales; Fornicator; Tavern Keeper; Witch/Sorcerer and (possibly) Usurer. One type of Individual Sinner, finally, is generally shown as a couple: Sunday Sleepers (although examples of single men – not of single women – also exist). Again, this probably reflects the male-dominated society that commissioned these wall paintings. At the same time, it is interesting that women are found guilty not only of 'private' sins such as gossip, but also of sins of a professional nature (e.g. Cheat at the Scales, Tavern Keeper), which probably reflects the more complex social reality of the time.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse all the different combinations in which the Individual Sinners appear. One brief case study, however, can be provided. For this purpose, the Murderer has been chosen, because his sin consists of a violent act that is universally condemned regardless of local preoccupations; it is punishable by penal law; it is explicitly forbidden in the Ten Commandments; it is mentioned in the

<sup>243</sup> Punishments for sexual activities are the most frequently encountered in the various *Apocalypses* that give a tour of the underworld; see Baun 2007, 87–9, 339–43; Stathakopoulos in this volume, 31, Table 1.1.

<sup>244</sup> Vassilaki 1986, 44 mentions that in some Serbian churches (e.g. Sopocani, Mileseva), the personifications of sins are depicted in female form. See also Norman 1995, who argues a case of misogyny in the works of the 15th-century Siene painter Taddeo di Bartolo.

narrative of the *Apocalypses* in which the iconography of Hell has its roots.<sup>245</sup> Moreover, the surviving numbers are average: the Murderer is neither the most frequently encountered Individual Sinner nor one that appears only once. Finally, the murderer is one of only two Individual Sinners who also appears outside of the context of the Individual Sinners, in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire.<sup>246</sup>

The Murderer appears in sixteen examples dated between the early 14th and the 15th centuries, the period to which the majority of the Cretan Hell wall paintings belongs. These examples are distributed slightly unevenly across the prefectures, but with at least one example per prefecture: in Chania, the Murderer appears in ten churches (21.3% of the total number of churches in this prefecture; cat. nos 1, 4, 16, 19, 20, 32, 33, 35, 43 and 47); in Rethymnon, in four churches (15.4%; cat. nos 50, 55, 65, 70); once in Herakleion (5.3%; cat. no. 79) and once in Lassithi (6.7%; cat. no. 99). Unsurprisingly, the Individual Sinners with whom the Murderer appears most frequently in combination are Fornicators, Farmers and Thieves – the most popular types of sinners. Among these three, there is a slight correlation with the other two sins contravening the law, while the ‘moral’ sin of Fornication, otherwise widespread, is in the minority: there are fourteen surviving examples where the Murderer features in the same church as the Thief;<sup>247</sup> eleven where he appears with the Farmer ploughing or reaping over the boundary line;<sup>248</sup> and eight where he appears with Fornicators.<sup>249</sup> Nonetheless, the predominant pattern appears to be that the most frequently appearing Individual Sinners are most likely to appear combined with one another.

\* \* \*

It is clear that Individual Sinners formed a popular component within the iconography of Hell on Crete. Their relevance for everyday social life must be a factor in this popularity. It is, however, striking that a number of common professions are never depicted, while it is hard to imagine they did not offer a scope for offensive behaviour (would no cobbler ever have cheated his customers on Crete?). It is possible that

<sup>245</sup> See Stathakopoulos in this volume, 22–42.

<sup>246</sup> In Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4); the other is the priest who invokes the Devil.

<sup>247</sup> In Chania, cat. nos 1, 16, 19, 20, 33, 35, 43, 47; in Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 55, 65, 70; in Herakleion, cat. no. 79; in Lassithi, cat. no. 99.

<sup>248</sup> In Chania, cat. nos 1, 19, 20, 32, 35, 43; in Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 65, 70; in Herakleion, cat. no. 79; in Lassithi, cat. no. 99.

<sup>249</sup> In Chania, cat. nos 1, 16, 19, 35; in Rethymnon, cat. nos 50, 65, 70; in Lassithi, cat. no. 99.

the choice of sinners was skewed by which sinners are referred to in didactic religious texts.<sup>250</sup> It is also interesting to note the correlation with the biblical Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:2–17). Most sins can be directly related to one of the Commandments: ‘Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain . . .’ (Blasphemer); ‘Thou shalt not kill’ (Murderer); ‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife’ (Fornicator); ‘Thou shalt not steal’ (Thief; all of those stealing in a professional capacity); ‘Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour’ (Notary; Perjurer); ‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife, nor his male servant, nor his female servant, nor his ox, nor his donkey, nor anything that is thy neighbour’s’ (Farmers); ‘Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy’ (adjusted for Christianity, Sunday Sleepers). In other words, violations of seven out of the Ten Commandments have found their way to Hell, providing an ideal tool for a priest to drive home their principles and their importance for leading a Christian and moral life. Those who have earned a place in Hell, clearly have opted for worshipping another god, Satan (as Maderakis has suggested),<sup>251</sup> so strictly speaking they have also disobeyed the first commandment, ‘I am the Lord thy God, Thou shalt have no other gods before me.’<sup>252</sup> In this way, the Individual Sinners in Hell may well provide a counter-representation to the Choirs of the Elect, those who by living a Christian life are marching towards Heaven’s door, about to enter Paradise.

### 3.6 Compartments of Communal Punishments

The third component in the tripartite structure of Hell comprises the compartments of Communal Punishments. In total, forty-four churches include such compartments as part of their representation of Hell (41.1% of all churches). They form the only component of Hell that never appears on its own, but always in combination with at least one of the other two. As mentioned above, the Communal Punishments have their roots in biblical passages and are already present in early surviving representations of Hell. Six different compartments can be found in total, but there are few churches that have all six together.

<sup>250</sup> See Stathakopoulos in this volume, 31–5, Table 1.1. <sup>251</sup> Maderakis 1980–1, 58.

<sup>252</sup> This is clear in the group of people in the lake of Hell accompanied by the inscription ‘Depart from me, ye cursed . . .’ (see below, section 3.6.6).

The six are the Everlasting Fire, the Gnashing of Teeth, Outer Darkness, the Sleepless Worm, Tar and Tartarus.<sup>253</sup> Of these, the Gnashing of Teeth and the Sleepless Worm are the two most popular in the surviving Cretan examples. In general, the iconographic programmes tend to include between two and four Communal Punishments. Furthermore, their selection and combination does not seem to follow a recognisable pattern. The diversity in the inscriptions accompanying the compartments further highlights the lack of consistency in this component. While the majority of the surviving examples places this component in the lower registers of the Hell structure, their location differs in at least nine churches (20.5% of the surviving examples).<sup>254</sup>

Being based on Scripture, and just like the Place of Hell where theological issues are reflected, this component not only demonstrates the inevitability of punishment that follows every earthly transgression, it also illustrates the unavoidable physical decay that sinners will suffer (as shown most graphically by the Sleepless Worm; see below). While the Individual Sinners show particular punishments meted out to particular sinners, the compartments show a fate that befalls all sinners. Being placed at the bottom of Hell, these crowded shared spaces full of physical degradation show the ultimate and dreaded destination of sinners following the Last Judgement. This section will discuss them individually in order of popularity.

### 3.6.1 The Gnashing of Teeth

The ‘Gnashing of Teeth’ is a recurring phrase in the Bible. In the Old Testament, Psalm 37(36):12 tells us that ‘The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth.’ In the New Testament, Luke 13:28 states: ‘There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.’ It occurs most frequently in the Gospel of Matthew, often in combination with Outer Darkness (see

<sup>253</sup> In total, forty-eight compartments of Communal Punishments on Crete remain unidentified due to the poor condition of the wall paintings and/or the lack of inscriptions (see discussion below).

<sup>254</sup> In **Chania**: Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34); Strovles (Kalogero), Saint George (cat. no. 38); Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40); Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42); in **Rethymnon**: Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); in **Herakleion**: Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90); in **Lassithi**: Meseleroi, Saint George (cat. no. 104). (Their order of appearance in Appendix 1 is as follows: nos 38, 42, 66, 69, 90, 81, 104, 34 and 40.)



below), and a fair amount of weeping or wailing – Matthew 8:12, ‘But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth’; 13:42, ‘And shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth’, repeated in 13:50; 22:13, ‘Then said the king to the servants, bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth’; 24:51, ‘And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth’; 25:30, ‘And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.’ The Gnashing of Teeth forms the visual representation of an eerie sound which the *Life of Antony* relates directly to the Devil. This 4th-century narrative authored by Athanasios, Archbishop of Alexandria (d. 373), presents a number of visions of Saint Anthony. In one of these, the saint witnesses souls ascending to Heaven, while an enormous devil extends his hands and holds back some of them. The Devil then gnashes his teeth at those souls that have managed to escape his grip.<sup>255</sup>

It comes as no surprise that the visual representation of this particular punishment places an emphasis on the teeth of the sinners: it is usually represented by groups of either skulls or heads with exaggerated, prominently exposed teeth. This compartment was already included in the 11th-century gospel book Paris BnF gr. 74 (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume), as one of the six compartments of Communal Punishments placed at the bottom of Hell. On Crete, it appears twenty-three times in total, in Chania, Rethymnon and Herakleion; there are no surviving examples from Lassithi.<sup>256</sup> The largest number of examples, nine, are concentrated in

<sup>255</sup> For a full narrative: Marinis 2017a, 17–18.

<sup>256</sup> Nine times (out of forty-seven examples) in **Chania** (19.14%): Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 11; Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18; Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 32; Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 36; Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34), vol. 2, Fig. 44; Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40), vol. 2, Fig. 50; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53; Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43), vol. 2, Fig. 56; Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45; only recorded in a publication); six times (out of twenty-five examples) in **Rethymnon** (24%): Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), vol. 2, Fig. 66; Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53), vol. 2, Fig. 70; Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55), vol. 2, Fig. 71; Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59), vol. 2, Fig. 77; Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61), vol. 2, Fig. 79; eight times (out of nineteen examples) in **Herakleion** (42.10%): Apano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76), vol. 2, Fig. 99; Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77), vol. 2, Fig. 101; Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 106; Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83), vol. 2, Fig. 108; Kapetaniana (Perichora), Archangel



Chania,<sup>257</sup> but the highest percentage compared to representations of Hell overall is in Herakleion. Seven examples form part of a ‘full’ Hell composition;<sup>258</sup> eight are combined with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire only,<sup>259</sup> and seven are combined with Individual Sinners only<sup>260</sup> – a fairly even spread.

Despite the restrictions of the subject, artists still managed to introduce a surprising amount of variation in visualising it. At Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26, vol. 2, Fig. 32) not only the teeth, but also the jaws of the skulls have been emphasised. At Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41, vol. 2, Fig. 53), the skulls with their prominent white teeth are in a tightly packed huddle rather than placed in neat rows. At Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43, vol. 2, Fig. 56), the heads are arranged in tightly packed rows and display the grotesque smiles of cartoon characters.<sup>261</sup> The artist at Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76, vol. 2, Fig. 99) has opted for a minimalist approach, rendering the heads in barely visible grisaille against a dark background, with only the white teeth standing out.

### 3.6.2 The Sleepless Worm

The Sleepless Worm is the visual representation of the natural decay to which all living organisms are subjected sooner or later.<sup>262</sup> Again, references to it are made in both the Old and the New Testament. Isaiah 66:24 states: ‘And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.’ Mark

Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 111; Mpentenaki, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89); Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), vol. 2, Fig. 118.

<sup>257</sup> The compartment of Communal Punishment depicted at Strovles, Saint George (cat. no. 38), vol. 2, Fig. 47, depicts either the Gnashing of Teeth or the Sleepless Worm and therefore cannot be included in this list with certainty. For the compartments of Communal Punishments that remain unidentified due to the poor condition of the wall paintings and/or lack of inscriptions, see below, n. 317.

<sup>258</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 6, 27, 43; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 50, 53, 55; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 75.

<sup>259</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 26, 41; **Rethymnon:** cat. nos 48, 61; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 81, 84, 89, 91.

<sup>260</sup> **Chania:** cat. nos 13, 34, 40; **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 59; **Herakleion:** cat. nos 76, 77, 83.

<sup>261</sup> It is possible that a similar arrangement with a reddish tint may be detected (the scene is damaged) at **Herakleion:** Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 111 – notably, on the other side of the island.

<sup>262</sup> Đorđević 2018, suggests that this could be the Byzantine equivalent of the Western iconography of the macabre. The Greek inscription which accompanies the iconography of the subject is a variant of Mark’s text (i.e., it does not reproduce verbatim the wording that we have in Mark’s Gospel; see above, 118). See also <https://thevcs.org/road-oblivion>.

9:44, 46 and 48 mentions 'Where their worm dieth not' when expanding on Christ's teaching that any body parts (hands, feet, eyes etc.) that commit sinful acts should be eliminated, because it would be preferable to be maimed rather than go to Hell for eternity. Christianity, by promising a bodily afterlife for those proven worthy, defied this natural decay.<sup>263</sup>

The biblical passages do not offer any descriptive detail (perhaps adding to the gruesomeness of the image by leaving the listeners to their own devices to reconstruct it). On Crete, the representation of the Sleepless Worm resembles that of the Gnashing of Teeth. It features rows of heads or skulls, the main difference being that there are no accentuated teeth and that little, white, wriggly worms, usually drawn as white undulating lines, are crawling over the heads or skulls. On Crete, it appears twenty-two times, of which ten representations are concentrated in Chania.<sup>264</sup> In five examples, it is part of a 'full' Hell composition;<sup>265</sup> seven times, of a combination of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and compartments of Communal Punishments;<sup>266</sup> and nine times, of a combination of frame with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>267</sup>

Once again, artists managed to produce a remarkable amount of variation on a limited theme. The most popular format is skulls, either arranged

<sup>263</sup> Shrimplin 2000, 31.

<sup>264</sup> The compartment of Communal Punishment depicted at Strovles (Kalogero), Saint George (cat. no. 38), depicts either the Sleepless Worm or Gnashing of Teeth and therefore cannot be included in this list with certainty (see also above, n. 257). Ten times (out of forty-seven examples) in the area of **Chania** (21.27%): Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18; Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16), vol. 2, Fig. 21; Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), vol. 2, Fig. 26; Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 32; Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 36; Platanias, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31), vol. 2, Fig. 40; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53; Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43), vol. 2, Fig. 56; and Voutas (Frameno), Virgin (cat. no. 44), vol. 2, Fig. 58; Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45; only recorded in a publication); seven times (out of twenty-five examples) in the area of **Rethymnon** (28%): Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), vol. 2, Fig. 66; Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59), vol. 2, Fig. 77; Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61), vol. 2, Fig. 79; Meronas, Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 64), vol. 2, Fig. 81; Mourne, Saint George (cat. no. 65), vol. 2, Fig. 83; Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71), vol. 2, Fig. 92; four times (out of nineteen examples) in the area of **Herakleion** (21.05%): Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 106; Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83), vol. 2, Fig. 108; Mpentenaki, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89); Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91), vol. 2, Fig. 118; and once (out of fifteen examples) in the area of **Lassithi** (6.66%): Kroustas (Lakkoi), Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101), vol. 2, Fig. 134.

<sup>265</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 27, 43, 44; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 63.

<sup>266</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 26, 41; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 48, 61; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 81, 89, 91.

<sup>267</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 13, 16, 21, 31; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 59, 65, 71; **Herakleion**: cat. no. 83; **Lassithi**: cat. no. 101.

in rows<sup>268</sup> or packed tightly together,<sup>269</sup> or heads with hair, either arranged in rows<sup>270</sup> or packed tightly together.<sup>271</sup> Sometimes heads in rows packed tightly together are surrounded and attacked by wriggling white worms.<sup>272</sup> One unique representation shows complete naked bodies rather than either skulls or heads, showing perhaps the beginning of the process of decay that is more advanced in other representations.<sup>273</sup> At the other end of the spectrum is a variant that shows only white, wriggly worms on a black background.<sup>274</sup> A degree of artistic licence is also noticeable in the colour schemes. The majority of the heads and skulls as well as the full bodies are of a yellow complexion and set against a yellow background. However, a blue background can also be found,<sup>275</sup> while elsewhere the whole compartment (skulls and background) has a red tint.<sup>276</sup>

### 3.6.3 Outer Darkness

Christ identifies Himself as light (John 8:12, 'I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life')<sup>277</sup> and by contrast, sin is often associated with darkness,<sup>278</sup> as is the Devil himself.<sup>279</sup> Hence, it is not surprising that Outer Darkness is to be found in the bowels of Hell, as a compartment of Communal Punishment. Outer Darkness is mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew 8:12, 22:13 and 25:30, in combination with weeping or wailing and the gnashing of teeth (see above).

Byzantine artists rendered the subject as a purely monochromatic area, predating 20th-century abstract art (Malevich, Mondrian, Rothko) by many centuries.<sup>280</sup> As such a featureless black space, it is likely shown in Paris BnF

<sup>268</sup> For example, **Chania**: Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13), vol. 2, Fig. 18; Voutas, Christ the Saviour, (cat. no. 43), vol. 2, Fig. 56; **Rethymnon**: Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64.

<sup>269</sup> For example, **Rethymnon**: Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59), vol. 2, Fig. 77.

<sup>270</sup> For example, **Chania**: Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 32; **Rethymnon**: Mourne, Saint George (cat. no. 65), vol. 2, Fig. 83.

<sup>271</sup> For example, **Chania**: Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 36.

<sup>272</sup> For example, **Chania**: Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61), vol. 2, Fig. 79.

<sup>273</sup> **Chania**: Voutas (Frameno), Virgin (cat. no. 44), vol. 2, Fig. 58. It is possible that it is also represented at Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 26), vol. 2, Fig. 32. For a similar example dated to the 14th century in the Orthodox monastery Visoki Dečani, Serbia, see Đorđević 2018, 22 and fig. 2.

<sup>274</sup> **Lassithi**: Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101), vol. 2, Fig. 134.

<sup>275</sup> **Chania**: Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 36.

<sup>276</sup> **Rethymnon**: Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59), vol. 2, Fig. 77.

<sup>277</sup> See also Shrimplin 2000, 129. <sup>278</sup> Constan 2001, 116 and n. 96.

<sup>279</sup> For the representation of demons as black: Marinis 2017a, 21.

<sup>280</sup> The inspiration modern artists have drawn from Byzantine art has been the subject of scholarly research; see, indicatively, Spira 2008, 54–5 (on Matisse's fascination with Russian icons) and Albani 2016–17 (on Klimt's Byzantine connection).

gr. 74 (fol. 93v; bottom row, middle compartment; see Fig. 4.2 in this volume) and in the two 12th-century Sinai icons mentioned above (possibly bottom right compartment in both examples). On Crete it appears eight times.<sup>281</sup> In three examples, it is part of a ‘full’ Hell;<sup>282</sup> in a further three, of the combination of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and compartments of Communal Punishments;<sup>283</sup> and in two cases, of the combination of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>284</sup>

### 3.6.4 Tartarus

Tartarus is the sole compartment of Communal Punishment that is not based on Scripture, but is instead rooted in ancient Greek mythology, where Tartarus features both as a deity and as a place, denoting the deep abyss.<sup>285</sup> In the *Iliad* 8.13–17, Zeus says that Tartarus is ‘far beneath Hades’, the place inhabited by the dead.<sup>286</sup> Tartarus was also populated by the dead, but was associated with the punishment of despicable acts (for example, Sisyphus and Tantalus reside here, as well as the Titans after they were defeated by the Olympian gods).<sup>287</sup> It thus offers a fitting location within Hell.<sup>288</sup> The expression ‘to be thrown into Tartarus’ appears in the New Testament, in the Second Epistle of Peter (2 Peter 2:4).<sup>289</sup> The apocryphal

<sup>281</sup> Five times (out of forty-seven examples) in **Chania** (10.6%): Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16), vol. 2, Fig. 21; Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34), vol. 2, Fig. 44; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53; Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42), vol. 2, Fig. 55; Voutas (Frameno), Virgin (cat. no. 44), vol. 2, Fig. 58; three times (out of twenty-five examples) in **Rethymnon** (12%): Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), vol. 2, Fig. 66; Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66), vol. 2, Fig. 85; there are no examples from **Herakleion** (out of nineteen examples; it is not clear whether Mpentenaki, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89) includes Outer Darkness or Tar); probably one (out of fifteen examples) in **Lassithi** (6.66%): Meseleroi, Saint George (cat. no. 104), vol. 2, Fig. 136.

<sup>282</sup> **Chania**: cat. no. 44; **Rethymnon**: cat. nos 50, 66 (in the latter example, the compartments of Communal Punishments have been placed to the left of the Last Judgement and the Individual Sinners – see Appendix 1).

<sup>283</sup> **Chania**: cat. no. 41; **Rethymnon**: cat. no. 48; **Lassithi**: cat. no. 104.

<sup>284</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 16, 34.

<sup>285</sup> Tartarus is not exclusively found on Crete; it is also included in Cappadocian and in Cypriot Hell; see Warland and Weyl Carr in this volume, 245 and 396 respectively.

<sup>286</sup> In Byzantine iconography, Hades is sometimes depicted bound and/or underneath the broken doors on which Christ is stepping in the scene of the Harrowing of Hell; see LyMBEROPOULOU 2006, 85. See also Marinis 2017a, 48, 60–6.

<sup>287</sup> Kakridis 1986, vol. 2, 53–4, 217–21. <sup>288</sup> Kakridis 1986, vol. 2, 54.

<sup>289</sup> The verb for Τάρταρος is ταρταρίζω, which means τουρτουρίζω (‘quake with cold, shiver’; see Liddell and Scott 1940, 1759). See also Kakridis 1986, vol. 2, 54. The King James Bible translates the verb as ‘cast down to hell’ (Διότι ἂν ὁ Θεός καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅταν ἡμάρτησαν, δὲν ἐλογάρισεν, ἀλλὰ ἀλυσσοδεμένους εἰς τὸ σκότος τοὺς ἔρριψε εἰς τὸν τάρταρον [Medieval Greek:

*Apocalypse of Paul*, written in the 4th century, mentions ‘Tartaruchian’ angels torturing the sinners.<sup>290</sup>

On Crete, this compartment is included in eight churches, found in two different prefectures, Chania and Herakleion.<sup>291</sup> It appears twice as part of a ‘full’ Hell,<sup>292</sup> twice as part of The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire combined with compartments of Communal Punishments,<sup>293</sup> and three times as part of a combination of frames with Individual Sinners with the compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>294</sup> Once, it is one of just two compartments of Communal Punishments included in the representation of Hell,<sup>295</sup> and twice part of a set of three,<sup>296</sup> suggesting that it was not used as a ‘space filler’, but was specifically chosen to be depicted as part of the Communal Punishments.

The fact that no specific description of Tartarus was available may account for the diversity in depicting this particular compartment. Sometimes the artist chose a black space in analogy with Outer Darkness.<sup>297</sup> Elsewhere the format of the Gnashing of Teeth and the Sleepless Worm was co-opted: a huddle of heads tightly packed together against an ochre background.<sup>298</sup> The most interesting rendition is one in which at least three snakes can be discerned slithering against a red and black background, linking Tartarus with the snake as a symbol of evil and a frequent form of punishment of the Individual Sinners.<sup>299</sup>

ταρταρώσας] καὶ τοὺς παρέδωκεν νά φυλλάτῳνται διὰ νά δικασθοῦν κατὰ τήν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως).

<sup>290</sup> Elliott 1996, 201.

<sup>291</sup> Six times (out of forty-seven examples) in **Chania** (12.76%): Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), vol. 2, Fig. 26; Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27), vol. 2, Fig. 36; Platanias, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31), vol. 2, Fig. 40; Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40), vol. 2, Fig. 50; Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53; Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45; only recorded in a publication); twice (out of nineteen examples) in **Herakleion** (10.52%): Apano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75), vol. 2, Fig. 97; Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), vol. 2, Fig. 106. There are no examples in Rethymnon or in Lassithi.

<sup>292</sup> **Chania**: cat. no. 27; **Herakleion**: cat. no. 75.

<sup>293</sup> **Chania**: cat. no. 41; **Herakleion**: cat. no. 81. <sup>294</sup> **Chania**: cat. nos 21, 31, 40.

<sup>295</sup> **Chania**: Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), vol. 2, Fig. 26.

<sup>296</sup> **Chania**: Platanias, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31), vol. 2, Fig. 40; Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40), vol. 2, Fig. 50.

<sup>297</sup> **Chania**: Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); **Herakleion**: Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75).

<sup>298</sup> **Chania**: Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); (possibly) Platanias, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31).

<sup>299</sup> **Herakleion**: Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81).

### 3.6.5 Tar (Boiling Tar; Pitch)

The Greek term used to identify this Communal Punishment is *pissa*, which can be translated as either ‘tar’ or ‘pitch’. Tar’s black colour associates it with the darkness of sinful places and the Devil, in analogy with Outer Darkness. One inscription identifies it as ‘boiling tar’ (*pissa kochlazousa*),<sup>300</sup> probably evoking the heat of Hell and perhaps the foul smell of Hades.<sup>301</sup> Its representation, therefore, could stimulate the latter sense.<sup>302</sup> ‘Pitch’ is mentioned in the Old Testament, Isaiah 34:9, ‘And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch.’ ‘Tar’ is referred to in Genesis 14:10 in association with the punishment of sin: ‘Now the valley of Siddim was full of tar pits, and as the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, some men fell into the pits . . .’.<sup>303</sup>

On Crete, this compartment can be found in eight churches.<sup>304</sup> It appears twice as part of a ‘full’ Hell;<sup>305</sup> three times as part of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire combined with compartments of Communal Punishments,<sup>306</sup> and twice as part of frames with Individual Sinners combined with Communal Punishments.<sup>307</sup>

As in the case of Outer Darkness (see above), all surviving examples identified as ‘Tar’ or ‘Pitch’ are visualised as a square monochrome black space. In fact, the accompanying inscriptions are the only means of distinguishing it from Outer Darkness, especially evident in those churches where both compartments appear together.<sup>308</sup> One could question why

<sup>300</sup> **Chania:** Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53.

<sup>301</sup> Marinis 2017a, 48.

<sup>302</sup> On the correlation between religion and the five senses, see Harvey and Hughes 2018.

<sup>303</sup> Another mention can be found in Gen. 11:3 in relation to the building of the Tower of Babel: ‘And they said to one another “Come, let us make bricks and bake them thoroughly”. So they used brick instead of stone and tar instead of mortar.’ Note that the word ‘tar’ mentioned in the two Genesis quotes is translated as ‘slime’ in the King James Bible.

<sup>304</sup> **Chania:** Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 10; Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16), vol. 2, Fig. 21; Voukolies, Saint Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53 (where tar is described as ‘boiling’ in the accompanying inscription); Vouvas, Christ (cat. no. 45; only recorded in a publication); **Rethymnon:** Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), vol. 2, Fig. 66; **Herakleion:** Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83), vol. 2, Fig. 108; Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92), vol. 2, Fig. 119; it is not clear whether Mpentenaki, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89) includes the Outer Darkness or Tar. There are no surviving examples in Lassithi.

<sup>305</sup> **Chania:** cat. no. 6; **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 50.

<sup>306</sup> **Chania:** cat. no. 41; **Rethymnon:** cat. no. 48; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 92.

<sup>307</sup> **Chania:** cat. no. 16; **Herakleion:** cat. no. 83.

<sup>308</sup> **Chania:** Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16); Voukolies, Saint Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); **Rethymnon:** Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50).

two visually identical compartments would have been included in the same representation. Perhaps they served a didactic purpose, with the priest explaining their differences to the congregation. Furthermore, if the space was available for the artist to place two black squares in between other compartments, it offered both a fast and easy artistic solution and could also create an eye-catching colourful effect.<sup>309</sup>

### 3.6.6 Everlasting Fire

The Everlasting Fire, or the fire that shall never be quenched, or the inextinguishable fire – basically, fire that burns eternally – encapsulates the essence of Hell. Fire that ‘is not quenched’ is found in the same place as the Sleepless Worm in Mark 9:44, 46 and 48. Mark 9:43 admonishes: ‘And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched’ (repeated in Mark 9:45, where the offensive body part is the foot).<sup>310</sup> Matthew 25:41 refers to what in representations of the Last Judgement has been interpreted as the River of Fire: ‘Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels’, making it clear that this is the only place for sinners.<sup>311</sup> The majority of Individual Sinners in Cretan Hell are depicted enduring their punishment amongst flames.<sup>312</sup> Thus, fire is omnipresent in Hell, which could account for the fact that the compartment of Communal Punishment showing the Everlasting Fire, being almost tautological with Hell itself, is in fact relatively rare.

This compartment can be found perhaps three times on Crete.<sup>313</sup> In none of these examples is it actually certain that this particular Communal

<sup>309</sup> See Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41), vol. 2, Fig. 53.

<sup>310</sup> Mark 9:47 addresses the eye as the offensive body part, but only mentions ‘to be cast into hell fire’; it does not qualify as ‘the fire that shall never be quenched’ as described in the two previous passages. The concept of the offending hands and eye that it is important to cut off in the light of salvation is found again in Matthew 18:8, 9.

<sup>311</sup> Indeed, in some examples it accompanies groups of heretics that are depicted being pushed into Hell by angels with spears and/or tridents (e.g. Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), vol. 2, Fig. 7); see above, section 3.4.1, on Hell. This inscription accompanies representations of Hell found also in the Peloponnese and in Cyprus; see Gerstel and Katsafados and Weyl Carr in this volume, 314 and 324 and 365 respectively.

<sup>312</sup> See above, section 3.5, on Individual Sinners.

<sup>313</sup> **Chania:** Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45); **Rethymnon:** Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), vol. 2, Fig. 64; **Herakleion:** Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), vol. 2, Fig. 111. In none of these examples is it actually certain that the Everlasting Fire is represented. In Chania, the compartment does not survive, and is only recorded in a publication; in the other two cases, it is grouped together with other Communal Punishments lacking inscription. For



Punishment is represented. Sometimes, there appears to be a conflation between the Everlasting Fire and the Rich Man from the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:24). At Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99, vol. 2, Fig. 132) the Rich Man is shown in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, accompanied by an inscription identifying the flames surrounding him as *to pyr to asveston* ('the fire that cannot be quenched'). Hence, the inclusion of the Rich Man among the compartments of Communal Punishments in one church could be a conflation with the Everlasting Fire.<sup>314</sup>

\* \* \*

There is an intriguing relationship between the compartments of Communal Punishments and the five senses.<sup>315</sup> The Gnashing of Teeth appeals to the sense of hearing, Tar to the sense of smell. The worms in the Sleepless Worm crawling across the sinners evoke touch, Outer Darkness deprives the sinners of sight. Tartarus, depending on its representation, can involve multiple sensations. The Rich Man pointing to his mouth, finally, reminds us not just of hunger and thirst but of the deprivation of taste that Hell will bring. These stimulations of the senses put together would have produced a vivid and terrifying experience of Hell.

Be that as it may, the compartments of Communal Punishments, based (mostly) on biblical references, are an important part of the representation of Hell. Despite the fact that they were included in its representation from an early date, however, the surviving evidence would suggest that neither the selection of compartments nor their rendition was standardised over time. The orderly arrangement of compartments in Paris BnF gr. 74 (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume) is mostly echoed on Crete, the Peloponnese and Cyprus, but is not observed in Cappadocia in Karşı Kilise near Gülşehir, dated 1212.<sup>316</sup> While the three most popular compartments of Communal Punishments on Crete<sup>317</sup> are equally popular on Cyprus and in the

the compartment in Rethymnon, the possibility that the Rich Man was shown here cannot be excluded.

<sup>314</sup> **Chania:** Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41). The Rich Man also appears twice in proximity to compartments of Communal Punishments: **Rethymnon:** Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69), vol. 2, Fig. 87 (to the right of the compartments); Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 61), vol. 2, Fig. 92 (underneath the compartments).

<sup>315</sup> The relationship between religion and the five senses and how these are stimulated through various rituals and practices has been attracting some deserved attention in the bibliography recently. See Harvey and Hughes 2018; Lymberopoulou 2020.

<sup>316</sup> See Warland in this volume, 372–3.

<sup>317</sup> Due to the poor preservation, the following churches include compartments of Communal Punishments that remain unidentified (see Appendix 1): in the area of **Chania**, **one compartment** remains unidentified at: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); Kakodiki,



Peloponnese, Tar is absent from Cyprus.<sup>318</sup> Variation and tradition could appear close together: the most unusual representation of the Sleepless Worm appears near a very conventional one in the same village.<sup>319</sup> Thus, the compartments demonstrate once again that the representation of Hell was not bound by the same rigour of tradition as most of Byzantine iconography.

### 3.7 Conclusions

The most striking aspect of the representation of Hell on Venetian Crete is surely its sheer variety. Hell was shown in different ratios in different regions, indicating perhaps local patterns of preference as to its inclusion in the decoration programmes of churches. If there was a relationship with personal devotional commemoration, however, there is only superficial evidence for this in the just over 50% of churches containing a representation of Hell that also include a dedicatory inscription and/or donor portrait. Hell was represented, as per tradition, in the context of the Last Judgement – but not exclusively so. It could also be placed underneath the Crucifixion, probably as a reminder of the fate from which Christ's sacrifice offered salvation; but it could even be combined with other scenes, such as the Dormition of the Virgin.

Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26); Platania, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31); Spaniakos, Saint George (cat. no. 36); Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40); **two compartments** remain unidentified at: Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); **three compartments** remain unidentified at: Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **four compartments** remain unidentified at: Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42); in the area of **Rethymnon**, **one compartment** remains unidentified at: Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73); **two compartments** remain unidentified at: Roustika, Virgin and Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 68); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); **three compartments** remain unidentified at: Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); in the area of **Herakleion**, **one compartment** remains unidentified at: Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi, (cat. no. 81); Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91); Voroï, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); **two compartments** remain unidentified at: Apano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75); Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84); Potamies, Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 90); in the area of **Lassithi**, **one compartment** remains unidentified at: Fourni, Saint George (cat. no. 94); **two compartments** remain unidentified at: Chandras (Panteli), Christ the Lord (Afentis) (cat. no. 93); **three compartments** remain unidentified at: Kritsa, Panagia Kera (cat. no. 100).

<sup>318</sup> Weyl Carr in this volume, 361 and n. 46.

<sup>319</sup> **Chania:** Voutas (cat. no. 44) (unusual); Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43) (regular).

Hell was predominantly shown on the west wall of the church, but could also occupy positions on the north and south walls (though never in the sanctuary). It consisted of three main components, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments, which could appear in virtually any combination (with the exclusion of compartments of Communal Punishments only). Each individual component varied significantly in how it was given shape in each church. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire would contain a variable number of sinners, sometimes but not per definition identified as heretics and persecutors of Christianity. The Individual Sinners differed from church to church in their number, their combination, and the specific sins they represent. The compartments of Communal Punishments, too, varied in their number and their combination.

Given this variety, we could ask ourselves what exactly is represented other than the general concept of Hell. Other components of the Last Judgement, for example, sometimes appear to show particular moments in time. According to the 15th-century theologian Markos Eugenikos,<sup>320</sup> neither the sinners nor the righteous receive their allotment in full before the Last Judgement.<sup>321</sup> At Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6), Saint Peter is standing outside the hermetically closed gates of Paradise, which are guarded by a Cherub, as mentioned in Genesis 3:24.<sup>322</sup> Saint Peter holds his keys in his right hand and raises his left hand, a gesture frequently interpreted as indicative of speech. This is the moment before the opening of the gates, perhaps even before the Last Judgement itself has taken place. At Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95), on the other hand, Saint Peter is about to open the gates of Paradise, looking back at the Choirs of the Elect who are queuing to be admitted, suggesting that the Last Judgement has just taken place. At Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50), Saint Peter is in front of the now open gates, letting in the donor of the church, while the Choirs of the Elect are waiting for their turn.<sup>323</sup>

<sup>320</sup> Kazhdan 1991, vol. 2, 743. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 26–7, 39.

<sup>321</sup> Marinis 2017, 77 (with extensive notes). See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 25–7.

<sup>322</sup> ‘So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep out the way of the tree of life.’

<sup>323</sup> Other Cretan examples that may point to a specific time in the Last Judgement can be seen at Anisaraki, Church of the Virgin (cat. no. 2): the gates of Paradise are open and the Choirs of the Elect are waiting to enter; L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24): Saint Peter is letting people through the gates of Paradise; Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35): the gates of Paradise are depicted closed. See also Maderakis 2005, 304–5 and n. 115.

The representations of Hell, by contrast, do not seem to fixate on a particular instance in time. Instead, their three components each seem to perform a slightly different function. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire shows us historically well-known individuals – heretics and those who opposed the Christian religion, unredeemable sinners who are making their appearance before the ungodly trinity of Satan, the arch-traitor Judas, and the Dragon of the Depths in the eternal fire. The Individual Sinners, not so much personifications in the abstract sense as representatives of various professional and social groups, identified by tools of their trade, may be based on textual sources, including the Ten Commandments, but are also related to the daily life of the community for whose benefit the church was decorated. They remind the congregation of who has the potentiality of ending up in Hell by not adhering to the rules and morals of Christian society, and they warn of the fate that awaits the transgressors. The compartments of Communal Punishments, finally, are depressing places of degradation, where anonymity prevails and sinners lose their physical and personal identity.

Which of these components was actually shown, and how, was probably a decision based on the wishes of the donor and the ability and expertise of the painter. Together, and in various combinations, the three components would have formed a useful didactic tool for any priest teaching the congregation about the nature of sin, from the grand sins against the faith committed by bishops and emperors to the everyday transgressions of the common people, and about the nature of eternal punishment, from poetic justice for specific to sins to the anonymous mass destruction at the very bottom of Hell. Thus, the representations may be didactic catalogues of different aspects of sin and divine retribution rather than a snapshot of a particular moment in time.

In their most common vertical order, the representations of Hell also show a form of hierarchy, from the individually named, historically famous sinners in the Place of Hell formed by the River of Fire, via the nameless Individual Sinners who are still characterised by the attributes of their professions and social status, or at the very least by the sin they committed, down to the compartments of Communal Punishments where sinners have become as indistinguishable from one another as in death itself. Looking down along the representation, the viewer is thus confronted with a gradual process of reduction, which the sinners undergo, till their very identity is defined only by their suffering. It is perhaps by showing this process that the representations of Hell are most effective as an illustration of the diametrical opposite of Paradise.

## Appendix 1 | The Structural Diversity of Cretan Hell

This Appendix catalogues the variations that exist in representations of Hell on Crete. The examples are arranged as follows: prefectures are examined from west to east (Chania – Rethymnon – Herakleion – Lassithi); villages are listed alphabetically per prefecture; churches are listed alphabetically per village.<sup>324</sup>

### **i. ‘Full’ Hell (The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners and with Compartments of Communal Punishments)**

#### **Chania**

Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (with Last Judgement; eight angels pushing sinners into Hell; at least nine Individual Sinners in a single frame on the south wall, in squares on the west wall; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 6

Moni, Saint Nicholas (with Last Judgement in the narthex; one angel pushing sinners into Hell; at least two superimposed rows of ten Individual Sinners, on the second register and on the third register; five Communal Punishments), cat. no. 27

Sklavopoula, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; eleven Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows; one of the sinners is named Leontis; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 35

Spaniakos, Saint George (with Last Judgement; four(?) Individual Sinners in squares; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 36

Strovles (Kalogero), Saint George (with Last Judgement; at least nine Individual Sinners in three superimposed squares; one Communal Punishment is here placed in the middle rather than at the bottom, as is more common for the ‘full’ Hell arrangement), cat. no. 38

- Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (with Last Judgement; ten Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows; at least four Communal Punishments have been placed in the middle and bottom register of the west end of the adjacent north wall), cat. no. 42
- Voutas, Christ the Saviour (with Last Judgement; at least thirteen Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 43
- Voutas (Frameno), Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; at least five Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 44

### Rethymnon

- Axos, Saint John the Baptist (with Last Judgement; twenty Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 50
- Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (with Last Judgement; at least two Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 53
- Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Church of the Saviour (with Last Judgement; at least sixteen Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 55
- Lambini, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell; Rich Man on his own; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 61
- Meronas, Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena (with Last Judgement; eight Individual Sinners in one row; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 64
- Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (with Last Judgement; eight Individual Sinners in one row; the single compartment of Communal Punishment has been placed to the left of the individual sinners here, rather than at the bottom as is more common for the 'full' Hell arrangement), cat. no. 66
- Roustika, Church of the Virgin and Christ the Saviour (with Last Judgement; at least twelve Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 68
- Saitoures, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; at least eleven Individual Sinners have here been placed in a row, above the space that depicts Hell (to the left) and two Communal Punishments (to the right)), cat. no. 69

### Herakleion

Apano Symi, Saint George (with Last Judgement; three Individual Sinners in one frame; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 75

Potamies, Christ the Saviour (with Last Judgement; four angels of the Lord pushing sinners into Hell; at least twelve Individual Sinners in a row; two Communal Punishments are here placed in the middle rather than at the bottom, as is more common for the 'full' Hell arrangement), cat. no. 90

### Lassithi

No examples

## ii. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire Only (Without Individual Sinners and Without Compartments of Communal Punishments)

### Chania

Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (with Last Judgement; three angels pushing sinners into Hell), cat. no. 4

Kalathaines, Church of the Virgin(?) (with Last Judgement) – wall paintings substantially damaged, cat. no. 15

Kopetoi, Holy Apostles (with Last Judgement), cat. no. 22

Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell), cat. no. 23

L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell), cat. no. 24

### Rethymnon

Hagios Vasileios, Saint Basil (with Last Judgement; one angel of fire pushing sinners into Hell), cat. no. 56

Petrochori (old Aposeti), Holy Apostles(?) (with Last Judgement) – substantially damaged, cat. no. 67

Vathiako, Saint George(?) (with Last Judgement; one angel of fire pushing sinners into Hell) – substantially damaged, cat. no. 72

### Herakleion

No examples

## Lassithi

Lithines, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell), cat. no. 102

Lithines, Holy Apostles (with Last Judgement), cat. no. 103

## iii. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners (Without Compartments of Communal Punishments)

### Chania

Anisaraki, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; at least twelve Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 2

Garipas, Saints George and John the Baptist (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell; at least seven Individual Sinners in at least one row), cat. no. 8

Plemeniana, Saint George (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell; at least five Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 32

Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (with Last Judgement; three Individual Sinners in two superimposed squares), cat. no. 39

Vouvas, Saint Paraskevi (with Last Judgement; at least four Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows), cat. no. 45

Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon (with Last Judgement; at least eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; the Rich Man), cat. no. 47

### Rethymnon

Diblochori, Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement; probably only one angel pushing sinners into Hell; at least five Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 51

Drymiskos (Katsogrido), Saint Constantine (with Last Judgement; at least two Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 52

Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (with Last Judgement; eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 58

Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (with Last Judgement; nine Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 70

### Herakleion

- Apano Archanes, Archangel Michael (Asomatos) (with Last Judgement; at least four Individual Sinners in a row), cat. no. 74
- Avdou, Saint George (with Last Judgement; at least eleven Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 79
- Embaros, Saint George (with Last Judgement; six Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 80
- Monastery of Kera Kardiotissa (with Last Judgement; one angel of the Lord pushing sinners into Hell; at least eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 86

### Lassithi

- Kavousi, Holy Apostles (with Last Judgement; two angels pushing sinners into Hell; at least four Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 95
- Kavousi, Saint George (with Last Judgement; thirteen Individual Sinners in squares (not superimposed)), cat. no. 96
- Kritsa, Church of Christ the Lord (Afentis) (probably with Last Judgement; unspecified number of angels pushing sinners into Hell; twelve Individual Sinners separated by gender, each gender in a row; the Rich Man is depicted separately within a square), cat. no. 98
- Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (it is not clear whether the Last Judgement was part of the iconographic programme here; two angels pushing sinners into Hell; thirteen Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 99
- Voulismeni (Vigli), Church of the Virgin (with Last Judgement(?); at least two Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 107

## iv. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Compartments of Communal Punishments (Without Individual Sinners)

### Chania

- Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (with Last Judgement; one angel pushing sinners into Hell; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 26
- Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (with Last Judgement; five Communal Punishments), cat. no. 41



## Rethymnon

Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (with Last Judgement; six Communal Punishments), cat. no. 48

## Herakleion

Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (with Last Judgement; four Communal Punishments placed to the right of Hell), cat. no. 81

Kapetaniana (Perichora), Archangel Michael (with Last Judgement; two angels of the Lord; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 84

Valsamonero (Vorizia), Saint Phanourios (with Last Judgement; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 91

Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (with Last Judgement; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 92

## Lassithi

Chandras (Panteli), Christ the Saviour (Afentis) (with Last Judgement; two Communal Punishments) – substantially damaged, cat. no. 93

Fourni, Saint George (with Last Judgement; it is possible that one Communal Punishment is depicted here) – substantially damaged, cat. no. 94

Meseleroi, Saint George (with Last Judgement; one Communal Punishment placed to the right of Hell), cat. no. 104

## v. Individual Sinners and Compartments of Communal Punishments (Without the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire)

### Chania

Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (with Last Judgement; fourteen Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 13

Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (with Jericho, considered as a prefiguration of the Last Judgement; five Individual Sinners in a row; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 16

- Kitiros (close to Voutas), Hagia Paraskevi (with Crucifixion; seven Individual Sinners in a single frame, and a separate square with the Sunday Sleepers; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 21
- Platanias (Drakiana) Saint George Methystis (area above sinners badly damaged; twelve Individual Sinners in four superimposed rows; three Communal Compartments), cat. no. 31
- Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (with Crucifixion; eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; two Communal Punishments, placed unusually, one at the top register above the Individual Sinners and the second in the register below, to the left of the Individual Sinners; bottom register has also Individual Sinners), cat. no. 34
- Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (with Crucifixion; six Individual Sinners in a row; three Communal Punishments are here placed above the Individual Sinners), cat. no. 40

### Rethymnon

- Artos, Saint George (with Last Judgement; at least four Individual Sinners in a row; four Communal Punishments),<sup>325</sup> cat. no. 49
- Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (with Last Judgement; at least two Individual Sinners in squares; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 59
- Mourne, Saint George (with Last Judgement; nine Individual Sinners in a row; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 65
- Spili, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (with Last Judgement; ten Individual Sinners in three superimposed rows; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 71
- Veni, Church of the Virgin (at least four Individual Sinners in squares; maybe one Communal Punishment(?)), cat. no. 73

### Herakleion

- Ano Viannos (Rizou), Saint Pelagia (with Crucifixion; eighteen Individual Sinners in superimposed rows and separated according to gender; four Communal Punishments), cat. no. 76
- Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (with Last Judgement; at least six Individual Sinners in superimposed squares; two Communal Punishments), cat. no. 77

<sup>325</sup> The wall painting has suffered substantial damage. It is possible that 'full' Hell was depicted here, but this can no longer be verified.

Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (with Dormition of the Virgin; five Individual Sinners in a row; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 78  
 Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (with Crucifixion; at least ten Individual Sinners in three superimposed rows; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 83

### Lassithi

Kritsa (Merambello), Virgin (Panagia Kera) (central nave: with Crucifixion; at least seven Individual Sinners in one row; north aisle: two superimposed squares with at least two sinners in one of them; three Communal Punishments), cat. no. 100  
 Kroustas (Lakkoi), Saint John the Evangelist (with Crucifixion; six Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows; one Communal Punishment), cat. no. 101

## vi. Individual Sinners Only (Without the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Without Compartments of Communal Punishments)

### Chania

Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (with Crucifixion; eleven Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows), cat. no. 1  
 Chora Sfakion, All Saints (substantially damaged; at least nine Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 5  
 Fres (Tzitzifies), Saint George Methystis (with Crucifixion; at least eleven Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 7  
 Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (with Weighing of the Souls; five Individual Sinners in a square and in a row), cat. no. 9  
 Hagia Eirini, Virgin (with Crucifixion; at least thirteen Individual Sinners in a single frame and in two superimposed squares), cat. no. 10  
 Kadros, Saint John Chrysostom (with Crucifixion; at least five Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 11  
 Kadros, Virgin (with Crucifixion; eight Individual Sinners in two superimposed rows), cat. no. 12  
 Kakopetros (Papadiana), Archangel Michael (with Crucifixion; at least eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 14

Kandanos, Saint Nicholas (the vast majority of the wall paintings no longer survive; at least three Individual Sinners, either in a row or in squares), cat. no. 17

Karydi (Karydaki) Vamos, Church of the Virgin (with Crucifixion above frame with female sinners on the north wall, and with Raising of Lazarus above frame with male sinners on the south wall; twenty Individual Sinners in two single frames, one for each gender), cat. no. 19

Kato Prines, Church of the Virgin (with Crucifixion; nine Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 20

Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (with Crucifixion; six Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 28

Pemonia (Vamos), Saint George (with Dormition of the Virgin; at least two Individual Sinners either in a row or in squares), cat. no. 30

Prines, Saint George (with Crucifixion; eight Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 33

### **Rethymnon**

Kastri (Koukoumnos), Saint Stephen (with Last Judgement; twelve(?) Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 57

Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (with Last Judgement; at least five Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 62

### **Herakleion**

Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (with Last Judgement; also Christ at the dome; twelve Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 82

Kassanoi (near Arkalochori), Christ the Saviour (with Crucifixion; four Individual Sinners in a single frame), cat. no. 85

Mathia, Dormition of the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (with Dormition of the Virgin (left) and Crucifixion (right); at least seven Individual Sinners in superimposed squares), cat. no. 88

### **Lassithi**

Kritsa, Panagia Kera (with Crucifixion in the middle church and with Last Judgement in the north church; at least ten Individual Sinners, seven in the middle church in a row, and three surviving in the north church in squares; the Rich Man in a square), cat. no. 100

**vii. Compartments of Communal Punishments Only  
(Without the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and  
Without Individual Sinners)**

No known/documented examples on Crete.

## Appendix 2 | Church Dedication

| Dedication to Saint                   | No. of Churches – Chania               | No. of Churches – Rethymnon | No. of Churches – Herakleion | No. of Churches – Lassithi | Total             |
|---------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| All Saints                            | 1 (cat. no. 5)                         |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Apostles                              | 2 (cat. nos 22, 23)                    | 1 (cat. no. 67)             |                              | 2 (cat. nos 95, 103)       | 5                 |
| Archangel Michael                     | 3 (cat. nos 13, 14, 16)                |                             | 3 (cat. nos 74, 77, 84)      |                            | 6                 |
| Athanasios                            | 1 (cat. no. 42)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Catherine                             | 1 (cat. no. 18)                        |                             | 1 (cat. no. 89)              |                            | 2                 |
| Christ                                | 4 (cat. nos 9, 26, 43, 45)             | 3 (cat. nos 55, 66, 71)     | 2 (cat. nos 85, 90)          | 2 (cat. nos 93, 98)        | 11<br>(+1 shared) |
| Constantine                           |  | 1 (cat. no. 52)             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Constantine and Helena <sup>326</sup> | 1 (cat. no. 41)                        |                             | 1 (cat. no. 78)              |                            | 2                 |
| Eirini                                |  |                             |                              | 1 (cat. no. 97)            | 1                 |
| Eutychios                             | 1 (cat. no. 40)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| George                                | 7 (cat. nos 7, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38) | 3 (cat. nos 49, 65, 72)     | 3 (cat. nos 75, 79, 80)      | 3 (cat. nos 94, 96, 104)   | 16<br>(+2 shared) |
| John the Baptist                      | 1 (cat. no. 6)                         | 2 (cat. nos 50, 53)         | 1 (cat. no. 83)              | 1 (cat. no. 99)            | 5<br>(+2 shared)  |
| John Chrysostom                       | 1 (cat. no. 11)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| John the Evangelist                   | 1 (cat. no. 4)                         | 4 (cat. nos 58, 59, 62, 70) |                              | 1 (cat. no. 101)           | 6                 |
| Nicholas                              | 3 (cat. nos 17, 27, 28)                | 1 (cat. no. 48)             |                              |                            | 4 (+1 shared)     |
| Marina                                | 1 (cat. no. 37)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Panteleimon                           | 1 (cat. no. 47)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Paraskevi                             | 3 (cat. nos 21, 39, 46)                | 2 (cat. nos 56, 63)         | 2 (cat. nos 81, 87)          |                            | 7                 |
| Paul                                  |  |                             | 1 (cat. no. 82)              |                            | 1                 |
| Pelagia                               |  |                             | 1 (cat. no. 76)              |                            | 1                 |
| Peter and Paul                        | 1 (cat. no. 34)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |
| Phanourios                            |  |                             | 1 (cat. no. 91)              |                            | 1                 |
| Prokopios                             | 1 (cat. no. 24)                        |                             |                              |                            | 1                 |

<sup>326</sup> This does not count as double dedication to two different saints, since mother and son are celebrated together in the Orthodox liturgical calendar on 21 May, and are commonly depicted as a pair in icons (of all media) holding the Holy Cross between them.

(cont.)

| Dedication to Saint | No. of Churches – Chania               | No. of Churches – Rethymnon             | No. of Churches – Herakleion | No. of Churches – Lassithi      | Total          |
|---------------------|--|---|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Stephen             |  | 1 (cat. no. 57)                         |                              |                                 | 1              |
| Theodore            | 1 (cat. no. 25)                        |   |                              |                                 | 1              |
| Virgin              | 7 (cat. nos 2, 10, 12, 19, 20, 35, 44) | 7 (cat. nos 51, 54, 60, 61, 64, 69, 73) | 2 (cat. nos 86, 92)          | 4 (cat. nos 100, 102, 106, 107) | 20 (+3 shared) |
| Zosimas             | 1 (cat. no. 1)                         |   |                              |                                 | 1              |

| Double Churches' Dedication to Saints                          | No. of Churches – Chania | No. of Churches – Rethymnon | No. of Churches – Herakleion | No. of Churches – Lassithi |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| All Saints and Anne George and John the Baptist <sup>327</sup> | 1 (cat. no. 8)           |                             |                              | 1 (cat. no. 105)           |
| George and Nicholas  | 1 (cat. no. 3)           |                             |                              |                            |
| Spyridon and John  | 1 (cat. no. 29)          |                             |                              |                            |
| Virgin and Christ  |                          | 1 (cat. no. 68)             |                              |                            |
| Virgin and Holy Trinity  | 1 (cat. no. 15)          |                             |                              |                            |
| Virgin and John the Baptist                                    |                          |                             | 1 (cat. no. 88)              |                            |

## Commentary

It is hardly surprising that the majority of the Cretan churches that include Hell in their iconographic programme are dedicated to the Virgin (twenty), the major intercessor for the salvation of mankind to Christ, clearly reflected in the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*.<sup>328</sup> Second in popularity is Saint George (sixteen), with Christ in third place (eleven). The same division can be found among double churches: three dedicated to the Virgin, two to Saint George, and one to Christ. Furthermore, these three

<sup>327</sup> Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 27 (no. 56) record the church as dedicated to Saints George and Nicholas. What could be identified of the decoration of the south nave during our visit on 25 August 2014, however, suggests scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist.

<sup>328</sup> Baun 2007, *passim*.

dedications reach double figures and occur in all four prefectures; the only other dedication to do so is to Saint John the Baptist.

It may be worth noting that a relatively low number of churches are dedicated to the Archangel Michael, despite his task of weighing the souls at the Last Judgement.<sup>329</sup> There are only six churches dedicated to the Archangel, found only in Chania (three) and in Herakleion (three). A similar number of churches, seven, are dedicated to Saint Paraskevi, and they present a wider spread, excluding only Lassithi. This may reflect the association of this female saint with Good Friday (Μεγάλη Παρασκευή): Christ's death at the cross on that day marks a major landmark in the process of salvation according to Christian belief.<sup>330</sup>

It is highly likely that the single dedications (e.g. Eirini, Eutychios, Marina, Pelagia, Prokopios, Zosimas etc.) reflect a local communal or individual devotion to the particular saint. One exception is presented by the dedication to Saint Phanourios in the prefecture of Herakleion, a local Cretan saint of great popularity (cat. no. 91).<sup>331</sup> This lone dedication is counterbalanced by the fact that this was a large monastic foundation and certainly one of the largest edifices to include Hell.

<sup>329</sup> See Lymberopoulou 2006, 104–5. See also Semoglou in this volume, 301 and n. 112.

<sup>330</sup> As has been mentioned above in the chapter, 121, the Crucifixion often accompanies the iconography of Individual Sinners in Cretan churches. It should be noted that Koukiaris 1994, 37 questions the association between Saint Paraskevi (Friday) and Good Friday.

<sup>331</sup> Vassilaki 1980–1 (reprinted in 2009); Ranoutsaki 2019.



## Appendix 3 | Greek Spelling and Transliteration of Inscriptions Featuring in the Text

All inscriptions are transcribed as they appear on the wall paintings. This appendix provides a correct modern Greek spelling of all inscriptions, as well as a transliteration in Latin script.

### The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire

**Angels:** ο Ἀγγελος / *o Angelos*; ο Ἀγγελος Κυρίου / *o Angelos Kyriou*;  
ο πύρινος ἄγγελος / *o pyrinos angelos*

**Antichrist:** ο Αντίχριστος / *o Antichristos*

**Devils:** ο διάβολος / *o diabolos*

**Dragon of the Depths:** ο βίθυσος δράκων κρατών τον υιόν της απώλειας /  
*o vithyos drakon kraton ton yion tis apoleias*; ο βίθυσος δράκων μετά των  
πνευμάτων της πονηρίας / *o vithyos drakon meta ton pneumatou tis*  
*ponirias*; ο βίθυσος δράκων / *o vithyos drakon*

**Emperors:** **Decius:** Δέκιος / *Dekios*; **Diocletian:** Διοκλητιανός /  
*Diokletianos*; **Nero:** Νέρων / *Neron*; **Emperors of the Wrong Faith:**  
Βασιλείς Κακόδοξοι / *Vasileis Kakodoxoi*

**Hell:** η κόλαση / *i kolasi*

**Heretics:** οι Αιρετικοί / *oi Airetikoi*; **Arius:** ο Ἀρειος / *o Areios*; οι Αρειανοί /  
*oi Areiano*;<sup>332</sup> **Macedonius:** ο Μακεδόνιος / *o Macedonios*; **Sabellius:**  
ο Σαβέλιος / *o Savelios*; οι Σαβελιανοί / *oi Saveliano*; πορεύεσθε ἀπ’  
ἐμοῦ οἱ κατηγορούμενοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ το ἐξώτερον / *poreuesthe ap’ emou oi*  
*katiramenoi eis to pyr to exoteron*;<sup>333</sup> δείξατε τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν καὶ λάβετε /  
*deixate ta erga ymon kai lavete*; δεῦτε ἡ φυλὴ μου εἰς τὸ πῦρ το

ἐξώτερον / *deute i fyli mou eis to pyr to exoteron*

**Herod:** ο Ηρώδης / *o Irodis*

**Followers of Ishmael:** οἱ Ἰσμαηλινοί / *oi Ismaelinoi*

<sup>332</sup> ΟΙ ΑΡΕΙΑΝΟΙ (the followers of Arius).

<sup>333</sup> ΠΟΡΕΒΕΘΟ ΑΠΕΜΟΥ ΟΙ ΚΑΤΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΙ ἜΝ ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΕΞΩΝΙΟΝ / ‘Depart from me, ye  
cursed, into everlasting fire, [prepared for the devil and his angels]’ (Matt. 25:41).

**Judas:** ο Ιούδας / *o Ioudas*; τον προδότη και άθλιο Ιούδα / *to prodoti kai athlio Iouda*<sup>334</sup>

**River of Fire:** ο πύρινος ποταμός / *o pyrinos potamos*; ο ποταμός ο πύρινος / *o potamos o pyrinos*

**Son of Destruction:** ο υιός της απώλειας / *o yios tis apoleias*

## Individual Sinners

**Abbot Who Invokes the Devil:** ο ηγούμενος ο λέγων ο διάβολος / *o igoumenos o legon o diabolos*

**Layman Who Invokes the Name of the Devil:** ο λέγων συνεχώς το όνομα του διαβόλου / *o legon synechos to onoma tou diabolou*

**Anti-children: Does not nurse another's baby:** η μη θηλάζουσα ξένο βρέφος / *i mi thilazousa xeno vrefos*; **Does not nurse babies:** η μη βυζάνουσα τα νήπια / *i mi vyzanousa ta nipia*; όπου δε βυζαίνει τα νήπια / *opou de vyzainei ta nipia*; η μη θηλάζουσα τα βρέφη / *i mi thilazousa ta vrefi*; η μη θηλάζουσα τα νήπια / *i mi thilazousa ta nipia*; **Does not nurse children:** εκείνη όπου δε βυζαίνει τα παιδιά / *ekeini opou de vyzainei ta paidia*; **Rejects babies:** η αποστρέφουσα νήπια / *i apostrefousa nipia*; η γυνή η αποστρέφουσα τα νήπια / *i gyni i apostrefousa ta nipia*; η αποστρέφουσα τα νήπια / *i apostrefousa ta nipia*; **Rejects and does not nurse babies:** η αποστρέφουσα και μη βυζάνουσα τα νήπια / *i apostrefousa kai mi vyzanousa ta nipia*

**Bawd (Madam, Procuress):** μαβλήστρα / *mavlistra*

**Blasphemer:** ο βλάσφημος / *o blasfimos*

**Cheats at the Scales (Female):** η παραζυγιάστρα / *i parazygiastra*; η παρακαμπανίστρα / *i parakampanistra*

**Cheats at the Scales (Male):** ο παρακαμπανιστής / *o parakampanistis*

**Eavesdropper:** η παραφουκάστρα / *i parafoukastra*

**Farming Transgressions: Ploughing over the Boundary Line:** ο παραυλακιστής / *o paravlakistis*; **Reaping over the Boundary Line:** ο παραθεριστής / *o paratheristis*

**Falsifier of Documents:** ο φασογράφος / *falsografos*; ο νοτάριος της αδικίας / *o notarios tis adikias*

**Fornicator (Female):** η πόρνη / *i porni*; **Not a Virgin:** η διαχειρισμένη (η διακορευμένη?) / *i diageirismeni (i diakoreumeni?)*

**Fornicator (Male):** ο πόρνος / *o pornos*

<sup>334</sup> B . . . ΤΩ ΠΡΟΔΟΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΙΩ ΙΟΥΔΑ(?).

**Gossiper (Female):** η παρακαθίστρα / *i parakathistra*; η σουρεύτρα / *i soureutra*

**Liar:** η ψεύτρα / *i pseutra*

**Magistrate:** ο κουράτορας / *o kouratoras*

**Miller:** ο μυλωνάς / *o mylonas*; ο μυλωνάς όπου βαρυζυγιάζει / *o mylonas opou varyzigiazei*

**Murderer (Male):** ο φονιάς / *o phonias*; ο φονέας / *o phoneas*

**Not Giving Offerings to the Church:** όπου δεν πάει πρόσφορα στην εκκλησία / *opou den paei prosfora stin ekklesia*; η μη προσφέρουσα στην εκκλησία πρόσφορα / *i mi prosferousa stin ekklesia prosfora*; in the inscription in the church, the dative is used: τη εκκλησία

**Perjurer:** ο επίορκος / *o epiorikos*

**Priest Who Does Not Take Care of the Church:** ο παπάς ο και εαυτό φρονών και μη πληρώνων την εκκλησίαν / *o papas o kai eauto fronon kai mi plironon tin ekklesian*; ο ιερέυς ο μη φροντίζων την αγίαν εκκλησίαν / *o iereus o mi frontizon tin hagian ekklesian*

**Rich Lazarus:** ο Πλούσιος Λάζαρος / *o Plousios Lazaros*; Πάτερ Αβραάμ, κάμε έλεος εις εμέ, λυπήσου με, και στείλε τον Λάζαρον να βάψει το άκρον του δακτύλου του εις το νερό και να δροσίσει την γλώσσα μου, διότι τυρανούμαι μέσα σε αυτή τη φλόγα / *Pater Avraam, kame eleos eis eme, lypisou me, kai steile ton Lazaron na vapsei to akron tou daktylou tou eis to nero kai na drosisei tin glosa mou, dioti tyranoumai mesa se auti ti floga*<sup>335</sup>

**Rich Man:** ο πλούσιος / *o plousios*

**Slanderer (Female):** η καταλαλού / *i katalalou*; η κατατολαλούσα / *i katatolalousa*

**Slanderer (Male):** ο καταλαλών / *o katalalon*

**Sunday Sleeper(s):** οι κοιμούνται την Αγίαν Κυριακήν / *oi koimountes tin Hagian Kyriakin*; οι κοιμούνται την Αγίαν Κυριακήν και ουκ εισέρχονται εις την εκκλησίαν του Θεού / *oi koimountes tin Hagian Kyriakin kai ouk eiserchontai eis tin ekklesian tou Theou*; όπου (ο μη?) ειγχειρν(?) εις την εκκλησίαν την αγίαν κυριακήν / *opou o mi egeirein eis tin ekklesian tin Hagian Kyriakin*; όπου κοιμούνται την Αγίαν Κυριακήν / *opou koimountai tin Hagian Kyriakin*; όπου κοιμάται την Αγίαν Κυριακήν το πυρ άπτει από κάτω του / *opou koimatai tin Hagian Kyriakin to pyr aptei apo kato tou*

<sup>335</sup> ΠΑΤΕΡ ΑΒΡΑ]ΑΜ ΕΛ'ΕΙCΟΝ ΜΕ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΕ[ΜΨΟΝ Λ'Α]ΖΑΡΟΝ ΗΝΑ Β'ΑΨΗ [ΤΟ 'ΑΚΡΟ]Ν ΤΟΥ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΥ [ΑΥΤΟ'Υ 'Υ]ΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ[Ψ'ΥΞΗ ΤΗΝ ΓΛΩCΣΑ ΜΟΥ] / 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue' (Luke 16:24). See also Introduction, vol. 2, 437.

**Tailor:** ο ράπτης / *o raptis*; ο ράπτης όπου κλέπτει / *o raptis opou kleptei*

**Tavern Keeper (Female):** η ταβερνάρισα / *i tavernarisa*

**Tavern Keeper (Male):** ο ταβερνάρης / *o tavernaris*

**Thief / Goat Thief:** ο κλέπτης / *o kleptis*

**Thief and Robber:** ο κλέπτης και λήσταρχος / *o kleptis kai listarchos*

**Usurer:** ο ζουράρης / *o zouraris*; ο τοκών υπέρπυρον / *o tokon yperpyron*

**Weaver:** η ανυφαντού / *i anyfantou*

**Witch:** η μάγισσα / *i magissa*

## Compartments of Communal Punishments

**Everlasting Fire:** το πυρ το άσβεστον / *to pyr to asveston*; το αιώνιον πυρ / *to aionion pyr*

**Gnashing of Teeth:** ο βρυγμός των οδόντων / *o vrygmos ton odonton*; ο τριγμός των οδόντων / *o trigmos ton odonton*

**Outer Darkness:** το σκότος / *to skotos*; το σκότος το εξώτερον / *to skotos to exoteron*

**Sleepless Worm:** ο σκώληξ ο ακοίμητος / *o skolix o akoimitos*

**Tar:** η πίσσα / *i pissa*; πίσσα κοχλάζουσα / *pissa kochlazousa*

**Tartarus:** ο τάρταρος / *o tartaros*

## 4 | Hell from West to East

### Western Resonances in Cretan Wall Painting

REMBRANDT DUITTS\*

#### 4.1 Introduction

It has long been asserted that the wall paintings found in churches from the Venetian period on Crete are largely devoid of Western elements in both style and iconography.<sup>1</sup> Their perceived adherence to the ‘pure’ Byzantine tradition has been interpreted as the reflection of an anti-Western or at the very least anti-Roman-Catholic stance among the indigenous Cretan population – a notion that has begun to be challenged consistently from the early 1980s onwards.<sup>2</sup> This chapter seeks to make a contribution to the debate. Specifically, it aims to show that there are parallels with Western art in certain representations of Hell in Cretan churches. As I have argued

\* I wish to thank all the members of the Leverhulme International Network team ‘Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete’ for their good company, useful advice and great collaboration over the years. In particular, I thank Angeliki Lymberopoulou for inviting me to be part of this team, for her ceaseless efforts on behalf of the project, and for her help with researching and writing this chapter. As this chapter has a large number of illustrations, many of which are referred to multiple times, the set of illustrations has been arranged in chronological order rather than in order of their first appearance in the text. Byzantine images have been mixed with Western ones in the chronological arrangement. Thus, the illustrations tell their own story of iconographical development and of patterns of artistic exchange.

<sup>1</sup> The persistent Byzantine character of the Cretan wall paintings was commented upon already by Giuseppe Gerola. See Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 306–7.

<sup>2</sup> Interpretations of the murals in terms of an anti-Western or anti-Roman-Catholic stance are put forward in Kalokyris 1973, 178–9; Maderakis 1978, esp. 215; Bissinger 1995, 20–1; Maderakis 2008. Maria Vassilakis first pointed out that there are in fact Western details in the murals. See Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1982. More recently, Angeliki Lymberopoulou has questioned the idea that the indigenous Cretans were fervently anti-Western, pointing out that there is evidence of increasing social interaction and collaboration between Cretans and Venetian colonists as early as the 14th century, and that, owing to a shortage of Western priests on the island, Venetians attended Mass in Orthodox churches, especially in the countryside. See Lymberopoulou 2006, 4–10; Lymberopoulou 2013, 64–5. For an in-depth discussion of social interactions between Cretan and Venetians, see Gasparis in this volume, 60–90.

elsewhere, the number, diversity and pattern of dispersion of the scenes that offer parallels are such that it is unlikely that they are entirely accidental.<sup>3</sup>

There is one basic problem in comparing Byzantine with Western or even just Italian representations of Hell. The Byzantine iconographic tradition of Hell was established by the 11th century and only marginally varied upon in later ages.<sup>4</sup> In Byzantine art, Hell is generally shown as part of the Last Judgement, which includes the River of Fire emanating from the throne of Christ the Judge, ending at the figure of Satan enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths, clutching Judas to his chest, with compartments underneath, in which sinners are undergoing specific punishments (Fig. 4.2). Western art, by contrast, shows Hell in a variety of contexts and according to a range of different conventions.<sup>5</sup> Hell was represented as part of the Last Judgement (Figs 4.1; 4.4; 4.9; 4.10; 4.11a, b and c; 4.12; 4.15; 4.16a and b; and 4.19), but also independently, as in prayer books referring to the fate of sinners in the afterlife (Fig. 4.18). As Dionysios Stathakopoulos discusses in his chapter, there was a literary tradition of describing visits to Hell, inspired by the 4th-century *Apocalypse of Saint Paul*;<sup>6</sup> this tradition included the well-known *Vision of Tundal*, conceived by an Irish monk during the 12th century, and culminated in Dante's *Inferno*, the first part of his *Commedia*, written between 1308 and 1321.<sup>7</sup> Starting with Dante manuscripts in the second quarter of the 14th century, these texts began to be illustrated, generating their own, often quite detailed imagery of the netherworld (Fig. 4.17).<sup>8</sup> Within these various contexts, Western images of Hell ranged in format from the relatively simple (Figs 4.1; 4.9; 4.21) to the intricately structured (Figs 4.7; 4.15; 4.18; 4.19). To complicate matters further, the Byzantine iconography of Hell exerted a certain amount of influence on Western art, especially in late

<sup>3</sup> In a separate essay, I make the case that the various elements could in fact have originated from a single Italian or Italian-inspired visual source; see Duits 2018.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest surviving exemplar of the Byzantine layout of Hell can be found in the 11th-century gospel book now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS gr. 74); see Angheben 2002, 106; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive survey of French and Italian late medieval representations of Hell, see Baschet 1993. Baschet pays little attention to the Byzantine influences on the Italian iconography of Hell. A range of Byzantine and Western representations of Hell can be found in Pace and Angheben 2007.

<sup>6</sup> See Stathakopoulos in this volume, 22–42.

<sup>7</sup> On the literary traditions of Hell in western Europe, see Vorgrimler 1993, 105–13 (*Apocalypse of Saint Paul*), 165–8 (*Vision of Tundal*), and 175–90 (Dante). On the *Vision of Tundal*, see also Pfeill 1999.

<sup>8</sup> On the early illustrations of Dante's *Inferno*, see Brieger, Meiss and Singleton 1969; Stolte 1998.



Fig. 4.1 North Italian(?), Last Judgement, early 9th century (the shape of the panels was modified at Reims around 860), ivory, 13.1 x 8.1 cm, London, Victoria & Albert Museum

medieval Italy. No less a painter than Giotto, hailed since Vasari as the first Italian artist to break away from the *maniera greca* of medieval Italian art, adhered to the Byzantine layout of the Last Judgement in his famous fresco on the west wall of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (1306), which has the





Fig. 4.2 Byzantine, Last Judgement, from a gospel book made in Constantinople, 11th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 74, fol. 51v

River of Fire flowing from the throne of Christ, washing sinners down to Hell in the lower right-hand corner (Fig. 4.12).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In his *Life of Giotto*, Vasari famously says that the artist 'became so good at copying nature that he abandoned completely that coarse Greek manner and revived the modern and good art of painting' ('divenne così buon imitatore della natura che sbandi affatto quella goffa maniera greca, e risuscitò la moderna e buona arte della pittura'); see Bettarini and Barocchi 1966–present, vol. 2, pp. 59 and 97. The River of Fire in Giotto's Last Judgement has been characterised as an 'Italo-



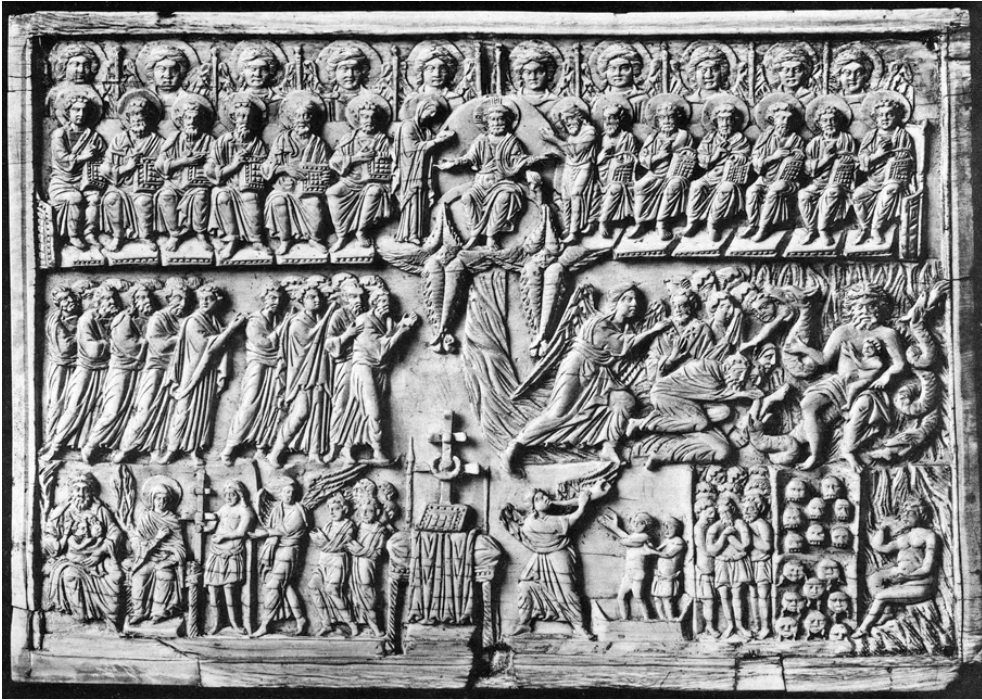


Fig. 4.3 Byzantine, Last Judgement, 11th century, ivory relief, 15.1 x 21.4 cm, London, Victoria & Albert Museum



Fig. 4.4 French, Last Judgement, detail: Hell, middle of the 12th century, relief sculpture, Conques, Abbey Church of Saint-Foy (tympanum of west portal)

The complexity and multifaceted nature of the Western iconography of Hell makes it almost impossible to reconstruct a coherent repertoire of iconographic motifs from which Cretan artists might have drawn. There

Byzantine' element in the literature on the Scrovegni Chapel; see, for example, Hueck 2005, 93–5; Lymberopoulou forthcoming b.



Fig. 4.5 Venetian (with assistance of Byzantine craftsmen), River of Fire with Satan enthroned upon a monster, detail from the Last Judgement, late 12th century, mosaic, Torcello, Cathedral (west wall)



Fig. 4.6 After Herrad of Hohenbourg, angels pushing sinners into Hell, from an 1840 facsimile of fol. 253v of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes Ad. 144. A. Fol.

is, moreover, no 'smoking gun' – no such thing as a direct quotation from Giotto in a Cretan mural, which would prove that Cretan painters somehow had access to and were taking note of specific works of Western art. Yet, as this chapter will attempt to demonstrate, the absorption of Western elements





Fig. 4.7 After Herrad of Hohenbourg, Hell, hand-coloured facsimile of fol. 255r of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Facs. Fol. 8 (xi)

did not necessarily take the form of a straightforward derivation from a Western model. Western themes could be translated into the idiom of Byzantine art and iconography. Some 25 per cent of the Cretan wall paintings depicting Hell deviate from pre-established Byzantine traditions in one or more ways, and it can be shown that all these deviations correspond to elements found in western European, and particularly Italian art.



Fig. 4.8 English, Hell, from the so-called Golden Psalter, early 13th century, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, p. 66





Fig. 4.9 French, Hell, detail from the Last Judgement, c. 1230, relief, Reims, Cathedral (tympanum of the east portal of the north transept facade)



Fig. 4.10 Nicola Pisano, Last Judgement, 1260, Pisa, Baptistery (pulpit)



Fig. 4.11 a, b and c Italian, Hell, detail from the Last Judgement, after 1271, mosaic, Florence, Baptistery of San Giovanni (vault)

## 4.2 Interactions

Crete was a Venetian dominion at the time when the great majority of the churches investigated here were built and decorated – the late 13th to the early 15th century.<sup>10</sup> Venice acquired Crete in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and began colonising the island in earnest from 1211 onwards.<sup>11</sup> The process of colonisation appears to have radiated outwards from the capital, Candia (modern-day Herakleion), where a Venetian administration was first established.<sup>12</sup> During the first half of the 13th

<sup>10</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 60–90, and vol. 2, 828–34. See also Lymberopoulou 2006; Gratziou 2010; Lymberopoulou 2010a; Tsamakda 2012; Lymberopoulou 2013.

<sup>11</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 61. See also Maltezou 1991, 17–19; Georgopoulou 2001, 4–5.

<sup>12</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 65. See also Georgopoulou 2001, 4–5; Fortini Brown 2016, 213.





Fig. 4.12 Giotto, Hell, detail from the Last Judgement, 1305–6, fresco, Padua, Scrovegni Chapel (west wall)

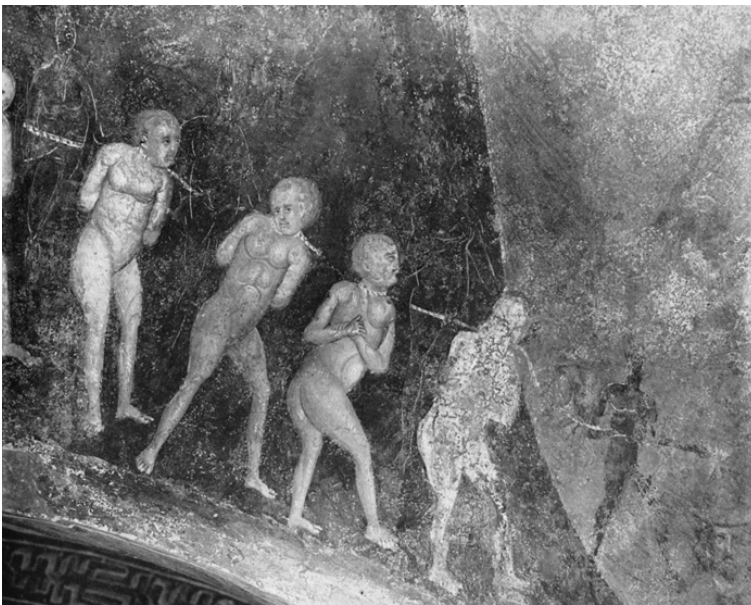


Fig. 4.13 Byzantine, procession of sinners led to Hell by a devil, detail from the Last Judgement, 1315–21, fresco, Constantinople, Chora Monastery (parekklesion)

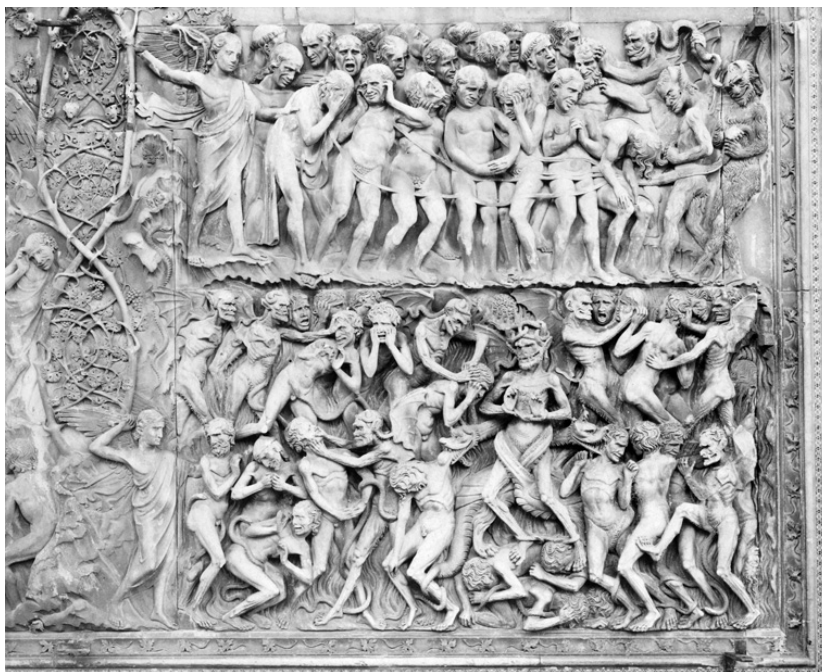


Fig. 4.14 Italian, Hell, detail from the Last Judgement, c. 1310–30, marble relief, Orvieto, Cathedral (south pier of the west facade)

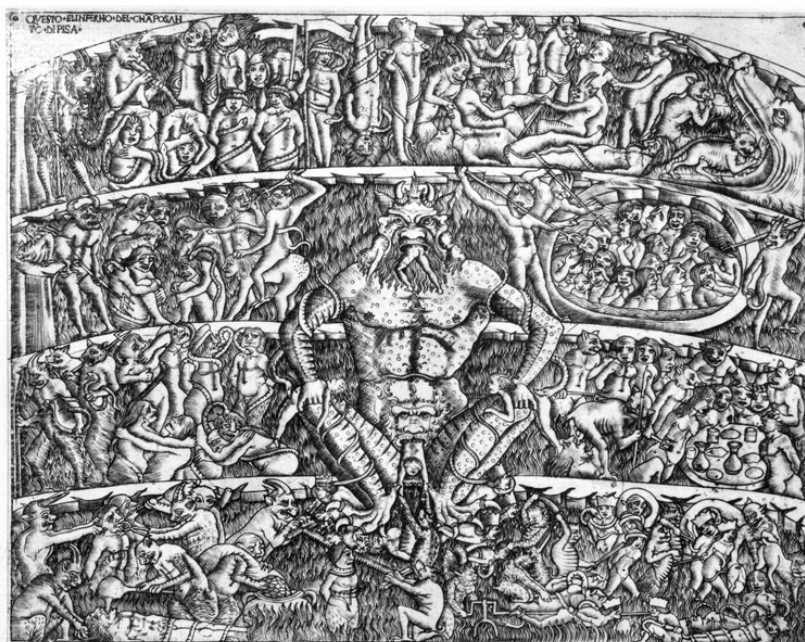


Fig. 4.15 After Buffalmacco (attr.), Hell, late 15th century, engraving after the fresco of c. 1330–40 in the Camposanto at Pisa





Fig. 4.16 a and b Italian, Last Judgement, details, 1346–7, fresco, Soletto, Church of Santo Stefano (west wall)

century, the other main cities along the northern coast line (Siteia, Rethymnon and Canea or Chania) were brought under Venetian control.<sup>13</sup> In the second half of the 13th century, fortresses were erected further along the shores, for instance on the promontory of Palaiochora in south-western Crete in 1282.<sup>14</sup>

Over the course of the 13th and early 14th centuries, there were various uprisings against the Venetian rule, but there is also, from the 14th century, increasing evidence of intermarriage between Venetians and native

<sup>13</sup> For example, the earliest documents regarding the colonisation of Canea or Chania in western Crete date back to 1252: Georgopoulou 2001, 67.

<sup>14</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 200; Lymberopoulou 2010a, 163.



Fig. 4.17 Neapolitan, Dante and Virgil at the Gates of Hell and crossing the Styx, from a manuscript of Dante's *Commedia*, c. 1360, London, British Library, Additional 19587, fol. 4r

Cretans.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Venetians soon organised an extensive trade in the local produce of rural Crete (wheat, wine, cheese, wood and other commodities); it has been suggested that it was this very trade which generated the wealth necessary to erect and decorate the countless village churches that still dot the landscape.<sup>16</sup> It seems safe to assume that, by the early 14th century, even the population of far-flung regions on Crete is likely to have had at least occasional contact with westerners. Such close encounters in the regions are attested, in one instance, by art. In the Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana in the south-western province of Selino (decorated 1327–8), the Cretan donors are depicted in Western heraldic attire and their dedicatory inscription praises ‘the great Venetians our masters’.<sup>17</sup>

Latin religious orders, especially the mendicants, were active on Crete. Legend has it that Saint Francis himself – possibly while on his way to the Holy Land in 1219 – founded the monastery of his order in Candia; a Franciscan church was certainly erected in the Cretan capital as early as

<sup>15</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 67. See also Maltezou 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Lymberopoulou 2010a; Lymberopoulou 2013. <sup>17</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 194–221.



Fig. 4.18 Master of the Brussels Initials, Hell, from a book of hours made in Paris, 1406–7, London, British Library, Additional 29433, fol. 89r

1242, and a Dominican monastery was established there around the middle of the 13th century.<sup>18</sup> In the western city of Canea (Chania), both the Franciscans and the Dominicans founded monasteries during the first half of the 14th century.<sup>19</sup> The Augustinians had monasteries in Canea and in Rethymnon, the first records of the latter dating back to 1340.<sup>20</sup> Franciscan and Augustinian foundations are attested in Siteia in the far east of Crete during the first half of the 15th century.<sup>21</sup> Saint Francis may even have been

<sup>18</sup> Georgopoulou 2001, 133 and 136.

<sup>19</sup> Georgopoulou 2001, 153 and 155; the first records of the Franciscan church date back to 1343, while the Dominican monastery was established between 1306 and 1320.

<sup>20</sup> Georgopoulou 2001, 156 and 158. <sup>21</sup> Georgopoulou 2001, 158–9.



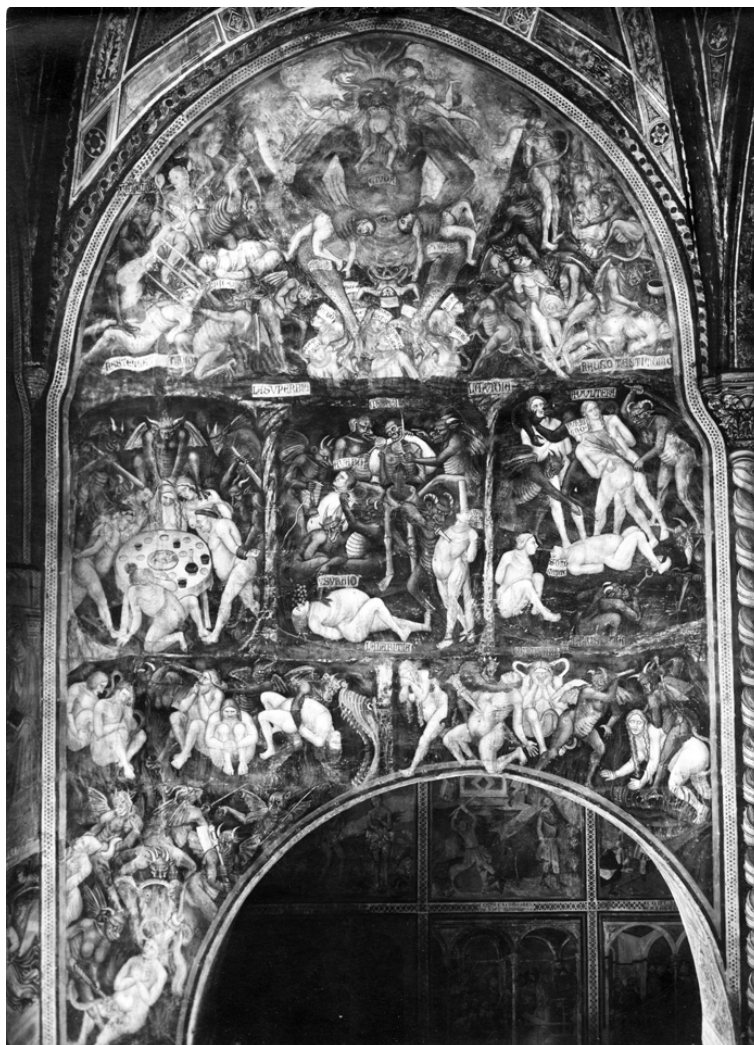


Fig. 4.19 Taddeo di Bartolo, Hell, early 15th century, fresco, San Gimignano, Collegiata (first bay of north wall of nave)

the subject of a minor local cult, as there are four representations of him among the traditional Orthodox saints in murals in Cretan churches.<sup>22</sup> The presence of the Western orders is confirmed, somewhat ironically, by the fact that several depictions of Hell in Cretan churches include Western monks or friars – possibly Franciscans – among the damned.<sup>23</sup> It is perhaps significant that these images are never identified by inscriptions, which

<sup>22</sup> Ranoutsaki 2011; Lymberopoulou 2013, 88.

<sup>23</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 134; also Lymberopoulou 2013, 84.



Fig. 4.20 Enguerrand Quarton, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1453–4, tempera on panel, 183 x 220 cm, Avignon, Musée de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon

seems to imply that the local Cretans were familiar enough with the appearance of Western clerics to recognise them.

Although there is no indication of Cretan artists travelling to Venice in the 14th and 15th centuries, there is some evidence to suggest artists from Crete may have been working as far afield as the south of Italy.<sup>24</sup> In Apulia, in the heel of the Italian peninsula, there are two surviving frescoes of the Last Judgement that appear to have been painted for the local Greek community during the first half of the 14th century. The Last Judgement on the west wall of the Church of Santa Maria del Casale near Brindisi (dated 1322 or 1332) is executed in the Byzantine style, while the one on the west wall of the Church of Santo Stefano at Soleto (dated 1346–7) appears to have been painted by a 14th-century Italian master combining elements of Byzantine and Western iconography (the latter including a group of Western clerics, among them the Pope, cardinals and bishops, ascending to

<sup>24</sup> A mosaicist from Constantinople, Nikolaos Philanthropinos, is known to have travelled to Venice in 1435; there is no documentation of artists from Crete going to the Serenissima before the 16th century; see Newall 2013, 125.



Fig. 4.21 El Greco, Adoration of the Name of Jesus, late 1570s, oil on canvas, London, National Gallery

Heaven at the right hand of Christ – Fig. 4.16a).<sup>25</sup> Both frescoes contain a motif commonly found in Cretan churches at this time: a couple lying in

<sup>25</sup> On Santa Maria del Casale, see Calò 1967; on Soletto, see Berger and Jacob 2007.



bed, straddled by a devil, representing the sin of sleeping in on a Sunday instead of going to church.<sup>26</sup> The motif as depicted in Apulia is quite close to some of the Cretan examples, such as the one in the Church of Christ the Saviour in Hagia Eirini (cat. no. 9; vol. 2, Fig. 14).

Italian artists, vice versa, are known to have been active on Crete during the 14th century.<sup>27</sup> No Italian works of art are documented to have been imported into Crete before the late 15th century, and prints after Western works only started to have an impact during the 16th century, but the possibility that cheap Italian woodcuts of saints may have reached the island during the early 15th century cannot be excluded.<sup>28</sup> Western model books or illustrated manuscripts, too, may have found their way to Candia, although there is nothing to indicate that Cretan artists consulted such sources.

The Western presence on Crete had a demonstrable impact on the Cretan churches and their decoration. The architecture of many churches displays Western features, such as pointed-arch vaults and articulated carved stone door frames.<sup>29</sup> Some murals depict items of Western material culture, such as the Last Supper and Herod's Feast in the Church of Panagia Kera at Kritsa, which include Venetian drinking glasses among the tableware (as these paintings are dated to the late 13th or early 14th century, they are possibly the earliest surviving representations of this type of Venetian drinking glass).<sup>30</sup> Some paintings also contain elements of Western iconography. For example, the Church of Saint Pelagia at Ano Viannos (decorated 1360) has images of Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child, an iconography based on the Western Golden Legend, and of

<sup>26</sup> The motif of the Sunday sleepers appears to have been exclusive to Cretan art during the 14th century. There are examples from Cyprus, which look different from the 14th-century Cretan and Apulian representations (they typically include a tent-like canopy above the bed) and are dated to the 15th and 16th centuries: the Church of the Virgin at Moutoullas (traditionally dated to the early 15th century, but perhaps around 1500 according to a private communication by Annemarie Weyl Carr); the Church of Saint Sozemos at Galata (mid-16th century); and the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Askas (paintings begun in 1560, according to an inscription), see Weyl Carr in this volume, 389. See also Stylianou and Stylianou 1985, 84–9 (Galata), 289–90 (Askas) and 323–30 (Moutoullas). There are also examples from northern Greece, but these date from the 18th and 19th centuries see, for example, Tsiodoulos 2012, 40 (fig. 19) and 41 (fig. 20). See also the mural in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Kastoria (Apozari), which is dated 1727.

<sup>27</sup> See Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2018. It has been suggested, rather speculatively, that Antonello da Messina may have visited Candia in 1445–6; see Newall 2013, 125–6.

<sup>28</sup> The first documented commission of a Western altarpiece in Candia concerns a work by Giorgio Pellegrino and dates from 1470; see Newall 2013, 125–6. On the influence of prints on 16th-century Cretan icons, see Lymberopoulou, Harrison and Ambers 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Gratziou 2010, 55–91. <sup>30</sup> Lymberopoulou 2007a.



the apostle Saint Bartholomew holding his flayed skin, following the Western rather than the Orthodox narrative of his martyrdom (according to the latter, Bartholomew had been crucified).<sup>31</sup> It is significant that, in these cases, the Western subjects were not copied directly after a Western model; they are Byzantine in style and interpretation.

### 4.3 Contexts of Hell

In Byzantine art, as mentioned above, Hell was generally rendered as part of the Last Judgement. Yet, among the Cretan wall paintings, there are at least twenty-four examples that show the eternal punishment of sinners without the larger framework of the Last Judgement – in fact, without a matching representation of Paradise or any other reference to the afterlife being present.<sup>32</sup> In the great majority of these churches (twenty-one), the Hell scenes seem to be appended to a mural of the Crucifixion.<sup>33</sup>

Hell was sometimes depicted as an autonomous subject in western Europe as well. Jérôme Baschet, in his survey of infernal iconography in late medieval France and Italy, refers to various illustrations of texts such as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (a late medieval theological tract on the typological relationships between the Old and the New Testament) and

<sup>31</sup> There are further elements of Western iconography in the Church in Ano Viannos as well; see Lymberopoulou 2013, 65. The iconography of Saint Bartholomew holding his flayed skin can also be found in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Drys, 1381–91; see Xyngopoulos 1958; Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1982, 304, figs 7 and 8; Lymberopoulou 2006, 203.

<sup>32</sup> The twenty-four churches are, in **Chania**: Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1: underneath Crucifixion); Fres, Saint George (cat. no. 7: adjacent to Crucifixion); Hagia Eirini, Virgin (cat. no. 10: underneath Crucifixion); Kadros, Saint John Chrysostom (cat. no. 11: underneath Crucifixion); Kadros, Virgin (cat. no. 12: underneath Crucifixion); Kakopetros, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 14: underneath Crucifixion); Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16: underneath Jericho); Karydi, Virgin (cat. no. 19: underneath Crucifixion); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20: underneath Crucifixion); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21: underneath Crucifixion); Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28: underneath Crucifixion); Pemonia, Saint George (cat. no. 30: underneath Dormition of the Virgin); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33: underneath Crucifixion); Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34; adjacent to Crucifixion and opposite Crucifixion of Saint Peter); Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40: underneath Crucifixion); in **Rethymnon**: Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73: context unknown); in **Herakleion**: Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76: underneath Crucifixion); Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77: underneath Crucifixion); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78: underneath Dormition of the Virgin); Hagios Vassilios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83: underneath Crucifixion); Kassanoi, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 85: underneath Crucifixion); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88: underneath Crucifixion and Dormition of the Virgin); in **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Panagia Kera (cat. no. 100: underneath Crucifixion); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101: underneath Crucifixion); Voulistmeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107: underneath Crucifixion).

<sup>33</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 121.

Saint Augustine's *City of God*, as illuminated in France during the second half of the 14th century.<sup>34</sup> These early illustrations are generally simple, showing merely a few demons tormenting anguished souls. Much more elaborate images began to be created for French and Netherlandish books of hours, or private prayer books, from the early 15th century onwards.<sup>35</sup> These illustrations generally belong to the section with prayers for the souls of the deceased known as the Office of the Dead.

One of the earliest examples can be found in a book of hours made in Paris in 1406–7, by the Italian-born artist now known as the Master of the Brussels Initials (Fig. 4.18).<sup>36</sup> The half-page miniature illustrates a prayer based on David's invocation from Psalm 6:1, 'Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger.'<sup>37</sup> It shows a landscape with hilltop towns and castles where devils drag and push people (and even transport them by wheelbarrow) to a fiery pit and down a rocky path, both of which lead to Hell. The nether-world itself is depicted as an underground vault where unfortunates are subjected to a variety of torments. Some aspects of the representation are of Italian origin, including the figure being roasted on the spit at the front, and the giant, green, horned and winged Satan residing at the centre of the vault, devouring souls (see the further discussion of both topics below).

The representation of Hell as an appendage to the Crucifixion appears to be rare in Western art. An exceptional case is a painting by Enguerrand Quarton in the Musée de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Fig. 4.20).<sup>38</sup> This large panel is documented to have been commissioned by the Carthusian Canon Jean de Montagny for the funerary chapel of Pope Innocent VI in the Chapterhouse of Val-de-Bénédiction in 1453 and was completed in 1454. Its subject matter is highly idiosyncratic. Although it is traditionally referred to as *The Coronation of the Virgin*, the extraordinarily detailed surviving contract for the work makes it clear that it illustrates, in fact, the entire cosmos as defined by Latin Christianity.<sup>39</sup> At the top is Paradise, with hosts of angels and saints and, in the middle, the kneeling Virgin crowned by the Trinity, with the Father and the Son rendered as identical

<sup>34</sup> Baschet 1993, 418–24.    <sup>35</sup> Baschet 1993, 424–31.

<sup>36</sup> On this manuscript, see Paris 2004, 274–5, 169b; Baschet 1993, 425. Later well-known examples of independent images of Hell illustrating the Office of the Dead in prayer books include the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry (c. 1412–16, Chantilly, Musée Condé) and the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders (c. 1440, Morgan Library and Museum, M. 917 and M. 945). On the *Très Riches Heures* miniature, see Baschet 1993, 426; on the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, see Plummer 1966, esp. plate 99.

<sup>37</sup> *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me.*

<sup>38</sup> On this panel, see Le Blevec and Girard 1991; De Vaivre 1997.

<sup>39</sup> The text of the contract is published in Avignon 1981, 56.

figures, as specified explicitly in the contract. Underneath are Heaven and Earth, the latter dominated by the Holy Cities of Rome (left) and Jerusalem (right), with in between them the crucified Christ, with a Carthusian canon kneeling at the foot of the cross. Beneath the surface of the earth, underground spaces house Purgatory (left), with an angel liberating the soul of a pope (presumably Innocent VI), and Hell (right), with a devil pulling down a soul by the leg.

Interestingly, Quarton's painting may have a direct connection to Byzantium. The painting was commissioned at the time of the siege of Constantinople (the contract is dated 24 April 1453, right in the middle of the siege, which lasted from 6 April till 29 May of that year). The unusual way in which Quarton has depicted the Trinity has been linked to the compromise between the Greek and Latin Churches on the status of the Trinity reached at the Council of Florence in 1439.<sup>40</sup> The question of whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, had been an official cause of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054. The Council attempted to resolve the conflict by declaring the issue moot, decreeing that the Father and the Son are essentially one and the same entity. Quarton has expressed this notion by representing the Father and the Son as mirror images of one another.

It could be argued that Quarton's painting also illustrates another passage from the decree of the Council:

Also, the souls of those who have incurred no stain of sin whatsoever after baptism, as well as souls who after incurring the stain of sin have been cleansed whether in their bodies or outside their bodies ... are straightaway received into heaven and clearly behold the triune God as he is, yet one person more perfectly than another according to the difference of their merits. But the souls of those who depart this life in actual mortal sin, or in original sin alone, go down straightaway to Hell to be punished, but with unequal pains.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> On the Trinity in Quarton's painting in relation to the Council of Florence, see Denny 1963; Le Blevec and Girard 1991, 119–24.

<sup>41</sup> Gill 1959, 414: *Illorumque animas, qui post baptismum susceptum nullam omnino peccati maculam incurrerunt; illas etiam, quae post contractam peccati maculam, vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutae corporibus, prout superius dictum est, sunt purgatae, in caelum mox recipi, et intueri clare ipsum Deum triunum et unum, sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate alium alio perfectius. Illorum autem animas, qui in actuali mortali peccato vel solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas.* English translation taken from [www.ewtn.com/library/councils/florence.htm#3](https://www.ewtn.com/library/councils/florence.htm#3) (last accessed 22 March 2019).

The passage emphasises how the Eastern and Western Churches had a shared belief with regard to the fate of the soul in the afterlife. In analogy with the text, the painting shows how those who are free of sin go to Paradise, the Virgin being first and foremost among them. Those who die in mortal sin end up in Hell. Christ's sacrifice, central on the panel, offers the option of salvation to those who 'after incurring the stain of sin have been cleansed ...'.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the Cretan cycles combining the Crucifixion with scenes of Hell sought to convey a similar ecumenical message, emphasising fundamental aspects of the Christian faith accepted by both the Orthodox and the Latins. At least one of the relevant cycles, in the Church of Saint Pelagia at Ano Viannos, contains a number of Western elements. Among these, in the Crucifixion, are the iconographical motifs of the Virgin fainting underneath the cross and the Roman centurion overseeing proceedings on horseback.<sup>43</sup> It is conceivable – although entirely speculative – that this was one of the churches in which the local Latin congregation may have joined the Greek Orthodox in worship.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.4 Going to Hell

Byzantine representations of the Last Judgement generally show the damned being washed down to the infernal regions in the River of Fire flowing from the throne of Christ, pushed and pulled onwards by greedy devils and wrathful angels armed with spears. In the Church of Saint John the Evangelist at Selli on Crete, dated 1411, the artist has embellished this standard iconography by adding, next to the seething red stream, a little line of four naked souls, the one at the head with his wrists bound together in front of him, a black devil yanking the cord (cat. no. 70; vol. 2, Fig. 88). A further, similarly bound soul, this one alone, is pulled along by a devil on the opposite bank.

In other Cretan churches, the composition of the Last Judgement is divided over more than one wall and the armed angels pushing down the souls are shown as a separate scene.<sup>45</sup> In the Church of Saint John the

<sup>42</sup> In the Roman Catholic Church, a soul could be cleansed after death in Purgatory; Orthodox theology did not include Purgatory, but did have a concept of intermediary stages between death and final judgement; see Angheben 2002; Marinis 2017a, 28–48.

<sup>43</sup> Lymberopoulou 2013, 65. <sup>44</sup> Theocharopoulou 1995, 1, 285–305.

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, Chania: Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 3); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26).

Baptist at Deliana, this scene has been elongated to stretch along the entire south wall of the raised western half of the nave, with the damned moving in a solemn procession to the entrance of Hell on the right (cat. no. 6; vol. 2, Figs 7, 8 and 9). In at least two other cases, both situated in eastern Crete, the scene has been given a rather radical new format. Normally, the progression of the condemned sinners on their way to Hell is shown from the side, with the figures appearing more or less in profile. Yet, in the Church of Christ the Saviour at Potamies (cat. no. 90; vol. 2, Fig. 115) and the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Kritsa (cat. no. 99; vol. 2, Fig. 132), the descending damned are shown from the front, in an elementary form of perspective, with the size of the figures decreasing as they recede into the distance.

In Western iconography, an early representation of sinners on their way to the netherworld can be found in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg, a late 12th-century encyclopaedic instruction book for novices at the convent of Hohenbourg, now Mont St-Odile, in Alsace (as the manuscript was destroyed in a fire during the Franco-Prussian War of 1871, it only survives in the form of a modern reconstruction based on 19th-century copies of the illustrations).<sup>46</sup> The segment of the Last Judgement illustrated on folio 253v of the *Hortus* shows a group of anguished damned souls, including kings, bishops and monks, pushed into the infernal flames by angels armed with spears – a motif that resembles the scene of angels pushing sinners into the River of Fire in Byzantine art (Fig. 4.6).

A procession of the damned on their way to the entrance of Hell became a standard feature of the composition of the Last Judgement in 13th-century French cathedral sculpture.<sup>47</sup> Here, the motif was adapted and elaborated upon, as can be seen in the tympanum relief of the east portal of the north transept facade of the Cathedral of Reims, thought to have been completed around 1230 (Fig. 4.9).<sup>48</sup> In the lower right-hand corner of the tympanum, we see an angel directing a queue of condemned sinners towards Hell. A devil in front has put a chain around them and is herding them forward to their doom. The damned in the queue represent various social estates; at the head, there are a king, a bishop and a monk, while a merchant carrying a large purse makes up the rear together with his wife.

<sup>46</sup> Green et al. 1979.

<sup>47</sup> Early surviving examples are the relief in the south portal of the west facade of the Cathedral of Laon (1195–1205) and the relief in the central portal of the south transept facade of the Cathedral of Chartres (1205–40); see Baschet 1993, 163–7.

<sup>48</sup> Baschet 1993; Angheben 2013, 503–37.

Thus, it is underlined that neither rank nor money will make one exempt from the punishment of sin.

The Reims relief is subdued in its depiction of the fear of the sinners, which remains limited to a few imploring gestures and sombre facial expressions. The same tradition was to give rise to much more dramatic interpretations. For example, the southern pier of the west facade of the Cathedral of Orvieto is decorated with marble reliefs depicting the Last Judgement, thought to have been executed between 1310 and 1330.<sup>49</sup> The relief in the lower right-hand corner shows Hell, with above it a vengeful angel dispatching a queue of the damned to their final destination (Fig. 4.14). Devils are tugging at straps tied around the necks of the unfortunate souls, who have been depicted naked, without attributes of social distinction, except for two tonsured monks or friars (one at the front, the other at the back of the queue). The sinners are shown covering their faces and holding their heads with both hands, their features contorted in a variety of grimaces.

The idea of devils pulling along souls by means of ropes or chains was taken up by painters, too. Giotto combined this Western motif with the Byzantine River of Fire in his Last Judgement in the Scrovegni Chapel. At the lower edge of the fresco, we see a small, grotesque parade of devils leading condemned sinners into the abyss of Hell (Fig. 4.12).<sup>50</sup> At the front, a devil is dragging a naked, bound sinner by the feet. A second devil yanks at the rope that binds two further sinners, one of them a wealthy man, who has been half stripped of his fur-lined scarlet robes. A third devil spurs on a man weighed down by a heavy sack (perhaps a corrupt miller), while a fourth and fifth are goading on a naked soul with his hands bound behind his back. In the barren landscape in the background, two more devils are pulling a man's shirt over his head.

Giotto's rendition of the procession of the damned has greater variety than the sculptural examples. It is an indirect ancestor of the much more elaborate scenarios that began to emerge by the early 15th century, as exemplified by the illustration from the Parisian book of hours discussed above, which shows a whole landscape full of devils transporting the damned to Hell by the cartload (Fig. 4.18). Already in the days of Giotto, however, the influence of this Western pictorial tradition may have stretched as far as Constantinople. In the famous Last Judgement in the

<sup>49</sup> White 1959; Moskowitz 2010.

<sup>50</sup> On Giotto's Hell, see Cassidy 2004. Cassidy (p. 57) comments on the two ways the condemned enter Hell in the fresco (the River of Fire washing down sinners and the goading and pulling devils at the bottom edge).

parekklesion of the church of the Chora Monastery (1315–21), we see, in front of the raging River of Fire, a black devil pulling a rope tied around the necks of a series of naked, bound souls – a motif that appears to have no antecedents in Byzantine art, but seems instead a distant cousin of the parade of sinners in Giotto's fresco (Fig. 4.13).<sup>51</sup>

Predating Giotto by about a generation, a different approach to the theme of sinners lining up to enter Hell can be found in the vault mosaic of the Baptistery in Florence, which was executed in the late 13th century (the earliest known relevant documentation is dated 1271), possibly with the assistance of Venetian craftsmen (Fig. 4.11a).<sup>52</sup> Here, the queue of sinners has not been rendered from the side, as in Reims and in the Scrovegni Chapel, but from in front. In the foreground, a devil and a snake pull the largest, foremost figures over a rocky crevice that marks the edge of Hell. Behind these, a multitude of smaller souls with contorted faces stretches out into the background. There is at least one iconographical precedent for such a frontal group. On an early 9th-century ivory book cover depicting the Last Judgement, possibly made in northern Italy, a small group of sinners, also represented from the front, can be seen descending towards the Mouth of Hell in the lower right-hand corner (Fig. 4.1).<sup>53</sup> Yet there is no reason to assume that the artist who designed the Florentine Baptistery mosaic was aware of this or other similar examples. He may well have arrived at his solution independently, in an attempt to reduce the amount of space taken up by the approaching damned and give maximum room to the representation of Hell itself.

There are certain correspondences between these Western visual traditions and the Hell scenes on Crete mentioned above. The motif of the devils leading sinners along by a rope as found in Selli is probably of Western origin, although it is possible the artist was inspired directly or indirectly by the mural of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.<sup>54</sup> Finally, the frontally rendered processions of the damned at Potamies and Kritsa are similar to the mosaic of the Florentine Baptistery. It is conceivable that the artists arrived at this solution independently, driven by similar constraints, as each had to fit their procession into a relatively narrow space. Yet the sense of pictorial depth evoked by depicting the procession from

<sup>51</sup> Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, 205–6; Pace and Angheben 2007, 217–20.

<sup>52</sup> Hueck 1994; Giusti 1994. <sup>53</sup> Williamson 2010, 152–3, cat. no. 36.

<sup>54</sup> Archival evidence suggests that from the 14th century onwards artists from Constantinople were living and working on Crete; see Lymberopoulou 2013, 70, n. 28 (where extensive bibliographical references are provided).



the front, with the size of the figures diminishing towards the background, gives the Cretan scenes a distinctly ‘un-Byzantine’ appearance.

## 4.5 Entering Hell

As mentioned above, Byzantine images of the Last Judgement show, at the end of the River of Fire, the Dragon of the Depths devouring souls, with Satan enthroned upon its back, clutching Judas to his breast.<sup>55</sup> Generally, this creature has the shape of a sea monster with the head and upper body of a dragon and the tail of a fish (Fig. 4.2).<sup>56</sup> In a number of Cretan murals, however, its depiction deviates from the established norm. In at least four churches, the dragon has been depicted not with one, but with two heads – symmetrically arranged, the heads pointing left and right, with only the necks and sometimes the front paws of the creature being visible.<sup>57</sup> Four further churches possibly had such double-headed dragons as well, but their paintings are too damaged to establish this with certainty.<sup>58</sup> In each of the four cases, however, a right-facing head, looking away from the direction of the River of Fire, survives; in the normative representations with a single-headed dragon, the creature is invariably turned towards the left, in the direction of the River of Fire.

The eight churches involved are geographically situated in two clusters – a small cluster of two churches in western Crete (Chania prefecture) and a larger one of six churches in the south-east of the island (in an area overlapping the south-east of Herakleion prefecture and the south-west of Lassithi prefecture) (vol. 2, Maps 1a, 4 and 5). Yet only two of the eight dragons are stylistically related to one another. The fragment in the Church of the Virgin at Voulismeni and that in the Church of Christ the Lord at Kritsa each contain a similar right-facing head of a grey, scaly dragon gobbling up a soul (cat. no. 107, vol. 2, Fig. 137 and cat. no. 98, vol. 2, Fig. 131). All the other dragons are different. Even in Deliana and Zymvragou in western Crete, which are only 4 kilometres apart, there is one white, scaly dragon with long necks (Deliana, cat. no. 6, vol. 2, Fig. 8) and one black, furry one with short necks (Zymvragou, cat. no. 47, vol. 2,

<sup>55</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 137–40 (section 3.4.4). <sup>56</sup> Tsaka 2010.

<sup>57</sup> **Chania:** Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); **Herakleion:** Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75); **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

<sup>58</sup> **Chania:** Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Pantaleimon (cat. no. 47); **Herakleion:** Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80); **Lassithi:** Kritsa Christ the Lord (cat. no. 98); Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

Fig. 62). The most radically deviant variant of the set can be found in the Church of Saint George at Kavousi, which shows the double heads of horned bulls (cat. no. 96, vol. 2, Fig. 123).

The fact that the dragon is ingesting souls suggests a parallel with the Western motif of the Mouth of Hell – a giant, disembodied, monstrous head with a vast open maw, swallowing a congregation of hapless souls.<sup>59</sup> The idea of Hell as a devouring mouth had its origins in Scripture, e.g. Isaiah 5:14, ‘Therefore hath Hell enlarged her soul, and opened her mouth without any bounds, and their strong ones, and their people, and their high and glorious ones shall go down into it.’<sup>60</sup> Its earliest known representation, in the early 9th-century ivory of the Last Judgement in the Victoria & Albert Museum, mentioned above (Fig. 4.1), shows the Mouth of Hell as a receptacle of the damned dispatched to a life of eternal torment, in a position within the composition that is similar to the position of the sea monster in Byzantine images of the Last Judgement.<sup>61</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages, the concept of the Mouth of Hell enjoyed great popularity in Western manuscripts and later also in monumental art. Its success was such that it survived even Dante. In the *Commedia*, Dante famously portrays the entrance to Hell as a gate bearing the inscription ‘Ye who enter here, abandon all hope’ – ‘Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch’intrate’ (Fig. 4.17).<sup>62</sup> Dante’s detailed description of Hell had an immediate impact on Italian art.<sup>63</sup> For instance, in the well-known frescoes of the Last Judgement in the Camposanto in Pisa, attributed to the Florentine master Buffalmacco and thought to have been executed around 1330–40, the large scene of Hell includes several inscriptions taken from Dante, including the ‘Lasciate ogni speranza’ (the image is illustrated here in the form of a 15th-century engraving after the fresco, which is much clearer than the rather damaged original – Fig. 4.15).<sup>64</sup> It also has structural elements derived from the *Commedia* – more on which below. In the top right-hand corner, however, we also see a monstrous head with gaping mouth gobbling up the

<sup>59</sup> It is not clear if the devouring Dragon of the Depths of Byzantine Hell is intended as an actual entrance to the netherworld similar to the Mouth of Hell in Western images. It is possible, however, that Western artists seeing the Byzantine motif interpreted it as such. The Byzantine layout of Hell has been interpreted in different ways and may, unlike Western images of the subject, not be strictly topographical; see Angheben 2002; Marinis 2017a. On the Mouth of Hell, see Baschet 1993, 233–43; Smith 1995.

<sup>60</sup> ... propterea dilatavit infernus animam suam et aperuit os suum absque ullo termino et descendunt fortes eius et populus eius et sublimis gloriosique eius ad eum. For further scriptural references: Smith 1995, 32–60.

<sup>61</sup> On this relief as the earliest known depiction of the Mouth of Hell, see Baschet 1993, 233.

<sup>62</sup> Dante Alighieri 2001, 16. <sup>63</sup> Opitz 1998, 69–76.

<sup>64</sup> Baschet 1993, 317–22; Opitz 1998, 97–9.

damned. In fact, Buffalmacco here follows an element of Byzantine iconography. In Byzantine images of Hell, the sinners washed down to the monster at the end of the River of Fire tend to be predominantly heretics.<sup>65</sup> In Buffalmacco's fresco, too, the sinners approaching the Hell mouth at the top level of the scene are heretics, including, famously, the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>66</sup> This top level is set apart from the lower regions of Hell, which are divided according to the seven deadly sins.

Despite its occurrence in the Pisan fresco, the Mouth of Hell was not actually a motif that was frequently rendered in Italian art. It remained, however, a favourite of artists and audiences in the rest of Europe until well into the 16th century. It still figures prominently, for example, in El Greco's so-called *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* (1570s), where in the lower right-hand corner a pair of giant jaws are spread wide to receive an army of heretics – presumably Turks defeated at the Battle of Lepanto, the occasion which the painting is said to commemorate (Fig. 4.21).<sup>67</sup> By the 16th century, the motif of the Mouth of Hell had found its way into the Greek Orthodox sphere as well, as is evident from wall paintings made during the Venetian period on Cyprus.<sup>68</sup>

The Byzantine motif of a monster with Satan enthroned upon its back also had a second, less speculative impact on Western art. The Western tradition in question does not go back to the standard Byzantine image with the single-headed monster, but to a different variant. The only evidence for the existence of this variant in Byzantine art that I have been able to uncover is a carved ivory relief of the Last Judgement in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 4.3).<sup>69</sup> This relief deviates from other Byzantine versions of the Last Judgement to such an extent that it has been claimed it is in fact not Byzantine at all, but a Venetian work made in the 12th or early 13th century, and it has also been called a forgery.<sup>70</sup> Neither of

<sup>65</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 131–5 (section 3.4.2).

<sup>66</sup> On the heretics at the top level of Buffalmacco's Hell, see Baschet 1993, 300; on Buffalmacco's fresco, Baschet 1993, 624–7.

<sup>67</sup> On this painting, see Goniotakis 2005. Also Marias 1997, 126. The smaller version of the composition illustrated here is in the National Gallery in London.

<sup>68</sup> See the chapter by Weyl Carr in this volume, 367, n. 70, 382, n. 107, and 394–5, n. 138. There is also a variant of the Mouth of Hell (visually unrelated to the Western motif) included in the iconography of the Heavenly Ladder of Saint John Klimakos. See, for example, the 12th-century icon of this subject at Mount Sinai. Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 375 and 462, cat. no. 323.

<sup>69</sup> Angheben 2002, 106; Williamson 2010, 128–33, cat. no. 30.

<sup>70</sup> On the notion that the ivory is Venetian, see Keck 1930, 161. On the idea that it is a forgery, see Denny 1982, 536.

these views has gained a great deal of acceptance, and the ivory is generally thought to have been produced in Constantinople during the 11th century.

One aspect in which this ivory does not follow Byzantine tradition is in the rendition of the Dragon of the Depths upon which Satan is enthroned. In the relief, the dragon has been given four heads with long, scaly necks, symmetrically arranged, with two heads on either side of Satan, and no other part of the creature's body visible. This divergent iconography, or a version of it, appears to have inspired a number of Western representations of Satan enthroned. The earliest known of these is the great mosaic of the Last Judgement in the Cathedral of Torcello, thought to have been executed by Byzantine craftsmen in the late 11th century, and at least partially remade after an earthquake in the 12th century (Fig. 4.5).<sup>71</sup> The similarities between the Victoria & Albert ivory and the Torcello mosaic have been noted in the literature (they are one of the reasons the ivory has been considered a 12th-century Venetian piece). Indeed, the pose of Satan in both works is virtually identical. Yet there is a significant difference in the representation of the dragon. In Torcello, the dragon has two heads, not four, and they have been turned into the quasi-ornamental armrests of Satan's throne.

A similar arrangement can be found in the contemporary illustration of Hell on folio 255r of the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Fig. 4.7).<sup>72</sup> This image shows the interior of Hell in an original composition, which is unrelated to Byzantine art, but includes at least one unmistakably Byzantine element in the figure of Satan enthroned and holding Judas, placed here at the bottom of the inferno in the lower right-hand corner. Once again, Satan's pose is closely related to the figure as depicted in the Victoria & Albert ivory and at Torcello. Yet the dragon has been transformed even more into a medieval throne, with a curved body underneath Satan, two symmetrically rendered heads by way of armrests, and bird-like claws positioned underneath like the legs of a chair. The images of Satan enthroned on a double-headed dragon in the Cretan Hell scenes seem to be an offshoot of this Western tradition. In the mural at Deliana, the image has strong echoes of Torcello, with the dragon depicted in the guise of a double-headed, white, scaly dragon and Satan having his right arm raised (vol. 2, Fig. 8).

<sup>71</sup> Polacco 1984, 47–63; Angheben 2002, 106; James 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Green et al. 1979, vol. 1, 220, and vol. 2, 438. Herrad appears to have worked on the manuscript for many years; she was certainly still working on it by 1181–5 (the reign of Pope Lucius III, confirmed in Herrad's hand in the manuscript – see Green et al. 1979, 1, 12). The Hell illustration is one of the last in the volume, suggesting it may have been executed during the latter years of production.

In Italy, the subject of the enthroned Satan was developed further in the vault mosaic of the Florentine Baptistery, where the Prince of Darkness is once again seated on a double-headed dragon; this time, however, there are also two snakes poking out of Satan's ears, each devouring a soul, and Satan is no longer holding Judas, but is grabbing and ingesting sinners in person (Fig. 4.11b). The portrayal of Satan on the Baptistery vault would appear to have had more than a little influence on Dante's description of Lucifer in the *Inferno*; it certainly formed the source for Giotto's rendition of Satan in the Scrovegni Chapel (Fig. 4.12).<sup>73</sup> Giotto has depicted Satan seated upon two dragons or serpents.<sup>74</sup> As in the Baptistery mosaic, two snakes are emerging from his ears, each holding a wriggling sinner in its mouth. And Satan is this time not only ingesting, but also defecating souls.

The image of Satan passing damned souls through his digestive system, as created by Giotto, was to have a lasting tradition in Italian art, e.g. in the monumental figure of Satan in Buffalmacco's fresco in the Camposanto at Pisa (Fig. 4.15). Yet the dragon throne upon which the Lord of Hell is seated gradually disappeared from this iconography – in Pisa, Satan is sitting on bare rocks. Satan is still enthroned upon a double-headed dragon in the Hell relief on the facade of the Cathedral of Orvieto (1310–30), albeit in a different pose and not handling or devouring the damned; the long necks of the monster have here been wrapped around Satan's legs to bind him to his seat (Fig. 4.14).

Another, isolated appearance of the double-headed monster can be found in Apulia, in the fresco of the Last Judgement on the west wall of the Church of Saint Stephen at Soleto (1346–7) (Fig. 4.16b). Here, Satan is shown once again with Judas sitting on his lap. The image, however, is not a direct repetition of the earlier type seen in the Byzantine ivory, the Torcello mosaic and the *Hortus Deliciarum*. Satan does not have his right arm raised, but is caressing Judas with both hands instead, while the monster has been rendered as a double-headed hairless dog with prominent claws on its two sets of front paws. Interestingly, this representation seems distantly related to the later one found in the Church of Saint George at Ano Symi in south-eastern Crete, where the monster has also been depicted as a double-headed dog and Satan has been given a somewhat similar pose, with both arms resting in his lap (cat. no. 75, vol. 2, Fig. 97). The images are far apart in date (1346/7 versus 1453), and their

<sup>73</sup> On the relationship between Satan in the Baptistery mosaic and in Giotto's fresco, see Opitz 1998, 61–2.

<sup>74</sup> See the representation of serpents in medieval bestiaries in George 1991, 190–202.

correspondence is not exact, yet it raises the question of how two similar conceptions could have emerged at such a distance in time and space.

#### 4.6 The Structure of Hell

Byzantine art traditionally depicted Hell as a set of separate spaces. In the most elementary format, each of these spaces (listed as compartments of Communal Punishments in the catalogue accompanying this publication) illustrated a biblical reference to the punishment of sinners in the hereafter, such as the Gnashing of Teeth (Matt. 8:12; 13:50), the Sleepless Worm (Isa. 66:24; Mark 9:42–8), the Everlasting Fire (Matt. 25:41; Mark 9:44–8) and Outer Darkness (Matt. 8:12) (Fig. 4.2).<sup>75</sup> More extensive variants also added spaces with specific categories of sinners (listed as frames with Individual Sinners in the catalogue accompanying this publication).<sup>76</sup>

The majority of the wall paintings in Cretan churches adhere to the latter format, showing the torment of the damned in a simple grid of squares, including the biblical references and a variety of gossiping women and corrupt professionals subjected to different methods of torture, as in the famous example in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Axos (cat. no. 50, vol. 2, Fig. 66). Some artists chose a freer approach, as in the Church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula, where the sinners are arranged in horizontal bands rather than squares (cat. no. 35, vol. 2, Fig. 45). In other cases, as in the Church of Saint George at Tzitzifies, multiple sinners are shown together in a row in one larger compartment (cat. no. 7, vol. 2, Fig. 12) – a concept that goes back at least as far as the 11th-century murals in Yılanlı Kilise in Cappadocia (Fig. 5.4).<sup>77</sup>

In seven Cretan churches, artists deviated further from established traditions by showing the tormented damned jumbled together chaotically in a single space, as in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Kritsa (vol. 2, Fig. 132, cat. no. 99).<sup>78</sup> These seven churches are situated quite far apart – one in the north-west of the island, three in the south-west, two at different locations in central Crete and one in the east. Moreover, the scenes are not

<sup>75</sup> On the compartments of Communal Punishment, see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 160–71 (section 3.6).

<sup>76</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 140–60 (section 3.5).

<sup>77</sup> On Yılanlı Kilise, see Warland in this volume, 241–52 (section 5.2).

<sup>78</sup> The seven churches are, in **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); Hagia Eirini, Virgin (cat. no. 10); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); in **Herakleion**: Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82); in **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

copied from one another: the arrangement of the sinners is different in each and, while the majority of the scenes show the sinners against a black background, two of them have a light background instead.<sup>79</sup> Nor were the seven murals made within a short span of time, with dated works ranging from 1303/4 in the Church of Saint Paul at Hagios Ioannis (Herakleion) to 1389/90 in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Kritsa (Lassithi).

Western art, by contrast, did not have a predominant way of showing the internal structure of Hell. At least four broad trends can be distinguished prior to the 15th century. The first is that of the 'Abridged Hell', in which a single terrifying concept (often one that in more elaborate compositions is incorporated into a larger collection of infernal features) is used to signify Hell. The most common variant is the Mouth of Hell, which is frequently shown not just as an entrance to, but as a summarised version of the whole of the netherworld (Figs 4.1; 4.21). Another example involves a type of torment that appears to have imprinted itself particularly on the late medieval mind. Already in the late 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, we see sinners thrown into large cauldrons to be boiled over a fire (Fig. 4.7). In 13th-century French cathedral sculpture, this gruesome punishment came to stand for the whole of Hell, as in the tympanum relief from Reims Cathedral mentioned above (Fig. 4.9).<sup>80</sup>

A second trend is that of the 'List of Punishments' – an approach comparable to the depiction of Hell in Byzantine art, with its compartments of different torments. Sometimes Western artists even arrived (apparently independently) at a similar solution for the presentation. For instance, the illustrator who depicted Hell in the so-called Golden Psalter, an early 13th-century English manuscript now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich, has opted for a tabular format in which twelve different forms of torment are shown in twelve squares – including the Mouth of Hell (top right and bottom left) and souls cooked in a cauldron (bottom middle) (Fig. 4.8).<sup>81</sup> A second variant can be found in the early 15th-century fresco by the Sienese master Taddeo di Bartolo in the Collegiata in San Gimignano (Fig. 4.19).<sup>82</sup> This work shows Hell divided into six compartments illustrating the Western series of the seven deadly

<sup>79</sup> The white backgrounds can be found in Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20) and in Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), situated relatively close together in Selino in south-west Crete; in this case, the one scene could have been derived from the other.

<sup>80</sup> Other examples of the same iconography can be found on the Cathedrals of Bourges and Rouen; at Bourges, the image of the boiling cauldron has been combined with that of the Mouth of Hell, as the flames under the cauldron leap up from a monstrous maw; see Baschet 1993, figs 9.27 and 9.28.

<sup>81</sup> On this manuscript, see Luzern 2011.

<sup>82</sup> On this fresco, see Norman 1995. See also Baschet 1993, 370–2.



sins: Pride and Envy in the large compartment with the monumental enthroned Satan at the top, Lust, Avarice and Gluttony in the middle row, and Wrath and Sloth at the bottom – each punished with extreme and graphically rendered sadism.

The third trend is that of the ‘Coherent Construction’. An early variant is the miniature in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, in which Hell is shown as a location with a coherent topography (Fig. 4.7). Its outer rim is a landscape of barren rocks pockmarked by flaming pits in which individual sinners suffer. This rocky landscape encloses a dark underground cavity with four different levels, each with an undulating fiery floor. Satan is residing at the end of the lowest level. There are parallels with Dante’s *Inferno*, even though Dante would not have known this illustration. The extensive and topographically coherent description he himself offered in the *Commedia* gave rise to several distinctive Hell images in Tuscany, the first one of which is Buffalmacco’s fresco at the Camposanto in Pisa (Fig. 4.15). Buffalmacco loosely followed Dante in depicting Hell as an inverse cone of narrowing concentric circles carved out in barren rock, with Satan enthroned at the centre.<sup>83</sup> Yet attempts to render Hell as a coherent structure were not limited to the Dante tradition. A different example is the illustration from the early 15th-century Parisian book of hours mentioned above, where Hell has been represented as an underground crypt in the Gothic architectural style, including elements of tracery (Fig. 4.18).

The fourth and last trend is that of the ‘Chaotic Hell’. In the mid-12th-century relief of the Last Judgement in the tympanum of the west portal of the Abbey Church of Conques in southern France, Hell has been rendered as a large single space, entered via a giant monstrous mouth as well as a gate (Fig. 4.4).<sup>84</sup> Satan is seated in the middle, with Judas on his left, hanging by the neck, a snake coiling around his legs. The remainder of the space is crammed with suffering souls without order or structure; it seems as if chaos itself is interpreted as an infernal punishment here. The relief at Conques is unique among surviving medieval art in France. The association of Hell with disorder, however, had a more prolonged life in late medieval Italy. The Last Judgement reliefs by Nicola Pisano on the pulpits of the Baptistery in Pisa (1260) and the Cathedral of Siena (1268) contrast a neat arrangement in orderly horizontal rows of the elect with a chaotic mass of souls tumbling down towards Satan on the side of the damned (Fig. 4.10); Nicola’s son Giovanni used this motif of the tumbling souls again in

<sup>83</sup> On the Dantesque aspects of Buffalmacco’s fresco see above, 218. An even closer interpretation of the *Commedia* can be found in the fresco by Nardo di Cione in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, made in 1354–7; see Baschet 1993, 359–62.

<sup>84</sup> On this relief, see Baschet 1993, 147–62; Angheben 2013, 187–284.

his Last Judgement relief on the pulpit of the Pieve at Pistoia (1298–1301) and repeated the contrast between the orderly elect and the disorderly damned in his Last Judgement reliefs on the pulpit of the Cathedral of Pisa (1302–10).<sup>85</sup> The concept of Hell as a chaotic place was visualised even more dramatically in the 14th-century Last Judgement relief on the facade on the Cathedral of Orvieto, where the interior of Hell has less free room than a London Tube train at rush hour and the unfortunate sinners are jostling for space with cruel devils (Fig. 4.14). The chaotic concept of Hell also manifested itself in two-dimensional art. The late 12th-century Hell scene on the vault of the Florentine Baptistery depicts Hell as a barren landscape, with the punished damned distributed across it in a disorderly fashion (Fig. 4.11c). Giotto's fresco in the Scrovegni Chapel shows Hell as a physically more or less coherent location – a dark pit with a rocky edge and bottom; yet inside the pit, many of the damned are dispersed irregularly in an indeterminate black void (Fig. 4.12).

It is tempting to draw a parallel between the trend of the Chaotic Hell in Western art and the seven Cretan murals that depict sinners in an unsystematic constellation in a single space. This parallel could well be coincidental. It is possible that the 'chaotic' Hell scenes on Crete evolved from earlier formats in which multiple damned were presented in a single frame. The main argument against the idea of such a natural evolution is that the 'chaotic' scenes on Crete do not form a coherent group, either geographically, or chronologically, or stylistically, meaning that seven different artists would have had to come up with the same idea independently in different places at different times. If, on the other hand, knowledge of the Western practice reached Crete, it is easier to see how seven different artists could have taken the idea and given it their own interpretation.

## 4.7 Sinners

Byzantine images of the Last Judgement frequently include portraits of heretics (e.g. Arius) among the sinners on their way to Hell in the River of Fire.<sup>86</sup> Many also represent specific categories of sinners identified by inscriptions and sometimes also by attributes.<sup>87</sup> The earliest known example is that of the four nude women bitten by snakes in the 10th-century mural in

<sup>85</sup> Moskowitz 2005, 56–7 (Pisa Baptistery), 70 (Siena Cathedral), 89 (Pieve of Pistoia) and 110 (Pisa Cathedral).

<sup>86</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 131–3.

<sup>87</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 140–60 (section 3.5). See also Gerstel 2002, 205–19.

Yılanlı Kilise in Cappadocia, referred to above (Fig. 5.4).<sup>88</sup> The surviving legible inscriptions identify the transgressions of three of these women as being negligent in nursing babies, slander and eavesdropping. Later representations include male sinners as well; their offences are often (though not exclusively) of a professional kind. The early 13th-century Last Judgement in the narthex of the monastery church of Panagia Mavriotissa in the trading town of Kastoria in northern Greece highlights the fate of mercantile sinners, such as the Usurer and the Falsifier of Weights.<sup>89</sup> Wall paintings in village churches from the 13th century picture sinners of a rural kind, such as farmers who plough over the boundary lines of their fields or reap beyond their allotted parcel.<sup>90</sup> On Crete, the range of sinners appears to be more extensive than elsewhere, especially the rural sinners, which is perhaps not surprising given that the surviving churches are all situated in rural environments. The majority of the specified sinners shown in Cretan Hell scenes are in keeping with pre-established traditions. Their transgressions are sexual (e.g. the Fornicator), social (e.g. the Gossiper), commercial (e.g. the Man Who Cheats at the Scales), sacrilegious (e.g. Those Who Sleep on a Sunday), and agricultural (e.g. The Man Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line).

At least two cases stand out, however. The first concerns the sin of usury. In the monastery church of the Virgin Mavriotissa in Kastoria mentioned above, the usurer is strung up by the neck and weighed down by a heavy money purse; he is identified by the Greek inscription Ὁ ΤΟΚΗΤΗΣ (ο τοκιστής / *o tokistis*).<sup>91</sup> Some Cretan images of the usurer use variants of this same inscription. Yet there are at least eleven churches where the usurer is identified by means of a Greek inscription reading ὁ ζουράρις (*o zouraris*) – a Greek transliteration of the Latin term *usurarius*.<sup>92</sup> These eleven churches are scattered across the entire island

<sup>88</sup> See Warland in this volume, 252. On the women with the snakes at Yılanlı Kilise, see also Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 136–7; Jolivet-Lévy 2001, 272–4.

<sup>89</sup> See Gerstel 2002, 210–11.

<sup>90</sup> See Gerstel and Katsafados in this volume, 317. In her 2002 article, Sharon E. J. Gerstel discusses examples from the Church of the Archangel Michael at Ano Boularioi in the Mani peninsula (dated 1278) and the Church of Saint George at Kouvaras, Attica (late 13th century). See Gerstel 2002, 211–12.

<sup>91</sup> See Gerstel 2002, 210–11.

<sup>92</sup> **Chania:** Achladiakes, Saint Zozimas (cat. no. 1); Karydaki Vamou, Virgin (cat. no. 19); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Rethymnon:** Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71); **Herakleion:** Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88); **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no.

and are mostly situated in rural environments, suggesting that this was not just a local or regional custom, or a case of one inscription being copied from another.

The second case involves Western clerics. It has drawn the attention of scholars that Western monks or priests with tonsured heads, clean-shaven faces, and habits that often resemble those of Franciscan friars, or occasionally with the vestments and mitres of Western bishops, appear in a number of Cretan Hell scenes.<sup>93</sup> Notable examples are the group of three in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Deliana (vol. 2, Fig. 8, cat. no. 6) and the much larger group, headed by a figure wearing a Western bishop's mitre, in the Church of Saint John the Baptist at Kritsa (vol. 2, Fig. 132, cat. no. 99).<sup>94</sup> These Western clerics are invariably shown in the company of heretics going to Hell in the River of Fire, and there can be little doubt that they appear as the representatives of a branch of Christianity that was heretical from the perspective of a Greek Orthodox congregation. Although this theological outlook was undoubtedly shared by the whole of the Byzantine world, Roman Catholics as heretics do not appear to be a principal feature of Byzantine iconography before the 14th century on Crete. In Cretan murals, they were most likely represented in response to the actual presence of members of the Western clergy on the island (although we should be careful not to read this as simply a blanket condemnation of all Western clerics by all Orthodox believers on Crete).

In comparison with their Byzantine colleagues, medieval artists in western Europe were relatively lax about identifying the sinners shown in Hell. Western Hell scenes frequently leave us guessing about the precise transgressions that have earned the damned their fate of eternal torment. In the vault mosaic of the Florentine Baptistery, for example, the only character named by means of an inscription is Judas, dangling by the neck from a rope pulled over the branch of a dead tree in the lower right-hand corner (Fig. 4.11c). Where more information was provided, the sins involved were often idiosyncratic and not part of a consistent tradition. For instance, among the few named categories of sinners in the Hell illustration in the *Hortus Deliciarum* are Jews and armed soldiers, who are both cooked in cauldrons

96); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99). Only the churches at Spili, Ano Viannos, Kritsa and Kavousi are located in (small) towns; all the others are in or near villages.

<sup>93</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 133–4. See also Lymberopoulou 2013, 83–90.

<sup>94</sup> There are at least eleven examples: **Chania**: Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4); Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Rethymnon**: Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); **Herakleion**: Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (ca. no. 91); **Lassithi**: Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

on the third level from the top; they are identified by inscriptions as well as attributes, the Jews wearing the pointed hats by which they are characterised in medieval Western iconography and the soldiers sporting helmets and chain mail (Fig. 4.7).<sup>95</sup> Despite being highly recognisable, neither of these groups can be found in other Hell images from the period. Elsewhere, artists appear to have been more preoccupied with issues of social rank than with specific sins, as in the tympanum relief of the Last Judgement at Reims, where, as mentioned above, representatives of the various estates of society can be recognised by their clothing and attributes (Fig. 4.9).

The situation changed in Italy in the second quarter of the 14th century. The main impulse for the change appears to have come from Dante's *Commedia* – though not from the *Inferno*, but the *Purgatorio*. Dante describes Purgatory as a mountain with seven terraces, each related to one of the seven deadly sins.<sup>96</sup> This cycle of seven was undoubtedly more manageable than the much longer catalogue of sins listed in the *Inferno*, and it was perhaps for this reason that in the wake of Dante the concept of the seven deadly sins became more prominent as a principle of organisation in Italian representations of Hell. The first to adopt it was Buffalmacco in his fresco in the Camposanto at Pisa, which refers to the seven deadly sins in inscriptions and shows distinctive groups of damned souls that can be associated with the septenary (Fig. 4.15).<sup>97</sup> Later and more explicit examples include the fresco by Taddeo di Bartolo in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, which shows Hell as a set of compartments with sinners divided according to the seven deadly sins (Fig. 4.19). Yet the seven deadly sins never became the exclusive point of departure for the depiction of Hell in Italy, and there were alternative cycles as well.<sup>98</sup>

Prior to the emergence of the theme of the seven deadly sins, the main categories of sinners that were singled out repeatedly in Western Hell scenes were those that abuse wealth, and members of the clergy. The Hell illustration in the *Hortus Deliciarum* combines both in the figure of a corrupt monk (labelled *monachus*) carrying an overloaded money purse, who is led into the flames by a devil in the lower left-hand corner (Fig. 4.7). In the tympanum relief of Reims Cathedral, the sinner at the back of the queue to Hell also

<sup>95</sup> Interestingly, the Jewish hat in medieval images may have been a purely iconographic device, which had no direct relation with contemporary reality. See Lipton 1999, 15–17.

<sup>96</sup> Dante Alighieri 2001.

<sup>97</sup> The division is not clear, as there are also heretics, who fall outside of the list of seven, and there is no distinct group associated with Pride – although the latter may be represented by Satan himself; see Baschet 1993, 296–301.

<sup>98</sup> For example, Matfre Ermengaud's late 13th-century encyclopaedic work *Breviari d'amor* lists ten torments of Hell, which are shown in illustrated copies of the text; see Bottana 2004, 49–80.

carries a prominent purse, probably as a symbol of his status as a wealthy merchant (Fig. 4.9). Giotto's Hell in the Scrovegni Chapel famously emphasises the subject of usury, almost certainly in reflection of the fact that the family fortune of Enrico Scrovegni had been earned through the usurious practices of Enrico's father, and his son financed the building and decoration of the chapel as an act of atonement for this very sin. In the River of Fire in Giotto's fresco, the sinners come down to Hell in three separate streams; several among those in the stream on the left carry money purses (Fig. 4.12). Inside Hell itself, the entire space to the left of Satan is taken up by a variety of punishments for acts of corruption, including three sinners strung up by the strings of their purses, and, further down, a tonsured monk offering a bribe to an enthroned bishop.

If money purses are a recurring theme, members of the clergy are ubiquitous in late medieval Western depictions of Hell. Every single one of the images discussed so far includes one or more religious functionaries: the Hell illustration in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, as mentioned above, gives pride of place to a corrupt monk (Fig. 4.7); the mosaic of the Last Judgement at Torcello shows, right at the centre of the scene, a tonsured head among the faces bobbing in the River of Fire (Fig. 4.5); the tympanum relief at Reims Cathedral depicts a mitred bishop and a tonsured monk among the sinners (Fig. 4.9); in the vault mosaic of the Florentine Baptistery, a sinner wearing a bishop's *pallium* is being pulled to his doom by a devil at the front of the group descending to the inferno (Fig. 4.11a); Giotto's fresco in the Scrovegni Chapel depicts numerous clerics, including the corrupt bishop accepting a bribe from a monk mentioned above and several monks being punished for sexual offences (Fig. 4.12); the illustration from a Parisian book of hours shows, again prominently placed in the foreground of the underworld, a Franciscan friar and a nun, the immodestly opened habit of the latter suggesting a taste for worldly pleasures (Fig. 4.18); and in Taddeo di Bartolo's fresco in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, we see a devil leading a fat friar to the table where the gluttonous are subjected to a perpetual regime of overeating (Fig. 4.19).

The notion that clerics would suffer special forms of retribution for falling short of the moral standards set by the Church went back a long time. The most influential early description of Hell and its torments, the 4th-century apocryphal text known as the *Apocalypse of Paul*, relates how the Apostle Paul makes a tour through the netherworld.<sup>99</sup> Along the way,

<sup>99</sup> On this text, see Vorgrimler 1993, 105–13. See also Baun 2007 and Stathakopoulos in this volume, 29.

he encounters several members of the clergy undergoing punishments for a variety of transgressions, including a priest who had indulged in pleasures of the flesh ('eating, drinking and whoring') and a bishop who abused his judicial powers and lacked compassion towards widows and orphans. The clerics in the various late medieval Hell scenes discussed here seem to be judged for a similar array of transgressions – corruption, abuse of power, gluttony and lust. Evidently, neither the moral standards expected of the earthly representatives of the Church nor the perception of their observance of these standards varied much over the course of a thousand years.

It is interesting that the two categories of sin emphasised in Western images of Hell correspond to two special cases in the depiction of sinners in Hell on Crete. Usury was clearly a sin both in Byzantium and in western Europe, and communication about the subject between Venetians and native Cretans must have led to the adoption of a Latin term among the latter in labelling this transgression. It is significant of the extent of the interaction between Venetians and native Cretans that evidence of the use of this Latin term can be found in far-flung corners of the island. Western clerics were perceived as heretics by the native Cretans and as sinners by Western audiences. The presence of Western clerics in Cretan Hell scenes has been interpreted in the past as an example of anti-Western visual propaganda, but perhaps the historical reality was more complex. As Angeliki Lymberopoulou has pointed out, Westerners entering a Cretan church would hardly have been shocked to see representatives of their Church included among the damned.<sup>100</sup> It is even conceivable that the suggestion to include Western monks and priests in Hell scenes may have come from a Western visual source.

## 4.8 Punishments

Byzantine representations of Hell tended to give expression to a concept of poetic justice. The 11th-century mural in Yılanlı Kilise in Cappadocia shows the female sinners bitten by snakes in parts of their bodies symbolic of the sins they have committed: the woman who failed to nurse babies has two snakes sinking their fangs into her nipples; the woman who indulged in slander has a snake biting her mouth; the woman guilty of eavesdropping is attacked by two snakes biting her ears (Fig. 5.4). The 12th-century wall painting in the Church of the Virgin Mavriotissa at Kastoria depicts

<sup>100</sup> Lymberopoulou 2013, 89–90.



the usurer strung up by the neck and weighed down by his money purse, while the falsifier of weights is suspended upside down with a large pair of scales balancing on his chin.<sup>101</sup>

The Cretan wall paintings, too, include an array of punishments that each reflect the particular sin for which they are meted out.<sup>102</sup> In certain churches, however, the punishments appear to be more graphic than the ones found in earlier Byzantine art. Some of the more lurid ones occur in the Church of Christ the Saviour at Spili (cat. no. 71, vol. 2, Fig. 91). To the left of the door on the western wall of the nave, we see three registers, each with a frame with Individual Sinners. In the frame in the top register on the right, the Man Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line is standing bent over, having a ploughshare inserted into his rectum by a devil (Sharon E. J. Gerstel has creatively described this as pushing the plough 'down a human furrow').<sup>103</sup> This specific punishment is not unique to the church at Spili and can be found in a number of wall paintings all over Crete.<sup>104</sup> More exceptional are two male sinners who appear to have been suspended upside down by ropes tied around their genitals. In the centre of the middle row, it is our friend the Usurer (identified as ὁ ζουράρις) who is subjected to this torment, aggravated by the extra weight of not just one, but two money purses dangling from cords around his neck. A similar strain is put on the groin of the sinner in the bottom row on the right, who is identified by the inscription as the Miller.

Medieval Western Hell scenes show a wide variety of different forms of torture, but the notion of poetic justice does not seem to have been as clearly developed as it was in Byzantium. Sometimes we can guess what a punishment is for. For example, in the Hell illustration from the *Hortus Deliciarum*, we can see, on the second level to the left, a woman eating a baby, which is presumably a reference to abortion (Fig. 4.7). Yet the same illustration also shows Jews and armed soldiers boiled in cauldrons (third level), and it is not self-evident how this punishment fits their 'crimes'. Similarly, the Hell illustration from the Golden Psalter depicts, in the first compartment of the second row in the tabular layout, a group of souls prevented from relieving their hunger and thirst by a demon who is keeping them back from a refreshing stream and a fruit-laden tree (Fig. 4.8). These must be gluttons punished for their excessive enjoyment of food and drink. But why, in the compartment directly below, are other souls roasted on racks?

A more straightforward connection between sin and punishment began to emerge only in Italy during the 14th century, once again in the wake of

<sup>101</sup> Gerstel 2002. <sup>102</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume. <sup>103</sup> Gerstel 2002, 215.

<sup>104</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 144–5 (no. 8), 156–7. A particularly graphic representation is the one in Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21).

Dante's *Commedia*, in which poetic retribution was a central theme all throughout the description of the *Inferno*. Painters, however, did not generally follow Dante in the punishments he prescribed. Buffalmacco at Pisa and Taddeo di Bartolo in Siena each invented their own set of torments matching the cycle of the seven deadly sins (Figs 4.15 and 4.19).<sup>105</sup>

While the purpose of the torments shown in earlier Western Hell scenes is not always clear, they are invariably quite imaginative and often graphic in their depiction of violence. In the *Hortus Deliciarum* illustration, for example, we see, on level two towards the right, a prostrate man who is licking a toad; a devil is poking him in the side with a large fork, which we see disappearing into his flesh (Fig. 4.7). They also often seem to include touches of black humour.<sup>106</sup> What else to make of the scene depicted at the top level in the *Hortus Deliciarum* illustration, where a little devil can be seen swinging gleefully on the rope from the ends of which two sinners have been suspended?

From the late 13th century, Italian representations of Hell added to this mix an element of more and more explicitly rendered sexuality. Take the case of the man roasted on a spit.<sup>107</sup> This unfortunate character appears to have made his entrance in Italian art in the vault mosaic of the Baptistry in Florence, where we can see him in the foreground of the infernal landscape (Fig. 4.11c).<sup>108</sup> It is possible that, at this point, he was merely the product of a lively imagination. There is certainly a dose of humour in the literal interpretation of his punishment as an act of food preparation, with one devil turning the handle of the spit and raking the burning coals underneath with a fork and another basting the sinner with a fluid. Regardless of the initial connotations, the notion of impaling a man on a large skewer soon became associated with sodomy, as a grotesque reference to anal penetration. In the Scrovegni Chapel fresco, Giotto does not yet make this idea explicit, but it is significant that he includes the poor skewered soul in the section of Hell reserved for sexual offenders on the right. Here, he is in the company of a monk hung from a hook driven through his tongue next to a naked woman dangling from her luxurious hair; another monk suspended upside down by his genitals, next to a woman similarly suspended upside down from a device that appears to have been inserted into her vagina; and a third monk lying on his back having his penis clipped by a

<sup>105</sup> On the clearer relationship between sin and punishment in Buffalmacco's fresco, see Baschet 1993, 304–8.

<sup>106</sup> On the aspect of humour in the representation of Hell, see Cassidy 2004, 355–86.

<sup>107</sup> This motif and its association with homosexuality is discussed in Mills 2005, 45–7.

<sup>108</sup> An earlier appearance of the motif of a sinner roasted on a spit can be found in the 11th-century tympanum relief at Conques (Fig. 4.4).

devil using a large pair of pliers, next to a woman straddled by a demon ladling a fluid into her mouth (Fig. 4.12).

In Buffalmacco's fresco at Pisa, the skewered man has been placed in the section of Hell devoted to Lust, on the lower right hand side, where he is shown wearing a hat of the type that was often used to shame transgressors of laws and norms in public in late medieval cities; the end of the skewer is turning suggestively in the mouth of another male, judging by his size presumably a young boy (Fig. 4.15).<sup>109</sup> Perhaps his mocking hat was originally labelled, as it is in the later fresco by Taddeo di Bartolo in San Gimignano. There we can see a reversed copy of the same motif, once again in the section of Lust, including the boy holding the end of the skewer in his mouth, and with the hat inscribed 'Sodomia' (Fig. 4.19). The skewered man was also depicted by the Italian master who illustrated the early 15th-century Parisian Book of Hours, where he is shown without a hat, but with a snake biting down on his genitals, and with the Devil turning the spit fanning the flames with a pair of bellows (Fig. 4.18). In both these representations, he is surrounded by other sexually explicit imagery, such as the nun with the provocatively opened habit in the Parisian book of hours. In Taddeo di Bartolo's fresco, the sexual punishments have even spilled over from the Lust section into other areas of Hell; the compartment of Wrath, for example, shows a devil driving what looks like a narwhal tusk into a woman's vagina.<sup>110</sup>

It is striking that the appearance of more sexually graphic imagery in Cretan Hell scenes seems to parallel the introduction of sexually explicit forms of torment in Italian representations of Hell. There is a notable visual resemblance between the two sinners suspended from their genitals in the church at Spili and some of the punishments found in Giotto's fresco at Padua. The sinner having a ploughshare pushed up his backside in Cretan murals seems a distant cousin of the motif of the skewered man in Italy. We could even wonder about associations with sodomy – could the notion of 'ploughing another man's land' perhaps have taken on a metaphorical meaning in rural Crete? In a more general sense, it is entirely conceivable that the idea for such graphic punishments originated in the contact between native Cretans and Venetian colonists.

<sup>109</sup> The same motif also occurs in the early 15th-century fresco in the Cappella Bolognini in the Church of San Petronio at Bologna; see Baschet 1993, 363–5.

<sup>110</sup> Narwhal tusks were marketed as the horns of unicorns in 15th-century Italy (see the fabulously expensive 'horn of a unicorn' listed in the collection of the Medici in 1492; see Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà 1992, 36). As unicorns were associated with virgins, the gruesome act portrayed in Taddeo di Bartolo's fresco could be a pun on virginity – or the lack of it.

## 4.9 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted aspects of the representation of Hell in wall painting on Crete during the period of Venetian rule over the island, ranging from the context in which Hell was depicted down to the minutiae of the punishment of individual sinners. The highlighted aspects have in common that, although Cretan wall paintings generally adhered to the Byzantine tradition, they show apparent deviations from the pre-established Byzantine norm. The number and pattern of dispersion of these aspects are such that they cannot be explained away as the impact of a single Cretan master or a local 'school'.

In parallel, the chapter has attempted to show some of the complexity of the western European representation of Hell, focusing particularly but not exclusively on the Italian peninsula, the geographical area closest and most relevant to Crete. Among the many interwoven strands of infernal iconography in Western art, the chapter has sought to single out the ones that correspond to the above-mentioned deviations from the norm in Cretan murals. Thus, it has, by inference rather than proof, tried to make the case that in the representation of Hell, a degree of interaction between Western art and Cretan wall painting is likely to have existed.

It is important to bear in mind that such an interaction did not have to take the form of a Cretan painter making a direct copy after a Western model. Ideas taken from Western art could be reinterpreted in the local artistic idiom, similarly to how the Latin term *usurarius* was adopted in the Greek form ὁ ζουράρις, and used to label the punishment of usury in Hell scenes even in remote areas of Crete.

The text of the final decree of the Council of Ferrara/Florence demonstrates that the Eastern and Western Churches could largely find each other in the notion that those contaminated by sin would spend eternity in Hell, but that the sacrifice of Christ had introduced the option for them to be cleansed and accepted into Heaven. The text of the decree makes it possible to draw a parallel between murals on Crete and a painting made as far away as Avignon in the middle of the 15th century. Even if this parallel is speculative, it indicates that it is worthwhile to study the Cretan Hell scenes in the wider context of western European art and not just narrowly as an offshoot of the Byzantine artistic tradition.

## PART II

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# Eastern Mediterranean



## 5 | When the Visual Order Was Established

### The Last Judgement and Punishments in Hell in Byzantine Cappadocia

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(TRANSLATED BY LEA VIEHWEGER)

#### 5.1 Introduction

The volcanic tuff in Cappadocia has enabled many Byzantine churches containing scenes of the Last Judgement and Hell to survive in a good state of preservation.<sup>1</sup> Most of these rock-cut churches are for funerary use.<sup>2</sup> They date to between around 900 and the 13th century and form two groups, an earlier one dating from between around 900 and the 11th century and a later one dating from the 13th century.<sup>3</sup> The diversity of the visual representations reflects Cappadocia's geographical position in inner Anatolia, its changing history and the structures of settlements far from the Mediterranean.

Cappadocia was simultaneously a frontier, an area of retreat and a corridor of exchange. Located next to Armenia, it offered a permanent connection with the Caucasus region and Persia, and the Cilician Gates opened up to Syria and Mesopotamia (see vol. 2, Map 6). Following a long period of instability caused by Arab attacks (between 670 and 900–50) the composition of Cappadocia's rural population was continuously transformed. As a multi-ethnic society, it was formed of indigenous village communities as well as settlers from Syria,

\* I would like to thank Judith Waldorf for preparing the drawings for this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> On Byzantine depictions of the Last Judgement, see Milosevic 1963; Brenk 1964; Christe 2001; Angheben 2002; Pace and Angheben 2007; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009; Marinis 2017b. On Cappadocia in particular, see Thierry 2002, 162–6; Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 270–6.

<sup>2</sup> In the 13th century there were also some masonry-built village churches.

<sup>3</sup> Peker 2016, 20 records around fourteen Cappadocian churches with Last Judgement scenes, eight datable between the 9th and the 11th century and six dating from the 13th century. The number of monuments depends on the fragmentary or even incomplete state of the depictions (e.g. in Gökçe/Momoasson, Chapel 3, only the Deesis and Apostle Tribunal were painted; see Warland 2008, 358.



Mesopotamia and Armenia; thus, these communities were repositories of a broad cultural knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

Settlements along the perennial Kızılırmak River, the Halys of Greek antiquity, and the enclosed river oases of the Damsa and Melendiz Rivers were particularly advantageous. During the middle Byzantine era (843–1204), and particularly in the 10th and 11th centuries, prosperous agriculture prevailed. The widely dispersed farmsteads comprised living-halls, private chapels with annexed sepulchres, kitchens, pantries and stables for small livestock, arranged around a square open courtyard.<sup>5</sup> In the valley floors of Sobessos/Şahinefendi, Soğanlı and Erdemli, as well as in the open lands of Mount Hasan, these scattered farms merged to form settlements. Residences like the so-called Hallaç Monastery ('hospital-monastery') near Ortahisar, or the extensive Selime Kale foundation, or even the Saray of Erdemli, testify to the wealth and culture of the local aristocracy and powerful landlords.<sup>6</sup>

Within this environment of different geographical and social structures, the pictorial decoration of the sepulchral chapels reflects various ethnic and religious identities. For instance, the colourful folkloristic paintings in the southern part of the Melendiz Canyon of Ihlara in the Yılanlı, Pürenli Seki and Kokar Kilise, are based on older iconographic transmissions of Hell, harking back to ancient eastern origins.<sup>7</sup> They are believed to have been commissioned by settlers from the Syrian-Mesopotamian region.<sup>8</sup> Areas around Erdemli and Yeşilhisar were populated with Armenian settlers.<sup>9</sup> However, this topographic and ethnic attribution of settlements in rural western Cappadocia has not yet been reviewed systematically.

In the western part, a centre of great transregional importance was preserved, known as the monastery region of Göreme.<sup>10</sup> It seems that this concentration of cloisters, sepulchral towers in rock cones and widespread sepulchral chapels replaced the heritage of the former Hellenistic-

<sup>4</sup> On the historical geography of central Anatolia, see Koder 2016, 9–27; for the most recent economic and social history of Cappadocia, see Cooper and Decker 2012; on the transformation of rural society, see Haldon 1990, 125–72; on ecclesiastical history, see Hild and Restle 1981, 112–23; on monuments, see Thierry 2002, 17–76; for a critical discussion of the sources, see Ousterhout 2017, 13–8.

<sup>5</sup> On Cappadocian settlement in general, see Kalas 2006b; 2009, 109–27; Jolivet-Lévy 2012–13; Ousterhout 2017, 271–368; Öztürk 2017, 150–9; on courtyards, see Rodley 1985; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews 1997; Ousterhout 2005, 79–114; Warland 2008; Kalas 2009, 394–414.

<sup>6</sup> On the Hallaç Monastery, see Rodley 1985, 11–26; on Selime Kale, see Kalas 2006a, 271–93; on Erdemli, see Cooper and Decker 2012, 200–6.

<sup>7</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 89–153; Thierry 1991, 245.

<sup>8</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 129; Thierry 1991, 245. <sup>9</sup> Dédéyan 1975; Thierry 2006, 137–46.

<sup>10</sup> On Göreme's necropolis and monasteries, see Thierry 2002, n. 3; Ousterhout 2017, 411–80.



Fig. 5.0 Map of Cappadocia

Roman cult centre of nearby Venasa/Avanos with the cult of the Cappadocian martyrs, such as Hieron and the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, and of Saint Basil of Caesarea, thus establishing a new focus for holy sites and pilgrimage.

In the Göreme region, the influence of Constantinople is apparent. Monasteries and cave churches located there were probably commissioned by members of the Byzantine elite. For instance, the Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4), including a rare donor inscription referring to Constantine VII (913–19), preserves a historically important representation of the Last Judgement, which occupies the vault and includes a Deesis; as we shall see, this constitutes a turning point in Byzantine iconography after the end of Iconoclasm in 843. Göreme Church 2b also displays new influences by incorporating the Hetoimasia with the Holy Cross in the centre of the Last Judgement scene.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, the recently published İçeridere church, situated in a narrow valley outside Bahçeli, represents a local church in a rural context with Last Judgement scenes in multiple registers on the west wall,<sup>12</sup> since this arrangement, in horizontal segments and zones, is characteristic of the imperial tradition of late antique triumphal monuments.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Thierry 2002, no. 27; Thierry 2003, 815–28.

<sup>12</sup> The church is published in Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 73–86 and Peker 2009, 75–81.

<sup>13</sup> On this regular type of Last Judgement scenes, see Brenk 1964, 103–26; Angheben 2002, 106; Pace and Angheben 2006, 27–36; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 256–8. In this study, the church of

This variety of different structures and pictorial traditions of the early Cappadocian churches came to an end in the 11th century. The political circumstances in the area changed when Cappadocia became Seljuk territory (Sultanate of Rum) in 1071.<sup>14</sup>

In the 13th century, cohabitation, trade and a new prosperity left an unmistakable mark on Byzantine and Seljuk communities, particularly in the increasing number of elaborate private funeral churches and even village churches with complex painted programmes. As a result, Cappadocia relinquished its inner Anatolian individuality and partook of the transcultural exchange processes in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>15</sup>

The scenes of Karşı Kilise near Gülşehir (1212), of the Church of Saint George near Ortaköy and the private funeral church of Canavar Kilise in the Soğanlı Valley, both dating from the end of the 13th century, reveal a new organisation in the iconography,<sup>16</sup> which comes to an end around 1300, when the Mongols took over from the Seljuks.

Following this first itinerary through the local, social and chronological settings of the churches with Last Judgement scenes in Cappadocia, the singularity of the early churches dating from between the late 9th and the 11th century demands closer analysis. Their fundamental perceptions of death, the afterlife and divine justice point back to ancient Egyptian, Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian traditions.<sup>17</sup> They are based on a complex biblical and apocalyptic eschatology and invite questions about its connection with late antique and middle Byzantine apocalyptic literature and liturgical and theological treatises.<sup>18</sup>

This paper discusses the iconography of the Last Judgement as found in some of the most important Cappadocian monuments. In particular, it focuses on the visual sources and patterns, the origins and artificial shapes and how they were formulated into coherent narratives disseminating contemporary messages. With these questions, the originality and variety

Mustair has been excluded from the discussion, primarily because its current dating around 800 requires further discussion; see Kepetzi 1993–4; on dating, see most recently Goll et al. 2007, 212–25.

<sup>14</sup> Korobeinikov 2014; Prinzing 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Laiou 2001, 187–92; Korobeinikov 2014; Prinzing 2014; Warland 2014: 53–69.

<sup>16</sup> On Karşı Kilise, see Jolivet-Lévy 2001a, 285–321; Peker 2010, 572–81.

<sup>17</sup> On the Last Judgement by Tribunal and Weighing in ancient societies in general, see Kretzenbacher 1959; Griffiths 1991; on Egyptian rituals, see Seeber 1976; Hornung 1979, 233–45; Assmann 2001, 100–15; on Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian tours of Hell, see Himmelfarb 1983; Bremmer 2011.

<sup>18</sup> On middle Byzantine apocalyptic literature, see Baun 2007; on theological texts of the Last Judgement at the time of death, see Marinis 2017b.

of the visual heritage of Cappadocia offer a unique insight into the time when the visual order was established.

The Yılanlı Kilise and the Pürenli Seki Kilise in the Ihlara Valley provide the starting points of the discussion. Both cave churches present an archaic eastern manner of painting rooted in antiquity, constituting the earliest surviving depiction of sinners. The discussion continues with the Ayvalı Kilise in the Güllüdere Valley, chapel 4, and then the unnamed Göreme 2b, which presents a highly contrasting example of the Last Judgement, influenced presumably by Constantinopolitan models. Local traditions from inner Anatolia are discussed in relation to the Bahçeli Kilise. Finally, the individualisation and moralisation of the Last Judgement in the 13th-century churches are addressed.

## 5.2 The Snake Scenes of the Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara Valley and Egyptian Traditions of the Judgement of the Dead

The Yılanlı Kilise (lit. 'Snake Church') in the Ihlara Valley comprises two virtually square rooms of almost the same size (3.65 x 3.80 m), separated by a large archway. The western room, for funeral functions, includes an interior funerary gallery with tombs.<sup>19</sup> In the eastern part, recesses in the side walls create a cross-shaped layout. Scenes of the Last Supper, Crucifixion and the *Maiestas Domini* confirm that this was the liturgical naos (Figs 5.1 and 5.2).

Archaeological evidence further suggests that the actual funerary gallery, with five tombs, was enlarged. An *arcosolium* at the end of the corridor depicting a *Deesis* dates to the 11th century.<sup>20</sup> However, the plaster and ornamental paintings leading into the opening of an original, smaller funerary chamber are still intact.

The Last Judgement frieze ran along the western wall, starting just beneath the entrance; it offers a detailed insight into the underworld, presenting the Weighing of the Souls, a beast with three heads devouring sinners, and various compartments of Hell and punishments by snakes. These images, positioned frontally and at eye level, have made it one of the best-known Cappadocian churches.

<sup>19</sup> The church is published by Thierry and Thierry 1963, 89–99, fig. 20; see also Thierry 2002, 155–8, fig. 60. The author describes the succession of rooms as vestibule, narthex and nave.

<sup>20</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 90, fig. 20, pl. 57. On the *Deesis* with an inscription of a Presbyter Cosmas, see Thierry and Thierry 1963, 91.

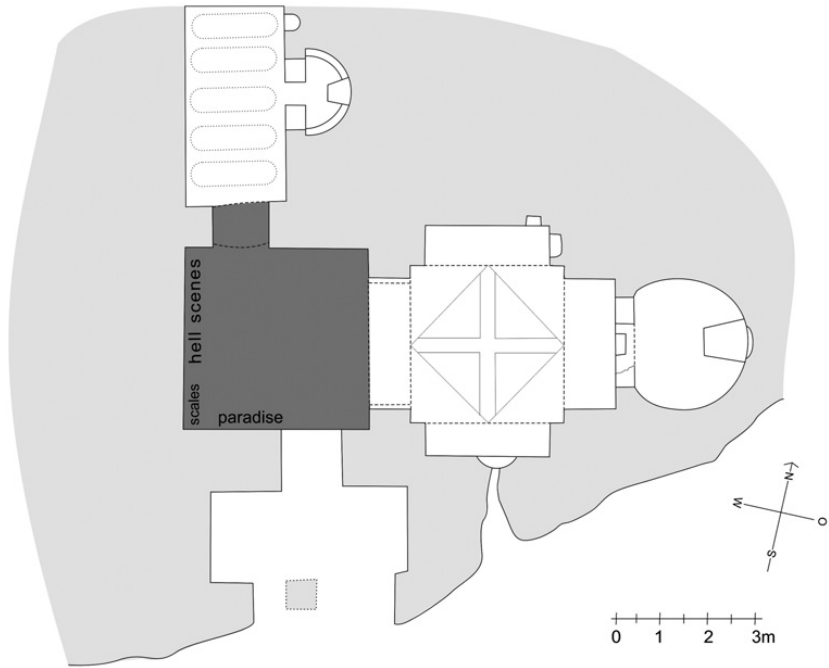


Fig. 5.1 Yılanlı Kilise, Hell scenes, ground plan, Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

The sequence starts in the left corner of the room, with a rare depiction of the scales dangling from the image's frame emphasising the importance of the Weighing of the Souls (Fig. 5.3). The scales as symbolic instruments of judgement have a long pictorial history in antiquity.<sup>21</sup> In the Carolingian Psalter illustrations dating from 830, such as those of the Stuttgart or the Utrecht Psalter, it is Christ who holds the scales.<sup>22</sup> This could represent a literal illustration of the biblical words *iustitia* or *iudicare* in the Psalms. What should be noted here is that the Cappadocian iconography offers the first example where the symbolic scales are used as real instruments. Two heads are to be seen inside the scales.

<sup>21</sup> In antiquity they were known as scales of fate, handled by either Zeus or Hermes or Kairos (the personification of time). On the different traditions regarding weighing instruments, see Kretzenbacher 1959, 23–54; on scales in the hand of Hermes Psychopompos, see LIMC V.1.1 (1990), 338, n. 622–8 (Siebert); on the scales of Kairos after a copy of Lysippos, see Andreae 2001, 13, fig. 1. See also LIMC V (1990) 920–6 s.v. Kairos (Moreno).

<sup>22</sup> On the Utrecht Psalter, see Kretzenbacher 1959, 95–7; Horst et al. 1996, fig. 15.30; on the Stuttgart Psalter, see Christe 2001, 90–1, fig. 47 (fol. 9v, on Psalm 9.5) and fig. 48 (fol. 166v, on Psalm 66.5). Christ sitting on the globe or a sphere is based on 6th-century iconography, seen, for example, in the apse mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna; see Kitzinger 1977, fig. 156. In the Bible, Christ the Judge as part of a tribunal is based on 2 Cor. 5:10; see Augustinus, *De cura pro mortibus gerenda* 1.2 (ed. Schlachter and Arbesmann 1975, 2).

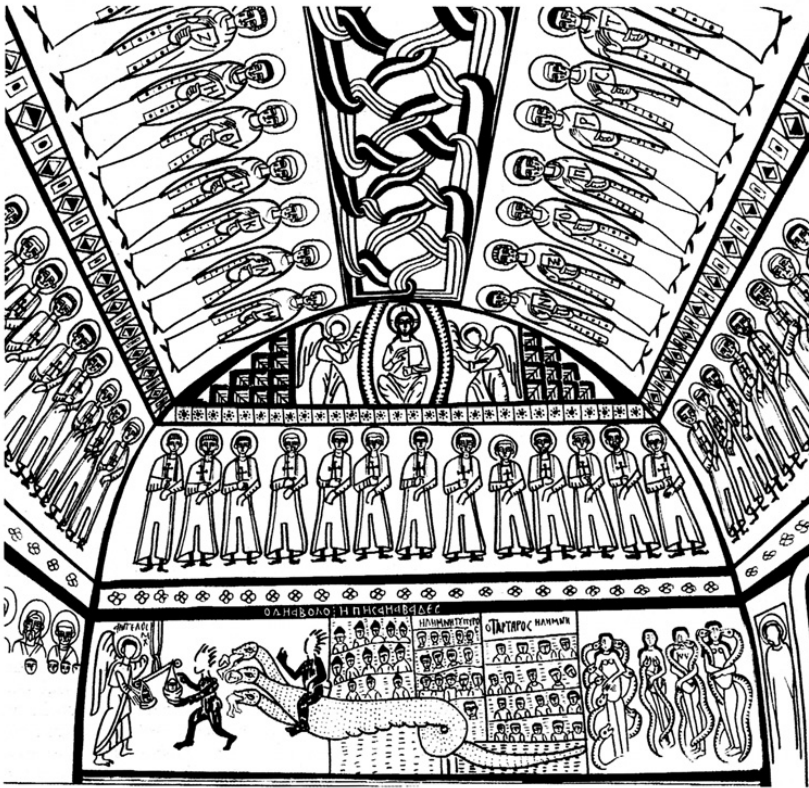


Fig. 5.2 Yılanlı Kilise, Last Judgement scenes, c. 900, wall paintings, Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

The Archangel Michael, identified by an inscription, is fighting a demon, identifiable as such by his spiky hair, over the outcome of the weighing and the fateful decision of the scales.<sup>23</sup> Behind the demon, Satan (*o diavolos*) is shown seated on a monster with three heads, about to swallow three sinners. Beyond this hybrid creature, Hell is divided into three compartments.

The strange scene combines protagonists, realities and places in the underworld drawn from distinct cultural origins. For example, the hybrid man-eating animal, a cross between a dog and a whale, evokes Ketos, the sea creature seen in depictions of Jonah from late antiquity.<sup>24</sup> The image of

<sup>23</sup> The motif of the right finger stretched out to adjust the scales is first found in Lysippos' sculpture of Kairos (second c. B.C.) known from Roman copies; see LIMC V (1990) 920–6 s.v. Kairos (Moreno).

<sup>24</sup> On the Greek Ketos adapted for the iconography of Jonah in early Christian art, see Spier and Charles-Murray 2007, 177, 187 and in particular 191 (Cleveland Marbles).





Fig. 5.3 Yılanlı Kilise, Weighing of the Souls, c. 900, wall painting, Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

Satan riding on the beast's neck represents Hades, the Greek ruler of the underworld,<sup>25</sup> and the scaly hell-whale owes its number of mouths to Cerberus, the three-headed guardian dog of the underworld.<sup>26</sup> In turn, the three heads also signpost the three compartments in Hell that extend up to the beast's tail, with the last of the three being the largest.

Hell's topography employs an abstract matrix in which a myriad of the damned are stacked in a grid system like shelves. Only the heads and hunched shoulders of their bodies are visible. The pictorial layout of the shelves or boxes finds parallels in the illustrations of the Christian topography of Kosmas Indikopleustis, where the twelve tribes of Israel are inscribed in abstract systems of boxes, or the cosmic hierarchy is explained by diagrams.<sup>27</sup> From the 11th century,

<sup>25</sup> On ancient Hades as ruler of the underworld, see LIMC VI.1 (1988) 307–92 s.v. Hades (Lindner); on Byzantine Hades as ruler of the damned, see Krauze-Kołodziej 2015, 197–208; Marinis 2017b, 60–6.

<sup>26</sup> On Cerberus, see LIMC VI.1 (1992), 24–32 s.v. Kerberos (Woolford and Spier).

<sup>27</sup> See the maps and diagrams in the Florence Codex Plut. 9.28, in Anderson 2013, fig. 8 (twelve tribes of Israel), pl. 48 (diagram of cosmos) and pl. 51 (inhabited earth); for a broad discussion of the 6th-century diagrams of the Kosmas Indikopleustis illustrations related to the cosmic



compartments would be employed to illustrate the varying topography of Hell.<sup>28</sup>

Inscriptions identify three compartments of Communal Punishments in Hell. The first one is missing today, but Hans Rott has identified it as tar (Η ΠΗΣΑ Η ΑΒΑΔΕC, i.e. Η ΠΙC[σ]α η άβαδ[δ]ων).<sup>29</sup> The two others still exist in framed fields: the Lake of Fire (Η ΛΗΜΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΟC) and the Lake of Tartarus (Ο ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC/ΛΗΜΝΗ),<sup>30</sup> all three with the lakes suggested by wavy lines. Thus, the Cappadocian Yılanlı Kilise also depicted the Greek Tartarus as a Hell filled with water, bringing this in line with two biblical locations: that of Tar/Pitch (Rev. 20:10) and that of the Lake of Fire (Rev. 20:14 and 21:8).

It is interesting to note that the Cappadocian depictions of Hell seem to blend motifs of the Egyptian Judgement of the Dead with references to the Greco-Roman journey to the underworld.

The inaccessible Tar and the Lake of Fire are also toponyms in the Egyptian tradition, as is the entire notion of (marshy) lakes as a site of the underworld.<sup>31</sup> Particularly, the man-eating beast, the curious monster at the centre of the Cappadocian frieze, is based on a well-known figure from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*; however, the illustrations of the *Book of the Dead* never depict this creature in the act of devouring, but rather seated near the Weighing of the Heart.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that the painter adapted the curious dog-whale hybrid creature from early Christian archetypes, completed by motifs of the enthroned Hades and the three-headed Cerberus – although the route of transmission would have to be ascertained.<sup>33</sup>

Tartarus was considered to be the deepest and most sinister part of the underworld in Greek and Roman katabases.<sup>34</sup> In Greek mythology, as well as Jewish tradition (Isa. 14:9–15), it is the deepest, darkest abyss of the fearful realm of death. There, too, there are worms (Isa. 14:11). However, in

topography, see Kominko 2013, 127–30, 184–7, fig. CT 23a and b, with reference to the Last Judgement depictions in the Sacra Parallela, Paris gr. 923, fol. 68v.

<sup>28</sup> See Angheben 2002, figs 15, 16. <sup>29</sup> Rott 1908, 271. See also Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 49, fig. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 100. The inscription ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC is rendered in broad capital letters, while the second part, ΛΗΜΝΗ, is added in smaller capitals as a suffix.

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed interpretation, see Seeber 1976, 185.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, the *Book of the Dead of Hunefer* in the British Museum, in Assmann 2001, 104, fig. 6.

<sup>33</sup> The codex Vaticanus Latinus 2325 fol. 48v possesses one of the rare illustrations of the underworld with the three-headed Cerberus, which dates from the late 4th century; see Wright 1984, 80–2.

<sup>34</sup> Bremmer 2011, 14–17. See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, 166–7 (section 3.6.4).

the Yılanlı Kilise there is only a distant echo of this tradition in the dark monochromatic colours of the paintings.

The frieze at the Yılanlı Kilise continues with a visual depiction of individual punishments.<sup>35</sup> The narration turns to four life-size female figures being horrifically attacked by snakes that encircle, squeeze and bite their bodies and genitals (Fig. 5.4). Thus, the representation of Hell in the Yılanlı Kilise ends with a sensational punishment, a scene of utmost cruelty. Faces in tears, distorted with pain and with wide open eyes evoke fear and horror in the observer. The late Hellenistic style (Fig. 5.5) and typology of the biting, head-high snakes in the archaeological evidence suggests that the depiction was based on pictorial innovations from 6th-century Constantinople, when Christian art was interpreted with late Hellenistic models.<sup>36</sup>

The sins of three of the women are identified by inscriptions. Only the first woman on the left lacks an inscription. A total of eight snakes torment her naked body, five snakes on the left, three on the right, suggesting that



Fig. 5.4 Yılanlı Kilise, Four female sinners, c. 900, wall painting, Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

<sup>35</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 101. See also Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 51; Meyer 2009, 227.

<sup>36</sup> On the long history of Hellenistic and Egyptian influence in early Byzantine art, see McKenzie 2007 and Mathews and Muller 2016; on the rhetoric of lamentation and grief in Byzantine art, see Maguire 1981, 166–71.



Fig. 5.5 Pergamon Altar, Giant attacked by snakes on its eastern side, 2nd century B.C., sculpture, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen

she has committed a serious sin.<sup>37</sup> The second woman is being bitten in her breasts, as punishment for not nursing her babies (ΟΠΥΦΠΟΣ|ΤΡΕΦ ΤΑ | ΝΗ|ΠΗ|Α). The third has her tongue bitten for slander (ΟΠΥ ΚΑ|ΤΑΛΛΗ) while the fourth's bitten ears suggest the sin of eavesdropping (ΟΠΥ Ο

<sup>37</sup> Meyer 2009, 227–8 suggests that the woman's sin was fornication (*porneia*): on the application of this term, see Gasparis in this volume, 98–9. However, the possibility that she was a blasphemer cannot be excluded; see below the discussion on Pürenli Seki Kilise.

ΠΑ|ΠΑ|ΚΡΟ|ΑΤΕ).<sup>38</sup> The inscriptions employ a repetitive introductory phrase and act as a guide through a 'Tour of Hell'.<sup>39</sup>

Thierry has pointed out that the painting's dramatic quality and the motifs of punishment show similarities with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, dating from the mid-2nd century AD.<sup>40</sup> This apocryphal text from Alexandria survives in Greek fragments and in an Ethiopian translation, and served as a warning as well as an encouragement of a Christian way of life.<sup>41</sup>

The text for the first time presents a juxtaposition between the righteous in Paradise and the sinners in Hell. Those who have committed adultery, murder, usury or have lied are thrown into a lake of burning faeces, pus and blood. The sins that violate moral conduct and social order suggest a Judaeo-Christian environment similar to the one found in the New Testament epistles.<sup>42</sup> Equally influential was the later *Apocalypse of Paul*. Distributed widely in Palestine and Asia Minor until the 5th century, its extended catalogue of sins became the basis of the depiction of the Last Judgement in Byzantine art.<sup>43</sup>

These eschatological punishments apply equally to men and to women. A question could be raised, then, regarding the intention of the depiction of the Cappadocian snake panels, which targets exclusively female sinners. Archaeological context could offer evidence against a solely negative interpretation of this representation.

The women's panel is immediately adjacent to the funerary gallery, in which the graves of the patron and his wife were, in all likelihood, placed. Funerary art of all times is primarily concerned with communicating the social status of its patrons to posterity. By emphasising sins committed by women, this particular panel could have been intended to highlight the virtues of the female buried in the nearby space.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Inscriptions according to Rott 1908, 271 and Thierry and Thierry 1963, 101.

<sup>39</sup> On the guide through the underworld, see Bremmer 2011, 18–19.

<sup>40</sup> Thierry 1991, 239. See also Meyer 2009. On the *Apocalypse of Peter*, see Bauckham 1998, 160–258; Bremmer 2010, 305–32; Bremmer 2011, 25–8; Nicklas 2011, 25–48; Baun 2007, 78–109. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 28–9.

<sup>41</sup> For the manuscript in Greek, see Kraus and Nicklas 2004, 109–15; in Ethiopian, Schneemelcher 1989, 562–78.

<sup>42</sup> See Eph. 5:3–6, 1 and 1 Pet. 3:1–2; on the diabolically duplicitous tongues, see James 3:5–8. Obedience as a female virtue reflected gender expectations in antiquity. Schmitz 2004, 432 discusses the proverbs in ancient Greek comedies describing women as a 'great misfortune', worse than serpents and fire.

<sup>43</sup> For the *Apocalypse of Paul*, see Bremmer 2011, 28–9. See also Baun 2007, 78–109 and Stathakopoulos in this volume, 29.

<sup>44</sup> The choice of the four social verdicts on virtues seems to reflect the Egyptian ritual of 'negative confession' of sins known from the 125th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*; see Hornung 1979,

The snakes in the Yılanlı Kilise attack precisely those body parts associated with the sin committed. The punishment is carried out in accordance with the Jewish *lex talionis*, retaliating against evil with ‘an eye for an eye’ (Exod. 21:24; Lev. 27:4). This law was regarded as a clear expression of God’s justice.<sup>45</sup> The snakes exacting punishment are found in Egyptian, Jewish, Greco-Roman and Islamic traditions. They commonly appear in myth, cult and epic as the executors of divine judgements, and bring both salvation and suffering.<sup>46</sup>

An echo of this way of inflicting punishment is also found in the Carolingian record of the *Visio Wettini*, composed by the court poet Walafrid Strabo in AD 824. Verses 821–4 describe a punishment for Charlemagne in the underworld, where an unidentified animal mangles his genitals.<sup>47</sup> The reason for this drastic punishment in the beyond was most likely the allegation that Charlemagne was guilty of polygamy, since according to his biographer, Einhard, he had been married to three women and entertained ten concubines.<sup>48</sup>

Even the 11th-century Islamic theologian Al-Ghazali described the inflicting of punishment by snakes in the exact manner of the Cappadocian women panel: ‘Truly, there will be snakes in hell resembling the necks of long-necked camels. Their bite will be felt for forty autumns’, writes Al-Ghazali; he continues, ‘The bodies of the occupants of Hell . . . feel the burning of the flames and the bites of scorpions and snakes in all parts of their bodies, simultaneously and continuously.’<sup>49</sup> The snake panel in the Yılanlı Kilise is thus new evidence of a motif that reaches back to late antiquity, revealing a shared basis to the iconography of Hell in both East and West.

The confrontation with the agony of the faces contorted in pain is supposed to move the beholder deeply, and compel him or her to comply with social norms of human behaviour by fear of punishment. The drastic punishment in the scene’s pictorial layout formed part of an early Christian *paraenesis* on moral conduct in the worldly life. In its frontality and moral address, the depiction represents a new type of single-framed, non-narrative, didactic image, similar to posters in modern times. Cappadocia delivers here the oldest known reference to the broad tradition of panels with Hell scenes

234–5 and Assmann 2001, 106–15. See also Semoglou in this publication, 292 (cycle of Saint Anne).

<sup>45</sup> Bauckham 1998, 213; see also Koch 1972.

<sup>46</sup> On the symbolic ambivalence of the snake in Greek and biblical traditions, see Charlesworth 2010, 125–420.

<sup>47</sup> Knittel 1986, 67. <sup>48</sup> *Vita Karoli Magni* 18; see Scherabon Firchow 2010, 41–3.

<sup>49</sup> Shukrullah 2014, 291.



seen in Crete, mostly placed by the church entrance, dating for the most part to the 14th and 15th centuries.<sup>50</sup>

Set against the powerful scenes of Hell, the fragmentary scenes of the church's vision of Paradise in the Yılanlı Kilise are easy to overlook. Opposite the burial chambers, on the southern wall, the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are depicted, holding the souls of the righteous in their laps.

It is likely that the layout of the Yılanlı Kilise's paintings establishes spatial references between tombs and images. The decentralised Weighing of Souls in the south-west corner of the edifice introduces two pictorial series running in different directions: the scenes of Hell occupy the west wall leading to the tombs, while Paradise is situated on the south wall leading towards the apse of the liturgical eastern room.

This arrangement juxtaposes the funerary chamber with scenes of Paradise which evoke the hope for salvation: according to Luke 16:24, the Rich Man looks up from the underworld to see the Poor Lazarus, who is positioned securely in Abraham's bosom.<sup>51</sup> It seems that the narrative of Luke 16:19–31 reflected a fundamental Christian funeral paradigm to which the layout of the funeral chamber in the Yılanlı Kilise could be related.

Finally, the Tribunal dominates the entire vault on the west bay in the Yılanlı Kilise (Fig. 5.6).<sup>52</sup> At the top of the vault, the intimidating council of High Judges is lined up in two separate tiers, ready to pass its irrevocable verdict. The Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse (Rev. 4:4) populate the upper tier, while the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia are tightly packed in the lower tier.

The Twenty-Four Elders high up in the barrel vault wear stoles draped over their shoulders, similar to those of priests. One of them is identified in an inscription as Melchizedek.<sup>53</sup> All of them carry closed codices decorated with individual letters – which, however, do not form a readable text, but rather represent 'magic' characters.

The judges are named after priests and angels and indicate a Judaeo-Christian Tribunal. Significant are the Jewish names Adonae (Adonai), Damenaël, Azel and Thsabo (Sabaoth).<sup>54</sup> The 5th-century amulet of the

<sup>50</sup> For Cretan examples, see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 117 and vol. 2. On the continuing Byzantine tradition of women tortured by snakes, in general, see Miljković 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Merkt 2011; on the image, based on antique typology, of the Earth carrying fruits in her bosom, see Schmidt-Colinet 1998. See also Semoglou in this volume, 292–3.

<sup>52</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 93–100. See also Thierry 2002, 156, fig. 60.

<sup>53</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 96, has suggested a Coptic background for this practice.

<sup>54</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 96–8; on the origin of the angels' names, see Michel 1962, 200–39.



Fig. 5.6 Yılanlı Kilise, Two-tiered Tribunal, c. 900, wall painting (vault), Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

Lamella Bernensis contains comparable invocations of angels and the magical names of the *Testamentum Salomonis* underline the mystical background of these conceptual worlds.<sup>55</sup>

In the lower rank, the number of judges is almost doubled. A total of forty-two men with haloes and eastern caftans form a human chain. The audience's low viewpoint gives the judges a particular physical presence. The crosses they hold before their chests sanctify their sentence and they are identified by name as the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia.

The fact that the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia are depicted as a group of forty-two rather than forty has been explained as an example of artistic licence.<sup>56</sup> Another possibility could be the distant influence of ancient Egyptian depictions of the Judgement of the Dead. Diodoros' late Hellenistic history of the world recounts this arrangement in detail,<sup>57</sup> with the deceased transported to the other side of a pond where '40 + 2 judges' wait for them,<sup>58</sup> 'seated on a semi-circular scaffold erected for this purpose'. The number of the forty-two judges reflects the division of Egypt

<sup>55</sup> Gelzer 1999; Busch 2006; on the long life of demons in Byzantine popular culture, see Koder 2016, 177–81.

<sup>56</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 98 mentions that the artist has added two or three saints.

<sup>57</sup> Wirth 1992, 125; on the significance of Diodoros and the Judgement of the Dead, see Assmann 2001, 190.

<sup>58</sup> Diodoros, *History* 1.92; see Wirth 1992, 125.



into forty-two administrative districts. This may anticipate the role of the twelve Apostles as representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel in the middle Byzantine Tribunal, in addition to Matthew 19:28.<sup>59</sup>

In the Yılanlı Kilise, the expansive line-up of the Egyptian judges accords with the number and arrangement of figures in the Cappadocian Tribunal. It could be suggested that the forty-two Egyptian judges were 'translated' by the artist into the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia with the discreet addition of two nameless figures. The Cappadocian Martyrs suffered death on a frozen lake, and in this Christian adaptation the Egyptian motif of the 'pond' is indirectly present.<sup>60</sup>

The cult of the local Forty Martyrs remained popular in Cappadocia throughout the centuries. For example, they are depicted in the 13th-century funerary chapels of Güzelöz 3 and in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Şahinefendi, dating from 1216; here, however, they assume the role of intercessors in the Last Judgement, rather than judges.<sup>61</sup>

The sophisticated concept, its composite iconography and its eastern style suggest an early dating of the depictions to the late 9th century, when Byzantine rule was re-established.<sup>62</sup> They can be ascribed to a Greek ethnic group that emigrated from Syrian or Egyptian regions, presumably to escape the Arab invasion.

There are strong stylistic similarities with the group of the Ihlara churches, Pürenli Seki and the Kokar Kilise, which belong to the following (10th) century.<sup>63</sup> Together with those in the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria, mainland Greece, the Yılanlı depictions of Hell are the oldest to survive in Byzantine art.<sup>64</sup>

### 5.3 The Two Catalogues of Sinners in Pürenli Seki Kilise in the Ihlara Valley

The Pürenli Seki Kilise in the Ihlara Valley, geographically and stylistically close to the Yılanlı Kilise, presents a more developed iconography of Hell.

<sup>59</sup> On Egypt as a holy land with forty-two districts, see Assmann 2001, 111.

<sup>60</sup> This, of course, depends on the assumption that the painter was familiar with Hellenistic thought – something that requires further research.

<sup>61</sup> On Güzelöz 3, see Thierry 1988, 362–3; on the chapel of the Forty Martyrs of Şahinefendi, see Restle 1967, vol. 1, 157–8, vol. 3, pl. 421–2; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 218–20.

<sup>62</sup> On dating, see Thierry 1991, 232, 245; Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 308.

<sup>63</sup> The Kokar Kilise does not contain depictions of Hell. Its themes of the Last Judgement and Apostle Tribunal are connected to the Deesis; see Thierry and Thierry 1963, 115–36.

<sup>64</sup> Siomkos 2005, 91–9; see also Semoglou in this volume, 309.

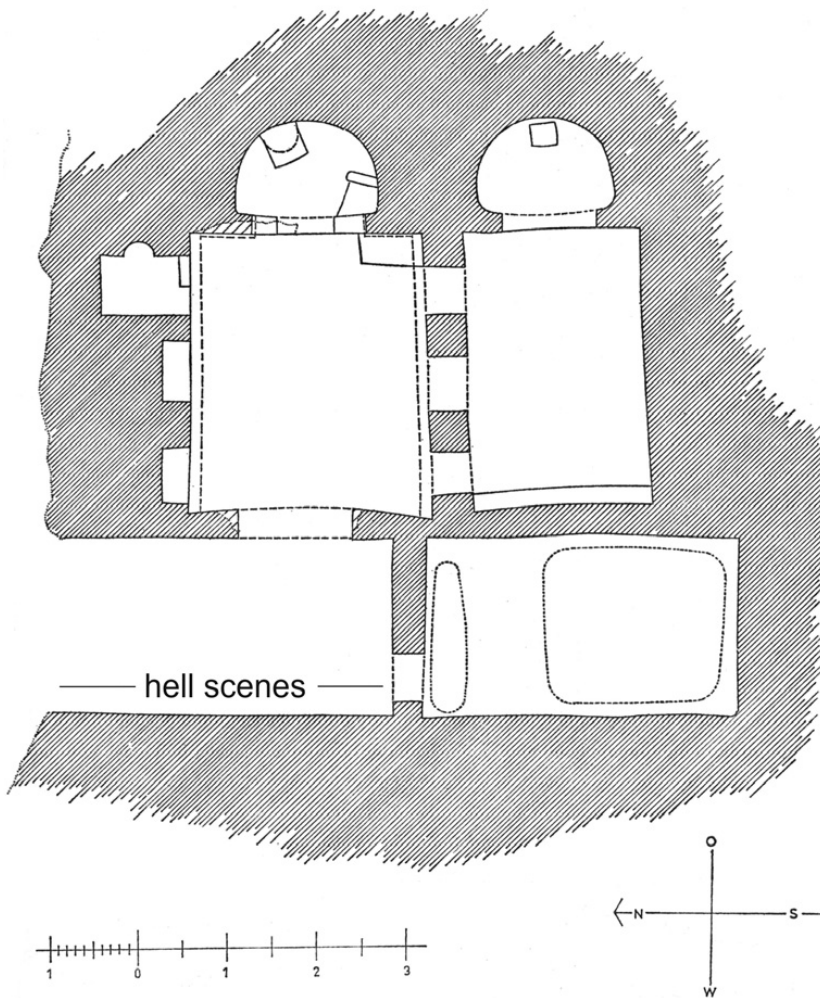


Fig. 5.7 Pürenli Seki Kilise, Hell scenes, ground plan, Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

For the first time, different panels of sinful men and women appear side by side.<sup>65</sup>

The scene is found in the narrow narthex of the church, which measures 3.75 x 1.90 m (Fig. 5.7). It is located in front of the edifice, oriented to the east, while at the same time it provides access to the space located to the north.<sup>66</sup> This, too, presumably served a funerary purpose, hidden from

<sup>65</sup> The church was published in Thierry and Thierry 1963, 136–53; see esp. 140 (for depictions of Hell).

<sup>66</sup> Thierry and Thierry 1963, 138, fig. 30 (plan).

sight by a door. Once again there is a spatial proximity between the punishments of Hell and the funerary chamber.

Again, the images are painted in a vault and include the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, the Twenty-Four Elders, and a three-figured Deesis. The Last Judgement was intended for the narthex's west wall, in a space divided into three parts. Due to the deteriorated condition of the mostly faded murals, these scenes have not been examined closely thus far. While a detailed reconstruction in drawing is not possible, the outline of a number of the figures is telling, and is helped by legible fragments of surviving inscriptions.

The landscape panel at the top probably depicted the Weighing of the Souls, with a hovering angel in the centre. Below, to the left, six chained male figures can be seen, while to the right at least four standing women are depicted being bitten by snakes. The men dangle in front of a red background, surrounded by flames, while the women stand against a yellow ground. In between these two parts of the mural, three vertically arranged compartments of Communal Punishments have been placed. The lowest and largest compartment is filled with heads and half-figures of sinners eaten by worms (the Sleepless Worm), in accordance with Mark 9:48 and Isaiah 66:24 (Fig. 5.8).

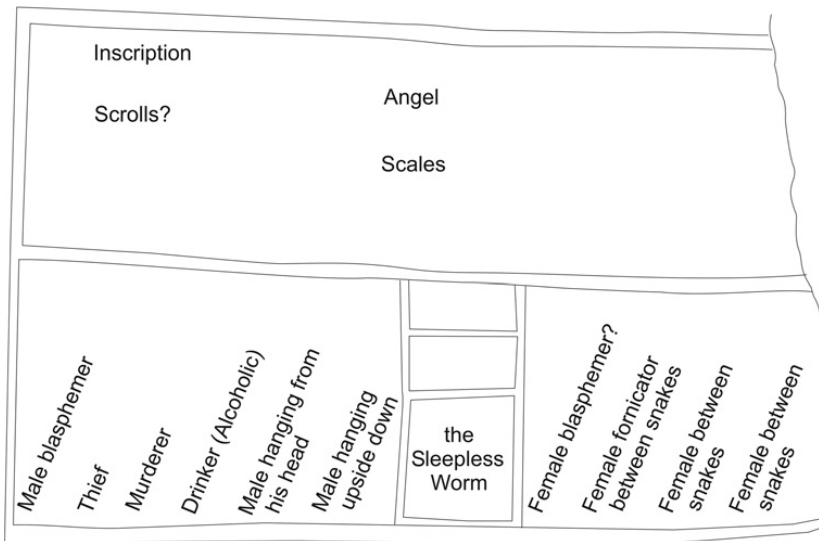


Fig. 5.8 Pürenli Seki Kilise, Last Judgement (narthex), drawing

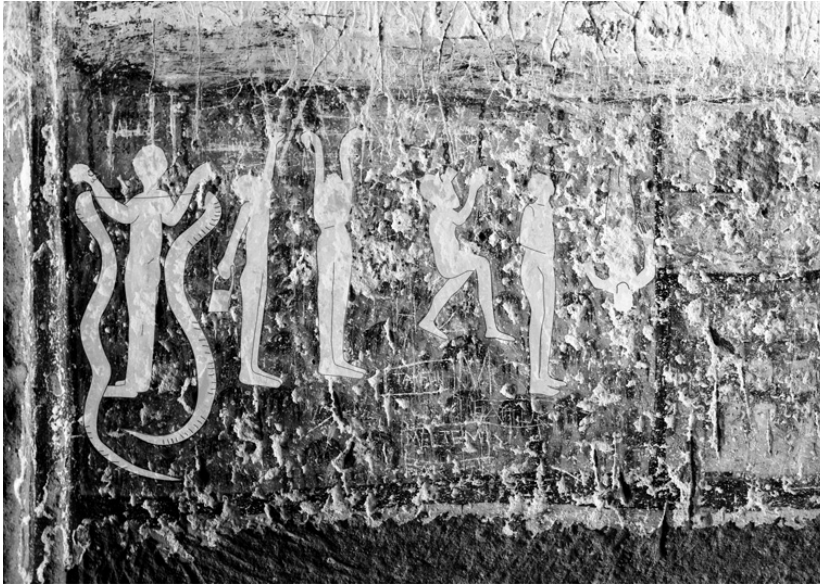


Fig. 5.9 Pürenli Seki Kilise, Male sinners, 10th century, wall painting (narthex), Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

The male sinners are hanging by chains, some by the neck, some by a single hand, others upside down by their feet (Fig. 5.9). The first figure on the left is punished in a particularly gruesome manner, with his head and hands locked in a contraption.<sup>67</sup> In addition, two snakes rise up on either side of his body. The fragmentary surviving inscription identifies the sinner as ‘he who renounced Christ and the Mother of God. The demon lives in him.’<sup>68</sup> He has clearly been found guilty of rejecting Christ’s divine nature and Mary’s title as the Mother of God according to the Chalcedonian Creed.<sup>69</sup>

The next figure shows a thief, as suggested by his representation with one hand chained and the other holding a (presumably stolen) bag. The following sinner, identified in an inscription as a murderer (Ο (Φ)Ν[ΕΥC] / ο φονεύς / *o phoneus*) is tied by his hands, while his head droops forward lifelessly. He is succeeded by a drunk, identified in an inscription

<sup>67</sup> This probably represents a framework of slat chains rather than a wooden pillory.

<sup>68</sup> I would like to thank Markos Giannoulis for his help in reading the inscriptions.

<sup>69</sup> Gray 2005, 227–36. Scenes depicting the healing of demon-possessed individuals, seen, for example, in the Murano diptych in Ravenna, dating from the 6th century, or the late Byzantine murals in the Eutychios chapel in the Church of Saint Demetrios in Thessaloniki, dating from the 13th century, depict the possessed bound in similar iron bars. For the Ravenna Ivory, see Volbach 1976, no. 125, pl. 66; for the Saint Eutychios chapel in Thessaloniki, see Gouma-Peterson 1991, fig. 29.



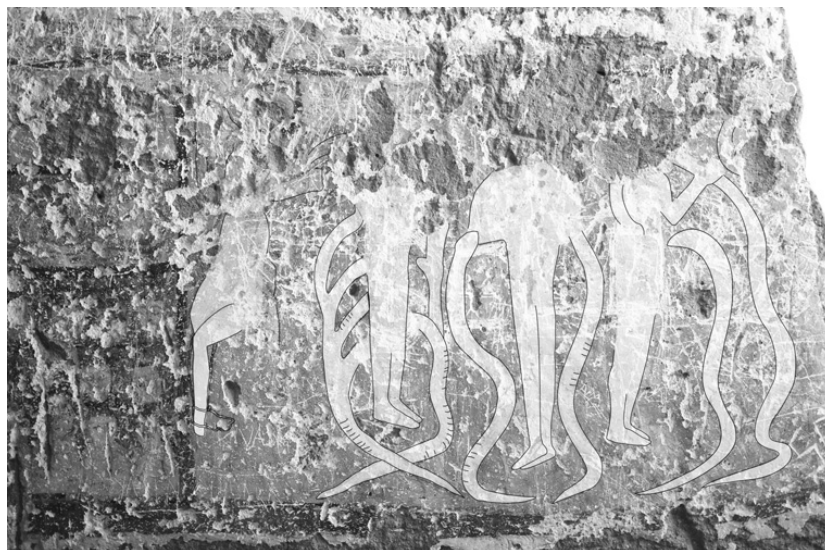


Fig. 5.10 Pürenli Seki Kilise, Female sinners, 10th century, wall painting (narthex), Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia

(ΟΜΕΘΥC|OC / ο μέθυσος / *o methysos*), with legs placed wide apart, suggesting the unsteady walk of a drunk. The outlines of the next two figures are barely visible, while their accompanying inscriptions no longer survive. The man on the far right is hanging upside down by his feet.

The punishments of the female sinners have been conceived as a counterpart to those suffered by the men (Fig. 5.10).<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, they begin with the most severe punishment, seen to the left, where the woman's legs have apparently been placed in bar-like irons, mirroring the male sinner in the pillory on the opposite wall, though no further details survive. It is likely, therefore, that here a female blasphemer was depicted. Since her male counterpart has sinned by denying the holy nature of the Virgin Mary and of Christ, it would be tempting to suggest that her blasphemy targeted the Holy Spirit, as stated in Mark 3:29: 'But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.'

Numerous snakes attack the second female, who could represent a fornicator, since she resembles the corresponding figure in the Yılanlı Kilise. She is followed by a woman who presumably does not nurse her children, and a further one who eavesdrops – judging by the snake's head

<sup>70</sup> The juxtaposition of male and female sinners on opposite walls can be found on Crete; see the Church of the Virgin at Karydi (Apokoronas), Chania (cat. no. 19).



Fig. 5.11 Male and female sinners in Hell, 12th century, *Hortus Deliciarum*, Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale fol. 255r (detail)

positioned near her ear. While the inscriptions for the female sinners do not survive, the punishments inflicted on them by the attacking snakes identify their transgressions.

The reconstruction of both groups as a collective demonstration of the tortures suffered by sinners in Hell finds its closest parallels in illustrations dating from the late 12th century. The Alsatian *Hortus Deliciarum* features in fol. 255 (Fig. 5.11; see also Fig. 4.7 in this volume) a full-page illumination depicting Hell. Its upper compartment displays a group of men and women in very similar positions and contexts.<sup>71</sup> This suggests the wide dissemination of Byzantine scenes presenting sinners in this way, with the 10th-century Pürenli Seki Kilise being the oldest known example.

The Cappadocian pictorial composition includes further evidence that could support an early date. The arrangement of the thief, the murderer and the drunk appear in exactly the same order in pseudo-Ephraim the Syrian, in a sermon on the Last Judgement dating from the 7th century. He refers to these sinners as ‘hanging from the chains of their sins’,<sup>72</sup> which in turn is based on Proverbs 5:22.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Green et al. 1979, 439, pl. 146. <sup>72</sup> Phrantzolas 1998, 149.

<sup>73</sup> The presentation of the sinners in distinct groups and the differentiation of their sins may have been inspired by models of Hades found in Greek and Latin works. The *Aeneid* (6.608–18) recounts a similar register of sinners: ‘He who was struck because of adultery, who joined in heinous war, who did not shy from betraying the Lord, awaits pain in chains.’ The punishments themselves are also differentiated: ‘Some turn an enormous rock, others hang stretched over wheels’ spikes’ (*Aeneid* 6.616); for Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.608–18, see Götte 1980, 257. The late antique protagonists and their roles in these catalogues of punishments were exchanged and

Thus, the 10th-century Pürenli Seki Kilise provides the oldest surviving pictorial compositions in which sinners are separated according to gender.

#### 5.4 Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4) and the Last Judgement as an Elaborate Biblical Lecture Without Hell Scenes

The funerary chapel of Güllüdere 4 near Çavuşin, locally called the Ayvalı Kilise, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and dated in an inscription to 913–20, is from an entirely different cultural and social context.<sup>74</sup> Passages (mostly in Matt. 24–5 and Rev. 20) describe the Last Judgement. God's return in the *Deutera Parousia* (Second Coming) and the salvation of mankind dominate this funerary programme. However, the depiction of this particular Last Judgement is not concerned with the actual imposition of punishments, since they are not included in its pictorial narrative (Fig. 5.12).

The double chapel features a funerary nave in the north and a liturgical nave in the south, measuring 4.5 m in length and between 2.50 and 2.75 m in width. An inscription located in the arcosolium arch above the donor's tomb in the north funerary chapel gives the date 913–20 and mentions the reign of Emperor Constantine VII (913/920–59). A second inscription in the south liturgical apse refers to the dedication of the chapel to Saint John the Baptist and a donor's foundation of an unidentified monastery for the Theotokos and all the Saints.<sup>75</sup>

The events of the Last Judgement occupy the entire barrel vault, the west entrance walls and the wall above the eastern apse. Figures in groups and large blocks of biblical texts, mostly paraphrases of different authors, are tightly entwined. The extensive textual comments reinforce the message of the pictorial programme. The narrative begins with the Lord descending from the clouds of Heaven. However, Christ is climbing up, rather than descending, and pointing to a large inscription (Fig. 5.13). The scene is a

Christianised in the middle Byzantine era and their roles were recast. The conflation and continuation of tradition in religious practices is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>74</sup> The church decoration was published by Thierry 1965, 97–154; Thierry 1983, 136–81. See also Rodley 1985, 207–13; Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 37–44; Thierry 2002, no. 25, pl. 74–5; Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 47–8. The Church of Güllüdere 4 (Ayvalı Kilise) was built in an upper part of the Rose Valley, near Çavuşin. The multiple surviving arcosolia carved from the rock as well as the funerary chapels of Güllüdere 3 and 5, nearby, suggest that this area functioned as a burial place; see Lemaigre Demesnil 2010, 37–45.

<sup>75</sup> On both inscriptions, see Thierry 1965, 99–101; Rhoby 2009, 285–6. The same workshop also produced the murals in the Old Tokalı Kilise in nearby Göreme; see Wharton Epstein 1986, 14–15; Thierry 2002, n. 24.



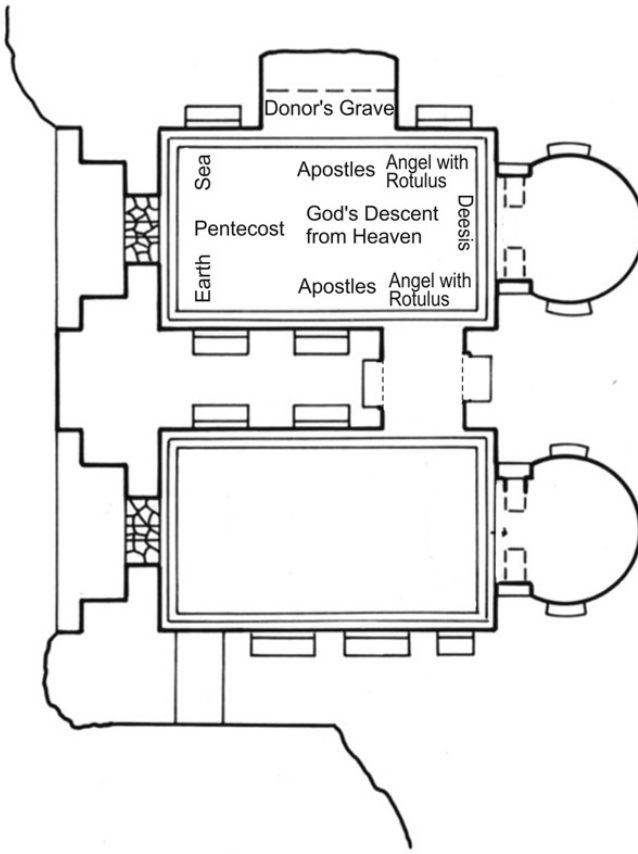


Fig. 5.12 Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4), Last Judgement (vault), ground plan, Güllüdere, near Çavuşin, Cappadocia

commentary on the image described in Luke 21:27, with reference also to the Acts of the Apostles 1:10 and Revelation 1:7, ‘The Lord descends through the clouds to judge every tribe and every tongue, and the cross will appear before him.’<sup>76</sup> This dramatic introduction reveals the interaction between image and text in the entire spatial design, based on biblical exegesis.<sup>77</sup>

Moving towards the east of the vault, two angels follow with a *clypeus* (large shield) inscribed with a concentric cross, showing the ‘sign of the

<sup>76</sup> Thierry 1965; Thierry 2002, no. 25, pl. 74.

<sup>77</sup> The inscription in the dome of the Kiliçlar Kilise (Göreme 29) offers a strong textual comparison. Here, too, a nine-line inscription refers to the coming of the Lord to judge mankind. On the inscription, see Rhoby 2009, 281–4; on this church, see Ousterhout 2017, 97–9.

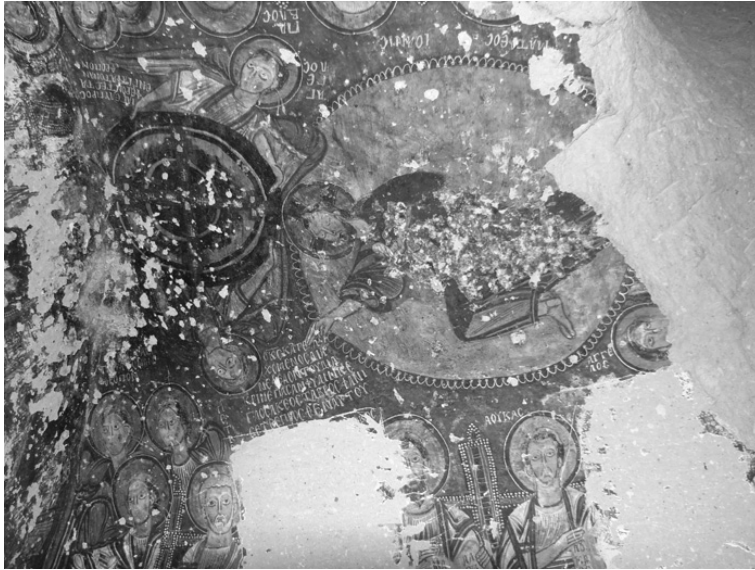


Fig. 5.13 Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4), Christ descending from Heaven, 913–20, wall painting (vault), Güllüdere, near Çavuşin, Cappadocia

Son of Man' (Matt. 24:30) as Christ's cross on Golgotha. The Apostles are arranged in two groups of six, flanking the two sides of the vault. They are seated on thrones and serve as judges (Matt. 19:28) (Fig. 5.14).<sup>78</sup> Each of them holds a codex with a topographic inscription, which is suggestive of their role as missionaries, as described in the Acts of Apostles 2:5–28.<sup>79</sup> Through this reading of the aforementioned passage from the Acts, the mission of the Apostles becomes fundamental to Eastern Christianity and to the Byzantine empire as a territory under God's protection.

Following the Apostle Tribunal, near the eastern corners of the vault, angels bring forward closed scrolls. They contain the written record of the Book of Life (Ι ΑΓΕΛΥΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΕΝΓΡΑΦΑ ΤΟΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ / οἱ Ἄγγελοι προσφέροντες τὰ ἐγγράφα τῶν ἀνθρώπων / *oi angeloi prosferontes ta engrafa ton anthropon*). These Books of Life refer to Exodus 32:32 and Daniel 7:10, where they are connected with eschatological Judgement. In

<sup>78</sup> Thierry 2002, 162, l. 75. This photograph was taken before the heads of two of the Apostles were destroyed.

<sup>79</sup> On the topographic identifications, from Rome through Ephesus and Hierapolis to India, see Thierry 1965, 134–7. They reappear in the Kokar Kilise in the Ihlara Valley in the early 10th century; see Thierry and Thierry 1963, 128–31; Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 48. They also appear in the church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria; see Semoglou in this volume, 287. This topography of the missions of the Apostles refers to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.1.2 and 2.3.1–4.



Fig. 5.14 Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4), Apostle Tribunal, 913–20, wall painting (vault), Güllüdere, near Çavuşin, Cappadocia

the inscription there is no indication of the apocalyptic judgement of sinners, as foretold in Revelation 20:12–15.<sup>80</sup>

Painted on the wall above the apse in the east, the Deesis is shown, framed by the tetramorphs and seraphim of the Apocalypse. The texts on the scrolls of the Virgin Mary and of Saint John the Baptist bear witness to her role as intercessor to Christ for the salvation of mankind. The Virgin Mary asks her Son for mercy for those who were created by His father's hand. Saint John intercedes particularly on behalf of Christians.<sup>81</sup> The Deesis represents the oldest surviving example of a three-figured Deesis in Byzantine funeral art.<sup>82</sup>

Finally, the earthly events of the Last Judgement are located on the western wall, above the entrance.<sup>83</sup> To the left and right of a wide lacuna the Earth and the Sea are Giving Up their Dead, as described in Revelation 20:13 (Fig. 5.15). The Sea is represented by four large fish and lines representing waves. The personification of the Earth is sitting on a splendid suppedaneum. Behind her, two gates of the underworld (Hades) are filled

<sup>80</sup> In Exod. 32:32, the names of mankind are inscribed in the Book of Life, prepared for salvation at the end of time; see Griffiths 1991, 239 with reference to 1 Enoch 98:8.

<sup>81</sup> Thierry 1965, 133.

<sup>82</sup> Earlier iconography is found in the art of 6th-century Constantinople. On the Deesis, see Walter 1968, 311–33; Walter 1982, 182–4; ODB 1 (1991) 599–600 s.v. Deesis (Weyl Carr).

<sup>83</sup> For a detailed description, see Thierry 1983, 166–7.



Fig. 5.15 Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4), Earth, 913–20, wall painting (west wall), Güllüdere, near Çavuşin, Cappadocia

with human faces the eyes directed to Heaven.<sup>84</sup> Some fragments of letters next to it talk about the ‘dead’, since the long frieze inscription on the western wall reflects John 5:29, introducing the predominant theme of the

<sup>84</sup> From the 11th century on, the motif of the archway was transformed into compartments of Communal Punishments in Hell as diagrams.



scenes on the west wall.<sup>85</sup> In the iconography of the Last Judgement, the comparison of a double resurrection, to life and to a tribunal, is rare, but it indicates that in a broad segment of Heaven in the apex of the damaged west wall the scales of justice may have appeared.<sup>86</sup> However, the punishments of Hell have found no space in these depictions. In the elaborate salvation programme of the aristocratic funerary chapel focused on the donor's arcosolium in the northern side wall there is no view of popular sinners such as magicians, liars or murderers (Revelation 21:8).

It would appear that the entire composition of the images in the Ayvali Kilise (Güllüdere 4) emerged from a scholarly exegesis of the Bible. The closest parallel to this very particular layout between texts and image can be found in the Ascension mosaic in the metropolitan church of Saint Sophia in Thessaloniki, dating from around AD 885.<sup>87</sup> Here, too, lengthy texts accompany the iconography. In particular, the painting in Cappadocia and the mosaics in Thessaloniki are stylistically related.<sup>88</sup> As Nicole Thierry suggests, the sophisticated concept of the Cappadocian Güllüdere was developed under metropolitan influence, and probably painted with reference to model books from the capital.<sup>89</sup>

The salvific nature of the iconographic programme and the hope of its donor that he will arrive in Paradise is echoed in the inscription next to the angel receiving the soul of the Virgin Mary in her Dormition, reading 'the souls of the Righteous are in the hand of God' (Wis. 3:1).<sup>90</sup>

To sum up, Güllüdere 4 or Saint John's chapel presents a singular, biblically based conception of the Last Judgement as a promise of salvation in the afterlife. Many of the biblical elements employed here were used for the first time. It is possible that it represents an initial project for an important workshop around 900.

Historically, the concept could be related to the restoration of both Orthodoxy and political stability after the end of the Arab invasions, when Christians saw themselves as the elected *ethnos* and *laos* of God. In this ecclesiastical and political vision, there was no place for either sinners or punishments.

<sup>85</sup> οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως. I wish to thank Andreas Rohby for reconstructing the fragmentary inscription.

<sup>86</sup> Only the beginnings of a semicircle are visible; it is decorated with gems and bordered with pearls. Thierry 1983, 166 mentions the possibility of a door.

<sup>87</sup> On the Thessaloniki mosaic, see Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 2012, 284–90, pl. 259, 267.

<sup>88</sup> On these comparisons, see Thierry 1965, 145–54; see also Eastmond 2013, 128, 136.

<sup>89</sup> Thierry 1965, 145–54; Rodley 1985, 213.

<sup>90</sup> The concept of the topography of Paradise was not yet fully developed. On Paradise as a garden, see Angheben 2002, 108–15. See also Thierry 1965, 125–30, figs 18, 21.

### 5.5 Göreme 2b: The Symbol of the Son of Man in Heaven (Matt. 24:30) and the Holy Cross of the Hetoimasia (Ps. 9:7–8)

The layout of the 10th-century chapel Göreme 2b represents another step in the development of the depiction of the Last Judgement. The symbolic cross of the Son of Man (Matt. 24:30) is now contrasted with the venerated cross of Christ's Passion on the throne of the Hetoimasia (Ps. 9:7).

The spacious single-aisle church is situated above Göreme's necropolis.<sup>91</sup> The patron was probably a high-ranking official and the exquisite murals could be dated to the middle of the 10th century, based on stylistic comparisons.<sup>92</sup> A lateral room to the north – possibly a former tomb chamber – was incorporated into the Last Judgement paintings, the scenes of which were documented in drawings and discussed in detail by Nicole Thierry (Fig. 5.16).<sup>93</sup> The cycle of the Last Judgement on the west wall is combined with scenes from the Virgin's childhood on the ceiling and a Christological cycle leading towards the apse.

A unique feature of the chapel Göreme 2b is the connection between a small panel in the ceiling with three crosses in relief and the scenes depicted on the west wall. Two Maltese crosses surround a third in their centre, representing the three crosses of Golgotha, in accordance with John 19:18. The central cross in relief, with concentric bars, could be interpreted as the celestial sign of the Son of Man, in accordance with Matthew 24:30, prefiguring the events of the Last Judgement.

The Last Judgement itself, on the west wall, comprises two registers that differ in size (Fig. 5.17). Because the depictions are barely visible, the diagram published by Thierry is most useful.<sup>94</sup> At the top, the Deesis has been placed, with Christ enthroned and flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist. The Apostle Tribunal is reduced to two representative figures, Saints Peter and Paul, in an unusual rendering.

Below, Göreme 2b's pictorial layout accentuates the motif of the Judgement at the centre, following Psalm 9:7–8: 'But the Lord shall endure forever: he has prepared his throne for judgement. And he shall judge the world in righteousness, he shall minister judgement to the people in

<sup>91</sup> The church is published in Thierry 2003, 815–18; Thierry 2002, n. 27; see also Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 49; Ousterhout 2017, 424 with plan, figs 4, 63 and measurement of the naos (c. 5.65 x 8.1 m).

<sup>92</sup> Göreme 6 and Göreme 9 are from the same workshop; see Restle 1967, vol. 2, pl. 54.126.

<sup>93</sup> Thierry 2003, 815–18, sch. 5–8. <sup>94</sup> Thierry 2002, n. 27 and Thierry 2003, sch. 5.

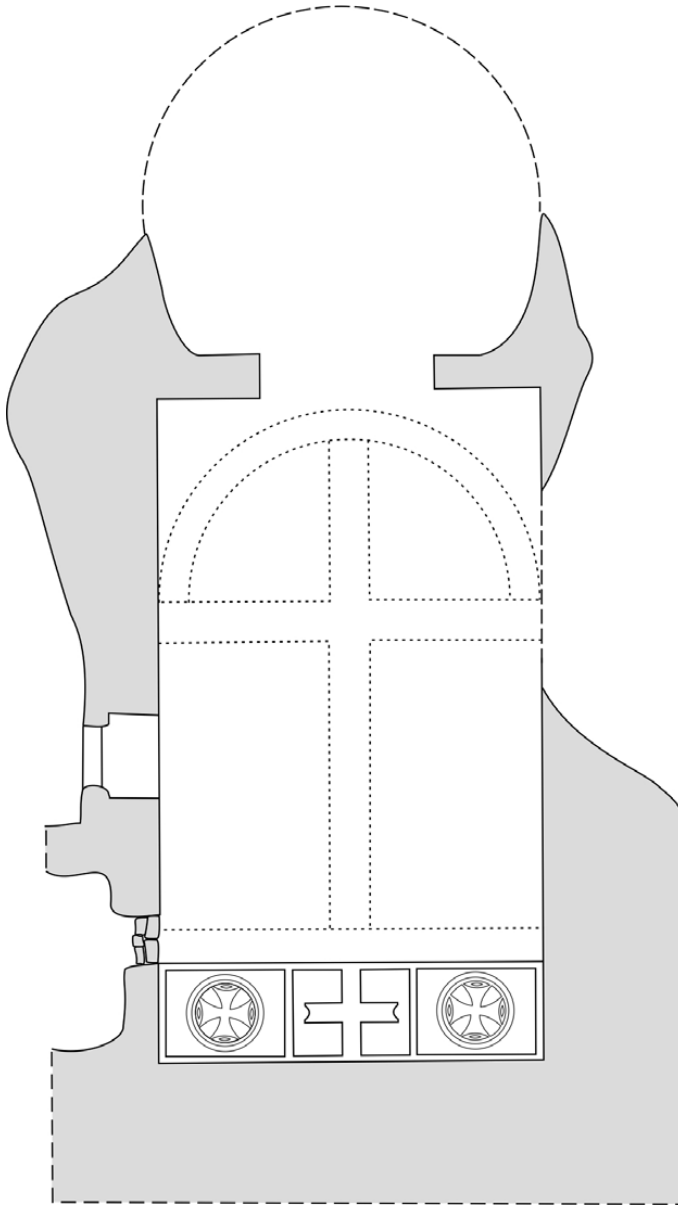


Fig. 5.16 Chapel Göreme 2b, drawing showing the cross relief on the ceiling and entrances, 10th century

uprightness.’ Here the ritual setting of Christ’s soteriological death on the cross at Golgotha enters the narrative of the images of the Last Judgement.

Two angels flank the frontally erected cross on the Judge’s throne below. With their assistance, functioning like deacons during the liturgy,



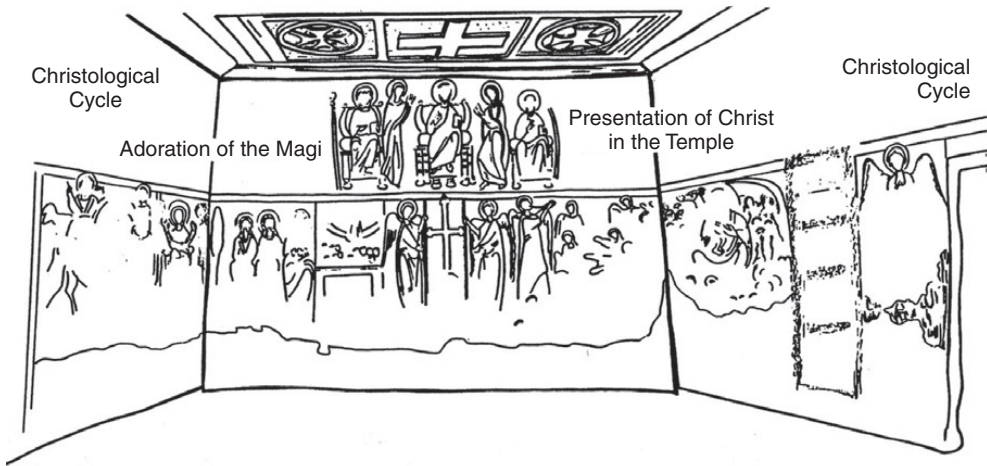


Fig. 5.17 Chapel Göreme 2b, 10th century, drawing showing the west wall

Golgotha's cross is erected on the already established throne of the Hetoimasia.<sup>95</sup>

The veneration of the cross in Byzantine iconography of the Last Judgement is usually accompanied by Adam and Eve, who are missing here. They have been substituted by the adjacent scene to the right, in which the dead are rising from their graves and stretching their hands imploringly towards the cross.

This depiction occupies most of the pictorial space, followed by a very condensed scene of Hell. A seated Satan with a small figure (probably Judas) on his lap dominates the composition.<sup>96</sup> Nicole Thierry was able to record women and snakes' heads in the upper left corner, reminiscent of the scenes in the Yılanlı Kilise.<sup>97</sup>

The narrative is interrupted by a small entrance into the presumed funerary chamber. The pictorial frieze continues with the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, who are saved from the flames by God's angel (Dan. 3:49). The scene carries a clear salvific message and could be interpreted as the donor's plea for salvation from the fires of Hell.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> On the Hetoimasia, see Bogyay 1960, 58–61; Sinkevič 2000, 35–6; ODB 2, 927, s.v. Hetoimasia (Weyl Carr).

<sup>96</sup> Judas is often depicted in the arms of Satan in Hell in the Cretan depictions; see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 137–40 (section 3.4.4). See also Angheben 2002, 124.

<sup>97</sup> Thierry 2003, sch. 4.

<sup>98</sup> In Ala Kilise at Belisırma, a donor is depicted kneeling beneath the furnace; see Thierry and Thierry 1963, 117 and 195 with fig. 46; Kalas 2009, 192, fig. 11.

Turning back to the Hetoimasia: on its left side, the Heavenly City is visible, following Revelation 21:3–4. The Patriarchs and the Virgin Blachernitissa inhabit Paradise.<sup>99</sup> In its spatial layout, the presumed funerary chamber on the opposite side of Paradise seems to echo the Rich Man's desperate plea from the underworld to Abraham, as narrated in Luke 16:24, in a manner similar to the tomb chamber in the Yılanlı Kilise.

To sum up, Göreme 2b provides a more developed pictorial narrative of the Last Judgement compared to the monuments discussed thus far. Examples from the 11th and 12th centuries, such as the mosaics of the Cathedral of Maria Assunta at Torcello and in particular the Alsatian *Hortus Deliciarum*, where two angels are presenting the relics of Christ's passion for adoration,<sup>100</sup> constitute important iconographic comparisons. This liturgical iconography is closely related to the veneration of the Passion relics, including the lance, the nails and the crown of thorns, by the imperial court as the insignia of Christian rule.<sup>101</sup>

It is possible that the Cappadocian pictorial organisation featuring multiple symmetrical registers and frontality could have derived from imperial representations.<sup>102</sup> From the late 9th century onwards, on coins and in particular in Constantinopolitan reliquaries of the 10th and 11th centuries, the iconography of the double cross is combined with the venerated relic of the 'true' cross, located in the capital.<sup>103</sup>

In terms of iconography, Göreme 2b witnesses the beginnings of the popular middle-Byzantine Last Judgement iconography before the 11th century. It could be suggested that the model books of the Cappadocian workshop reflect Constantinopolitan liturgies and imperial ceremonies, as does Paris BnF gr. 74 (Fig. 4.2 in this volume), painted in the monastery of Saint John of Stoudios in the late 11th century.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Thierry 2003, sch. 7.

<sup>100</sup> On Torcello, see Pace and Angheben 2006, 58, pl. 57; on the *Hortus Deliciarum*, see Green et al. 1979, 431, no. 867.

<sup>101</sup> On the relics of the Passion collected in a chapel of the imperial court of Constantinople, see Flusin 2001, 20–31; on the veneration of the Holy Cross from the early 9th century, see Klein 2004, 52–3, 58–68.

<sup>102</sup> Discussed by Brenk 1964, 115–16.

<sup>103</sup> Thierry 2003, sch. 5; on its beginnings, see Klein 2004, 52–3 and 109.

<sup>104</sup> On monastic funeral practice and the influential Stoudios monastery, see Krausmüller 2007, 270–81; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 261–4.

## 5.6 The Church in the Inner Valley of Bahçeli and the Wise and Foolish Virgins

The church in the İçeridere (in the inner valley) of Bahçeli is situated about 3 km south-west of the village. Along the slope, the church is connected to other caves, presumably belonging to a monastery. Here, the scenes of the Last Judgement occupy the west wall of a single nave, measuring c. 3.90 x 2.90 m; a short aisle was added to the north, which, however, remained unfinished.

The church was discovered in 2015 and has been published by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy and Nilüfer Peker, who both date it approximately to the 9th century.<sup>105</sup> According to Jolivet-Lévy, the church, along with the Church of Saint Theodore (Pançarlık Kilise) near Ürgüp, decorated by a related workshop, could feature the oldest surviving scenes of the Last Judgement in Byzantine mural painting.<sup>106</sup> However, a stylistic analysis raises a number of questions. Both churches present a regional style of painting, which is difficult to date. Marcell Restle and Hanna Wiemer-Enis have already provided various arguments against an early dating of the Pançarlık Kilise.<sup>107</sup> In comparison with the Pançarlık's wooden, uneven figures, the Bahçeli church in the İçeridere Valley presents fluent drapery and more careful colouring of clothes and bodies. Therefore, I would suggest a later date for this church, to the late 10th or even to the beginning of the 11th century. A number of alterations suggest its continuous use until the 13th century.<sup>108</sup>

The church in the İçeridere near Bahçeli is divided into multiple zones (Figs 5.18 and 5.19). It begins with the Apostle Tribunal in the apex of the wall, and it continues with the Weighing of the Souls underneath, which also includes compartments of Hell to the right. It concludes with Saint Theodore on horseback, fighting a dragon with multiple heads, at the bottom.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 73–86; Peker 2009, 75–90. <sup>106</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 82.

<sup>107</sup> On the Pançarlık Kilise, see Jerphanion 1925 (vol. 2), 17–47; Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 79, despite recognisable departures from Jerphanion's 'Archaic Type', accepts an early date. See also Thierry 2002, n. 30 (without dating). By contrast, Hild and Restle 1981, 263 date it to the 11th century; Wiemer-Enis 2000, 93–100.

<sup>108</sup> See Peker 2009, 82. See also Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 84. Even the regular tomb inside the south-west corner of the church may be part of an addition of the 13th century. In the 9th century, an arcosolium would be expected.

<sup>109</sup> On Theodore and the dragon with multiple heads, see Jolivet-Lévy 2008, 357–71.

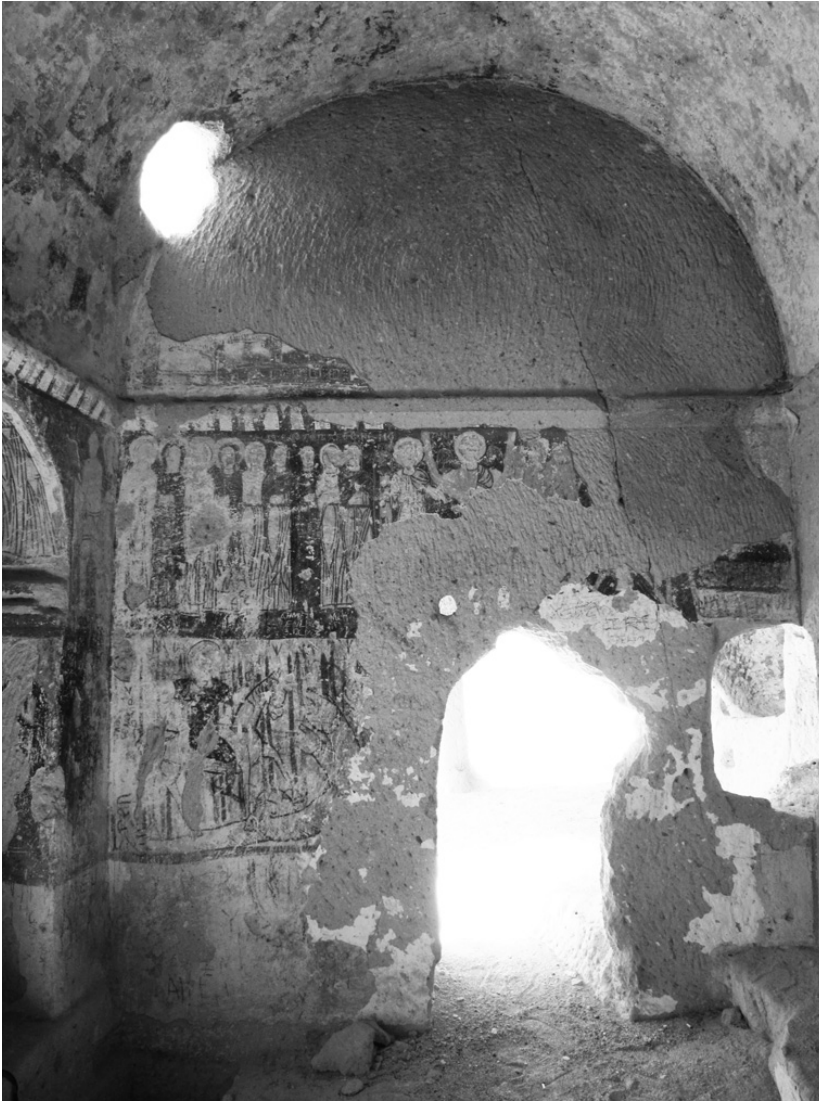


Fig. 5.18 İceridere Kilise, Last Judgement, 10th/11th century, wall painting, near Bahçeli, Cappadocia

Only fragments of the Apostle Tribunal survive, showing the lower part of their thrones and feet.<sup>110</sup> The Weighing of the Souls dominates the bust of the Archangel Michael, placed in his own section of Heaven and holding the scales in his right hand. Another angel and a naked, winged demon

<sup>110</sup> The lunette over the entrance in the chapel of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome, 1220, could offer a possible model for the reconstruction of the scene; see Pace and Angheben 2007, 165.

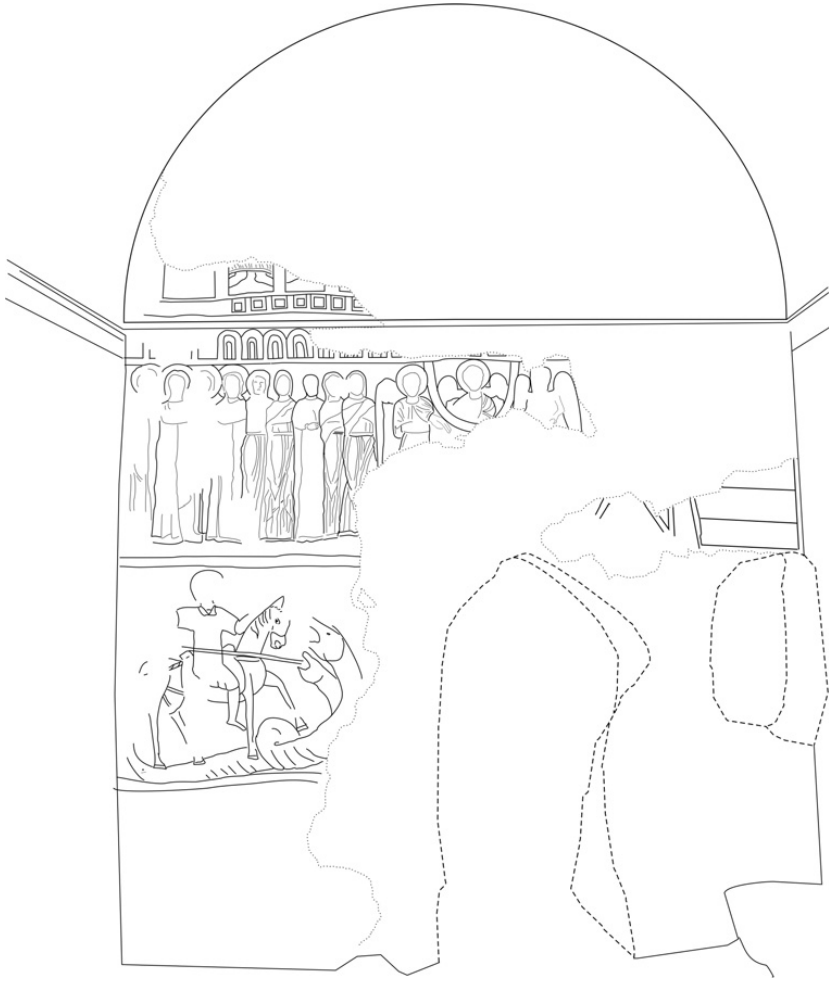


Fig. 5.19 İceridere Kilise, Last Judgement, 10th/11th century, wall painting (drawing), near Bahçeli, Cappadocia

flank him to the left and right respectively, awaiting the outcome of the Judgement.

Hell continues until an arch with a figure (possibly a personification of the Earth), followed by scenes of Communal Punishments, organised in a manner comparable to the Pürenli Seki Kilise.<sup>111</sup> The following area on the northern half of the wall is mostly damaged.

Towards the Paradise side, ten women are depicted, all in alternating colourful clothing. The first five women, without haloes, are identified in

<sup>111</sup> Fragments of the 'femmes pécheresses, nues et mordues par des serpents', as noted by Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 81, could not be seen.

an inscription as the Foolish Virgins (Η ΠΕΝΤΕ ΠΑΡΘΕ|NE | ΜΟ|PE / οἱ πέντε μωρές παρθένες / *oi pente mores parthenes*). They are followed by the Wise Virgins, who are identified as such by large haloes. This iconography relates to Matthew's Last Judgement narrative in 25:1–13.

Paradise continues underneath the bordering wall recess. The scene resembles the one in the Pançarlík Kilise in every detail, and possibly depicts the Virgin Blachernitissa.<sup>112</sup> The framing ornamental vine branches form a symbolic representation of Paradise.

In the İceridere Kilise, Paradise is the main focus, while the compartments of Communal Punishments are treated rather briefly. Notable in this version of the Last Judgement is the oldest known representation of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. In Cappadocia, it also occurs later, in the 13th-century Church of Saint George near Ortaköy and Saint Eustathios in Güzelöz.<sup>113</sup>

If we take into consideration the appearance of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the miniature of the Baltimore MS W 539 from Toros Roslin, painted in 1262 in the neighbouring Cilician Armenia, their presence in the iconography of the Last Judgement could suggest an origin in an early tradition from Asia Minor and Armenia.<sup>114</sup> The visual representation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins here, a scene associated with the Last Judgement from the later middle Byzantine period, could also further support a later date for this church.

## 5.7 Cappadocia in the 13th Century and the Role of Last Judgement Scenes in Advocating a Good Life

During the 13th century, the circumstances in Cappadocia changed fundamentally.<sup>115</sup> Under the Seljuks, the area was part of a growing economic prosperity in the eastern Mediterranean and was part of a network of trade and cultural exchange. Stone-built churches connected with

<sup>112</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Thierry 2002, 152 sch. 57; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 173.

<sup>113</sup> On Ortaköy, see Rott 1908, 149–51; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 249–54; on Güzelöz, see Rott 1908, 151–2; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 241–3.

<sup>114</sup> For Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 539, see Mathews and Wieck 1994, 149–50, pl. 14; Jolivet-Lévy 2007a, 83. On the earliest occurrence of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Byzantine art, in the Rossano Gospels, dating from the 6th century, as well as on its western reception, see Körkel-Hinkfoth 1994, 58; on the Byzantine tradition on Crete, see Tsamakda 2012, 208–10.

<sup>115</sup> Korobeinikov 2014; Prinzing 2014, 25–37.



settlements, as well as painted funerary chapels in necropolises and on private properties, testify to this prosperity.

Single framed scenes of the Last Judgement and Hell appear, where the Cappadocian iconography of Hell testifies to artistic exchanges with the Mediterranean. The iconography of the Last Judgement presents the angels as the leading figures of the action. The careful weighing of individual deeds highlights the morality of the Christian life.

This is apparent in the Church of Saint John the Baptist or Karşı Kilise near Gülşehir, dated in an inscription to 1212. This is a large privately owned church built on the second floor, above an older chapel (Figs 5.20, 5.21). Catherine Jolivet-Lévy has provided a detailed analysis of its funerary programme.<sup>116</sup>

On the west wall, under the protection of the equestrian military saints, Theodore and George, the depiction of punishments occupies a full frame on the left, with the Weighing of the Souls following on the right; the iconographic sequence of the Christological cycle moves from left to right,



Fig. 5.20 Karşı Kilise, Last Judgement, 1212, wall painting (west wall), near Gülşehir, Cappadocia

<sup>116</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2001b, 177–9; see also Peker 2010, 572–81, including new research on the two-storied double chapel; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 157.





Fig. 5.21 Karşı Kilise, Hell, 1212, wall painting (west wall), near Gülşehir, Cappadocia.

from Passion to Resurrection, leading up to Paradise, located in the proximity of the apse. The spatial layout includes the stairway up to the church in the iconographic programme, as the entrance to Paradise.<sup>117</sup>

For the first time in Cappadocia, the Weighing of the Souls is identified in an inscription as the ‘Scales of Justice’ (ο ζυγος τι[ς δικαιοσυνης] / ο ζυγός της δικαιοσύνης / *o zygos tis dikaioynis*), following Job 31:6, as is commonly found in the Mediterranean in the 14th and 15th centuries.<sup>118</sup> An angel in a semicircle holds the scales in his right hand, while with the sceptre in his left he points in the direction of Paradise (Fig. 5.20, centre right).

The composition of the punishments closely resembles that found in the monastery church of Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria in northern Greece, which dates from c. 1200 (Fig. 5.22).<sup>119</sup> Angels with lances – one in the Karşı Kilise, two in the Mavriotissa – push a group of bishops and priests into Hell. A winged devil taunts some figures by pulling their beards. In the Karşı Kilise, the angel is identified in an inscription as *angelos o exorinos* (or *exorios*), ‘the banishing angel’.<sup>120</sup> In both churches, the punished clerics

<sup>117</sup> On this symbolic interpretation, see Jolivet-Lévy 2001a, 178; Jolivet-Lévy 2001b, 275.

<sup>118</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2001b, 178. On the Scales of Justice, see also Gerstel and Katsafados and Weyl Carr in this volume, 319 and 355, 364, 366, 368, 373, 376, 378, 383, 394, 402, 407 respectively.

<sup>119</sup> Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985, 76–81, 79, fig. 14 and 82, fig. 17; Pace and Angheben 2007, 170.

<sup>120</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2001b, 179.



Fig. 5.22 Monastery church of Panagia Mavriotissa, Hell, c. 1200, wall painting, Kastoria

condemn unbelief as the greatest offence against God.<sup>121</sup> In the Karşı Kilise, there are no punishments of individuals. Only Judas is included, as the biblical prototype of a sinner and a traitor to God.

Hell is dominated by a soul-devouring dragon, which resembles the hybrid animal seen in the Yılanlı Kilise, also present in the 11th-century Constantinopolitan gospel book Paris BnF gr. 74 (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume).<sup>122</sup> The transformation of Hell continues with the Communal Punishments – the Sleepless Worm (Mark 9:48), the Everlasting Fire (Mark 9:43) and Outer Darkness (Matt. 25:30), here represented as circles. The sinners' heads contrast with the medallions of the saved in the Patriarchs' laps. Only the River of Fire (Dan. 7:10), which in the Mavriotissa church sweeps away heretical dignitaries, is absent from the Cappadocian images.

The donor images within the salvific programme of the church present three separate votive pictures of the male and female members of the family. The Karşı Kilise offers one of the most elaborate examples of private funerary churches in the 13th century, evidence of a local workshop.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2001b, 180 refers to 12th-century dogmatic discussions; see also Babić 1968, 368–86.

<sup>122</sup> Christe 2001, fig. 7; Angheben 2002, 106, fig. 1.

<sup>123</sup> On the elaborate representation of women, see Karamaouna et al. 2014, 235.

The now ruined stone-built Church of Saint George, on the opposite side of Ortaköy, presents a very similar pictorial programme.<sup>124</sup> The Last Judgement, dating from the late 13th century, now dominates the west end of a trikonchos like a colossal triptych, in which the dragon-killing riders occupied the centre.<sup>125</sup>

On the south and north walls, the depictions are arranged in three registers. At the top, trumpeting angels and personifications of the Earth and of the Sea Giving Up their Dead are portrayed.<sup>126</sup> In the register below, the south wall has Paradise with the Virgin Mary, the three Patriarchs, the Good Thief and the Five Wise Virgins, while the north wall has Hell populated with naked sinners, hanging or wriggling in a continuous frieze.

The Weighing of the Souls is located beneath the only entrance to the church, opposite the wall with male and female saints (Figs 5.23 and 5.24). Situated at eye level, this scene would have been the last image that the congregation would have seen when exiting the church, hoping that the saints left behind continued to intercede on their behalf for the salvation of their souls.

The Weighing of the Souls is depicted in a distinctive manner. Groups of angels and demons compete in bringing together every scroll of good or bad deeds to the scales (το ζήγιον / το ζυγίον / *to zygon*) held by the angel of justice (ο ἄγγ[ε]λος τῆς δικάσιον[ή]ς / ο ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης / *o angelos tis dikaiosynis*).<sup>127</sup> Seven tables of different sizes are placed at the front, all covered in little scrolls. A white demon is trying to adjust the scales.<sup>128</sup> To the right side of the scales, Saint Marina is depicted beating Beelzebub, the chief of the demons according Mark 3:22, with a hammer, followed by Saints Anastasia Pharmakolytria and Thecla, protectors against demons and demonic acts.<sup>129</sup> Topping the entrance was a bust of

<sup>124</sup> Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 249–55; Ousterhout 2017, 94–7, 151–2 (as Saint George in Güzeyurt); on the destroyed inscriptions from 1293 in the portico, see Rott 1908, 149–51.

<sup>125</sup> On the depictions in detail, see Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 253–4.

<sup>126</sup> The drawing in Thierry 1988, 369 (plan 5) is incomplete: behind the vertical line to the left, a trumpeting angel should be added; see also Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 253.

<sup>127</sup> On the inscriptions, see Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 253.

<sup>128</sup> It is possible that he represents both a deceased man and the demon who resides in his body. According to Luke 22:3, Judas was possessed by a demon when he betrayed Christ. In the bath scene in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Şahinefendi (1212), the depiction of a naked person both as demon and as soldier underlines this double identity; see Restle 1967, vol. 2, pl. 423.

<sup>129</sup> Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 253; on Saint Marina and Beelzebub, see Lafontaine Dosogne 1962, 250–1; Warland 2008, 350; on Anastasia Pharmakolytria, see Baun 2007, 115, 166.



Fig. 5.23 Trikonchos (former Church of Saint George), general view with Weighing of the Souls, late 13th century (drawing), opposite Ortaköy, Cappadocia

Christ Emmanuel, now completely lost.<sup>130</sup> To the left of the door, the Dormition of the Virgin is depicted; in the context of the Weighing of the Souls, this can be understood as an invocation of the Mother of God for an individual's good death.<sup>131</sup>

The organisation of the murals around the inner entrance door in the Church of Saint George communicates a strong message about how to live a good Christian life and the Christian hopes for the afterlife.

The seven tables under the scales, too, can be given an allegorical meaning: most probably they represent the seven righteous men from the Book of Wisdom 10:1–21 (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Moses).<sup>132</sup> As a promise of God's compassion for mankind, the scales of justice incline slightly in favour of the individual soul.

Two further village churches which offer instructive examples should be mentioned here. The first is the Church of Saint Eustathios in Güzelöz (Eski Çami), which includes Paradise and the Last Judgement, executed by the same workshop as Saint George of Ortaköy.<sup>133</sup> Very little survives from the original decoration, while on the west wall only a few fragments

<sup>130</sup> See the photo in Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, pl. 237, 4.

<sup>131</sup> See also the quotation of Wisd. 3:1 in the Dormition of Güllüdere 4; Thierry 1983, 159.

<sup>132</sup> See Mack 1973, 79.

<sup>133</sup> A detailed description is given by Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 241–3. The name of the Church of Eustathios is referred to in Rott 1908, 151–3.





Fig. 5.24 Trikonchos (former Church of Saint George), Weighing of the Souls (detail), late 13th century (drawing), opposite Ortaköy, Cappadocia

survive, of the Virgin Mary, the Patriarchs and Hell. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Last Judgement occupied a major part of the church's decoration.

Based on the description by Hans Rott on his travels to Asia Minor before 1908, it is possible that the north wall of the Çanlı Kilise, near Çeltek, dating from the 13th century, included a Last Judgement<sup>134</sup> (presently nothing of its pictorial decoration remains): 'On the north wall the Last Judgement [is depicted], almost entirely destroyed. The horror of the naked sinners is expressed exquisitely.'<sup>135</sup>

Finally, the Canavar Kilise (recently called Yılanlı Kilise) in the Soğanlı Valley confirms these observations.<sup>136</sup> This church also belongs to the

<sup>134</sup> Ousterhout 2005, 42. On the local workshop of Çanlı Kilise, see Ousterhout 2017, 89–93, fig. 1.1; on the 13th-century dating of the paintings in the naos, see Warland 2013, 132–5.

<sup>135</sup> Rott 1908, 262.

<sup>136</sup> Weissbrod 2003, 238–9; Warland 2013, 123–4; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 277–80; Ousterhout 2017, 310–11.

Cappadocian type of double-nave chapels.<sup>137</sup> The funerary nave in the south contains two arcosolia framed with decorations of marble imitations and personal intercessors. In addition, the arcosolia (presumably of the patron and his wife) used to be visible from the nave through wide arches. Here, the votive portrait of a woman named Eudokia with projecting headdress (*phakiolion*) and a pseudo-Kufic decorative band is depicted next to Saint Catherine.<sup>138</sup>

The Last Judgement in the barrel vault reveals a new iconography. Paradise is accompanied by a medallion of Christ as the Ancient of Days (ὦ ΠΑΛΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ / Ο Παλαιός των Ημερών / *O Palaios ton Imeron*), following Daniel 7:9.<sup>139</sup> Amid the flowers of the Garden of Paradise, this medallion symbolises the hope of salvation in communion with God the Father, together with the Deesis with Christ in the apse. The Church of Saint Panteleimon in Nerezi (1161) near Skopje and the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria, where the naos vault dates from the 12th century, have similar medallions in their vaults.<sup>140</sup> This could reflect the widespread engagement with theological debates on the nature of the Trinity during the Komnenian period.<sup>141</sup>

The west side has angels with the Scroll of Heaven, trumpeting the arrival of the last day.<sup>142</sup> However, there are no scenes depicting Hell. In contrast, the snake scenes, which in modern times lent their name to the church, are part of a walled narthex, which was a free-standing addition to the northern liturgical nave. Tuff ashlar with Hell scenes (presently lost) were part of this narthex, which featured an iconographic programme with multiple registers (Fig. 5.25).<sup>143</sup> According to Hans Rott, the walled narthex was destroyed by a falling rock shortly before 1908.<sup>144</sup>

Only fragments of these painted ashlar are known: one of them depicts female bodies with snakes; another shows men amidst flames. Below their bodies, separated by a painted border, the beginning of a word referring to

<sup>137</sup> Ötügen 1982.

<sup>138</sup> Parani 2003, 78, fig. 86c; Warland 2014, 57–8, fig. 4; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, pl. 262.1.

<sup>139</sup> Taşkınpaşa, İçeridere Bağ Kilise (or Damsa church) also includes a medallion of the Ancient of Days; its poor condition, however, does not permit further discussion; see Wiemer-Enis 2000, 31; Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 279.

<sup>140</sup> On Nerezi, see Sinkevič 2000, 40–2; on Kastoria, see Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985, 21, fig. 19.

<sup>141</sup> Babić 1968, 368–86. <sup>142</sup> Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015.

<sup>143</sup> Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 277.

<sup>144</sup> Rott 1908, 143–4. Today many of the tuff blocks have been reused in window openings and walls of the inner courtyard.



Fig. 5.25 Canavar Kilise (Yılanlı Kilise), Sinners, late 13th century, wall painting (narthex), Soğanlı Valley, Cappadocia

the ‘Outer Darkness’ mentioned in Matthew 25:30 can be seen.<sup>145</sup> Hence, in Canavar Kilise, too, dating from the late 13th century, the scenes of Hell functioned as an admonition to those leaving the narthex.

\* \* \*

The examination of the Cappadocian Last Judgement cycles offers useful insights into the development of Byzantine iconography, starting in the late 9th century. The early Cappadocian monuments suggest a visual editing process of images linked to written sources.

The snakes exacting punishment in the Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara Valley provide one of the oldest depictions of Hell in Christian art; the elaborate biblical and apocalyptic salvation programme in the Ayvalı Kilise (Güllüdere 4) focuses mostly on Revelation 20:1–15 and on the iconography of the Deesis; the Hetoimasia with the cross of Christ’s Passion in Göreme 2b, and the regional version of subdivided image friezes, including the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the west wall in the İçeridere church near Bahçeli, all record early variants of the Byzantine iconography of the Last Judgement which was being disseminated in the late 9th and 10th

<sup>145</sup> Jolivet-Lévy with Lemaigre Demesnil 2015, 280.



centuries, before its establishment in the 11th century. Finally, the late Cappadocian Hell scenes dating to the 13th century are comparable to those found in the wider Mediterranean.

It could be suggested that, after the end of the Arab invasions, the mission of the twelve Apostles and the biblical promises for salvation were finding a new visual representation. The Apostle Tribunal becomes one of the fundamental elements of the iconography of the Last Judgement. The liturgical theology of Christ's death on the cross and the Hetoimasia exercised increasing influence on Christian prayer and funerary rites.

Scenes depicting Hell do not form an exclusive part of the salvation programmes of funerary chapels. They started as collective pictures and in time they focused on individuals. Around 1200, the tendency towards greater individualisation and the depiction of various forms of torment became apparent, as exemplified in the mural decoration in the monastery church of Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria.<sup>146</sup> Here, figures undergoing torment separately convey the severity of individual punishment. Such representations dominated the way of depicting punishments in Hell in 14th- and 15th-century Cretan monumental examples.<sup>147</sup>

The perceptions of punishment in the afterlife combined broad cultural and social traditions with legal practices.<sup>148</sup> Under the threat of divine justice, these traditions were employed for the purpose of moral education in general, and for the assertion of social and religious concepts of order in particular.<sup>149</sup> Hence, their location in parish churches aimed at moral education and focused increasingly on maintaining social and ecclesiastical order, by bringing together life and the afterlife.

<sup>146</sup> Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 16.79.

<sup>147</sup> Tsamakda 2012, 205–8. See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, 140–60 (section 3.5). As mentioned above (see n. 70) the juxtaposition of male and female sinners is also seen in Venetian Crete.

<sup>148</sup> See Gasparis in this volume, 91–103 (section 2.3).

<sup>149</sup> On social order, neighbourhoods, conflicts and punishments in ancient rural communities in general, see Schmitz 2004, 74–104; on religious order and punishments, see Müller 1961, 26–39; on sins committed within a rural society, see Gerstel 2002, 211–17.

## 6 | Damned in Hell, Damned in the Church

### Imagery and Space in Byzantium

ATHANASIOS SEMOGLOU\*

(TRANSLATED BY EIRINI PANOU)

*Έτσι στον κάτω κόσμο πλέρωνε τα κρίματά του*

*Ο Παμφύλιος ο Αρδιαίος, ο πανάθλιος Τύραννος.*

Γιώργος Σεφέρης, *Επί Ασπαλάθων*

The present chapter focuses on the particular relationship between the function of the church and the iconographical cycle of the Last Judgement during the Byzantine period. Through the examination of specific cases, it demonstrates that the selection, location and emphasis on certain categories of the damned, such as the Rich Man in the Lukan parable of the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), cannot be accidental and should not be regarded as such: they are often directly related to the use and the distinct nature of each monument in which they are included, often revealing issues of sponsorship. The present chapter is a purely interpretative attempt to approach the position and the role of the damned within the iconographical programme of a church as a main contributor to the formation of a soteriological perspective based on the ‘sin–punishment–redemption’ triptych.

The temporariness of the punishment in Hell and the wait in Paradise until the Last Judgement, found in some early medieval Western visions,<sup>1</sup> define the iconography of early Byzantine scenes of the Last Judgement.<sup>2</sup> It aims to instil vigilance in the faithful while ensuring the pedagogical and didactic character of the depiction. In several cases, the severity of the illustrated punishments of the sinners seems to have exerted influence over

\* I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Theodoros Korres, Emeritus Professor in the Department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki; to the Ephor of Antiquities of the prefecture of Kastoria, Ms Andromachi Skreka; and to art historian Dr Ioannis Sissiou, for providing me with their photographs and drawings.

<sup>1</sup> For example, the vision of the Anglo-Saxon monk Drithelm, as it is described in the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, an 8th-century work of the erudite Anglo-Saxon monk the Venerable Bede; see Cavagna 2010, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Angheben 2002.

heretics or infidels. In this respect, the case of the Bulgarian Tsar Boris II (969–77) is indicative. After viewing the depictions of Hell and the damned in a panel of the Last Judgement, Boris II was converted to Christianity and baptised, assuming the name of Michael.<sup>3</sup> The pedagogical value of the damned and their punishments was already projected at an early period, as illustrated in the early narrative of Dorotheos of Gaza (first half of the 6th century). Dorotheos recalled the story of a young heathen man who looked with attention and awe upon a depiction of Hell illustrated at the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane. This story is enriched by the wondrous tale of a ‘guided tour’, given by a majestic female figure dressed in purple, possibly the Virgin herself, who explains to the young man the sin committed by each of the damned depicted in the panel.<sup>4</sup>

The unceasing prayer for the deceased on the one hand and the constant struggle against sin on the other constitute standard characteristics of the composition of the Last Judgement. According to the Greek and Syriac apocryphal apocalyptic tradition, the intercession of the Virgin on behalf of the sinners is stimulated by the Theotokos herself viewing the terrible punishments of the damned during her posthumous journey to Hell under the escort of the Archangel Michael.<sup>5</sup>

It is likely that, in its secular meaning (and particularly in its institutional and procedural contexts), the very concept of judgement seems to legitimise an interpretation with secular implications for the origin of the iconography of the Judgement. This confirms the view first formulated by André Grabar.<sup>6</sup> As a direct granting of justice, and not as a *res judicata*, the Last Judgement alludes to the temporariness of the punishment as a secular, judicial judgement, while it is also suitable for the decoration of spaces connected with the exercise of state and judicial authority. An indication of the above view is the fact that a depiction of the Last Judgement existed during the 11th century in the throne room in the Palace of Blachernai, where, according to the model of Christ the Judge, the emperor exercised his judicial duties.<sup>7</sup> Similar in character must have been the engravings on wooden boards of the Last Judgement placed over the entrance of a large hall of a secular building in Iceland.<sup>8</sup> This panel raises questions both because of its early date (last quarter of the 11th

<sup>3</sup> Bekker 1838, 164.

<sup>4</sup> Regnault and Prévaille 1963, 127, ch. 3, vv. 13–21. The peculiar and particularly early depiction of Hell in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane should be related to the apocryphal and apocalyptic episode of the Descent of the Virgin to Hell; see Semoglou 2003, 51–2.

<sup>5</sup> Semoglou 2003, 52–5. See also Baun 2007. <sup>6</sup> Grabar 1936, 251–3.

<sup>7</sup> Magdalino and Nelson 1982, 124–5. <sup>8</sup> Johnsdottir 1959.

century) and its archaic iconographic features. The stylistic affinities of the scene with the art of Monte Cassino led to the hypothesis that its model could have been a manuscript, probably brought to Iceland from south Italy by Byzantine monks. Such a secular reading of the depiction, however, expands its interpretative potential by disentangling it from monuments of a strictly private character with an exclusively funereal content.

Characteristic in this respect is the case of the unfortunately fragmented but exceptionally early scene of the Last Judgement in the Church of Panagia ton Chalkeon (1028) in Thessaloniki, which was erected in a sector of the urban space for primarily public use. The impressive scale of the depiction of the Second Coming (Figs 6.1 a and b), extensively developed and painted on the curved surface of the arch and the vertical walls of the Panagia ton Chalkeon's narthex, is one of the first attempts to formulate this complicated theme in wall painting. At the same time, it raises several questions about the significance of the depiction, its function in the church, and ultimately the identity of the monument itself. The scene under discussion raises doubts regarding the exclusively burial character of the Last Judgement in the narthex of the monument, as well as questions about the ownership of the church and the precise function of the panel within it.<sup>9</sup>

From the perspective of the composition's structure, the Deesis is placed on the axis of the main entrance door towards the nave. The orders of angels frame the enthroned Judge and are gathered around him and behind the seats of the Apostles, who extend along the eastern wall. The scenes with the righteous in Paradise and the punishments of the damned (this part of the work does not survive) were placed to the north and to the south of the Deesis, respectively, occupying the remaining surface.<sup>10</sup> The continuous circular movement of the episodes composing the whole depiction suggests that it was originally intended to cover curved surfaces, and indicates its role as a piece of monumental decoration. Besides, the first depictions of the Judgements<sup>11</sup> and the eschatological Old Testament

<sup>9</sup> The interpretation of this depiction and the function of the Panagia ton Chalkeon have been the subject of a paper at the 35th Symposium of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art of the Christian Archaeological Society, and a detailed publication on the matter is forthcoming; see the published summary in Ntafou and Semoglou 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Papadopoulos 1966, 57–76.

<sup>11</sup> The 6th-century circular ceramic Barberini plaque, today in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, which depicts Christ the Judge seated frontally amidst two groups of seated apostles (see Ross 1962, 75–6 and pl. L); the miniature of the Last Judgement in the manuscript of Kosmas Indikopleustis, the famous 9th-century codex Vat. Gr. 699, copy of a 6th-century work (see Grabar 1936, 250–2; Stornajolo 1908, pl. 49); and the 6th-century miniatures with the representation of Pilate's Judgement in the Codex Purpureus Rossanensis (fol. 8r and 8v),



Fig. 6.1a Church of Panagia ton Chalkeon, Last Judgement (detail), 1028, wall painting, Thessaloniki

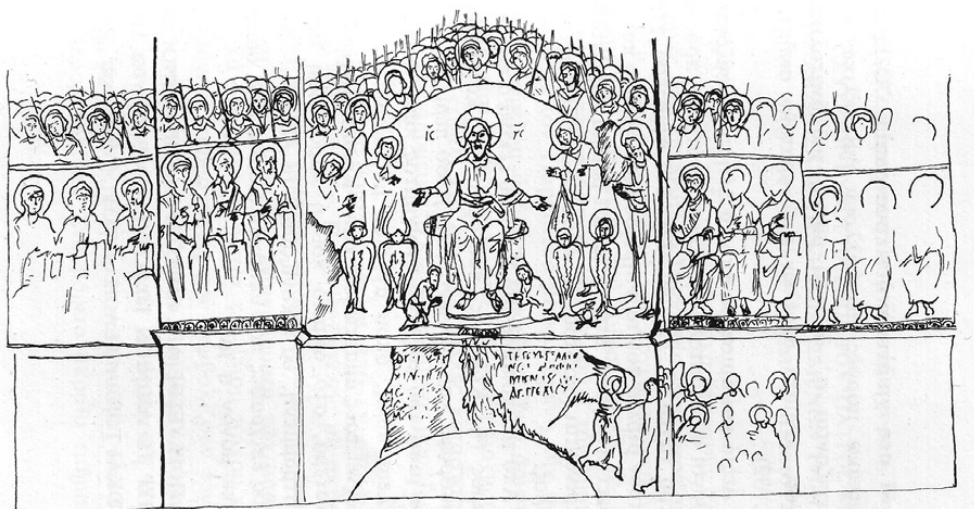


Fig. 6.1b Church of Panagia ton Chalkeon, Last Judgement (detail), 1028, wall painting (drawing), Thessaloniki

which is decorated on top with a semicircle, betray their origin from monumental decoration; see Weitzmann 1979, nos 443, 492–3.

visions of the *Maiestas Domini* type in the capital itself, Constantinople, seem also to have been of monumental character.<sup>12</sup>

The depiction, however, of the Last Judgement in monumental paintings, established during the middle Byzantine period in the framework of the formation of the dynastic ideology of the Macedonians (particularly in their systematic attempt to consolidate their power over justice)<sup>13</sup> is markedly distant from the early formalities of the transitional visions of the Last Judgement of the first millennium. Such visions can be found, for example, in the wall decoration of the Cappadocian monument in İceridere, dated to the second half of the 9th century,<sup>14</sup> as well as in the hybrid abbreviated relief decoration in the derelict Church of Saint George of Iosubani in Raca, Western Georgia, dated to the 9th to the 10th century,<sup>15</sup> which attempts to apply the new iconography of the Last Judgement to the old pattern of an 'eschatological' vision. The only latent presence of the concept of granting justice, on the one hand, and the almost complete absence of a clearly articulated antithetical scheme of punishing the sinners and rewarding the righteous, on the other, characterise the aforementioned panels mostly as eschatological remains and less as comprehensive formulations of the Last Judgement during the Second Coming.

In addition to this, the location of the composition, which was gradually established during the middle Byzantine period as the usually dark western side of the naos or in the narthex (opposite the luminous eastern apse), aims to remind the parish leaving the church of its obligations and duty to reach heavenly Paradise.<sup>16</sup> In this respect, the concept of judgement is defined, strengthened and embodied in clearer terms compared to the past,<sup>17</sup> in prayer books (*euchologia*) and funerary liturgies, performed according to the middle Byzantine monastic Constantinopolitan *typika* in the narthex of monastic churches.<sup>18</sup> To accentuate the significance of

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the *Maiestas Domini* in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, dated to the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 10th century, which formed part of the monumental mosaic decoration in the vault of the southern gallery and is known from the drawings of Cornelius Loos; and the decoration in the dome of the church of Stylianos Zaoutzas (886–93), which we know from the description of his brother-in-law, Emperor Leo VI; see Woodfin 2003–4, 48.

<sup>13</sup> See Chitwood 2012. See also Kambouri-Vamvoukou 2009, 322–5.

<sup>14</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2007a. See also Warland in this volume, 268, who disagrees with this date.

<sup>15</sup> Iamanidze 2014, 808–9. See also Iamanidze 2015. I would like to thank my dear friend and colleague, who has entrusted me with the content of her research.

<sup>16</sup> Kessler 2004, 125.

<sup>17</sup> The sense of judgement possibly infiltrates into the early Christian apse depictions where, however, it is not formulated in a distinctive manner; see Spieser 2010. On the distinction between the eschatological visions and the visions of the Last Judgement with the period of Iconoclasm as a point of reference, see Christe 1973.

<sup>18</sup> See Gkioles 2007–9, 143–4.



judgement, the punishments of the damned are clearly defined, while, in parallel with the consolidation of the location of the Last Judgement in the narthex,<sup>19</sup> the new structure of composition is organised based on the strictly vertical alignment of the depiction. The dissemination of the vertical arrangement of the composition of the Last Judgement was probably consolidated by monastic manuscripts, such as the Studite tetraevangelion from the second half of the 11th century, mainly the famous Paris BnF gr. 74, which includes two depictions of the Last Judgement (fol. 51v and fol. 93v; see Fig. 4.2 in this volume).<sup>20</sup>

The vertical layout of the scene was established not only in minor works of art and portable icons (for example in Sinaitic icons nos 150 and 151, dated to the end of the 11th and to the middle of the 12th century respectively,<sup>21</sup> and in the well-known ivory tile in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, probably dated to the 12th century;<sup>22</sup> see Fig. 4.1 in this volume), but also in examples of monumental art as illustrated in the Basilica of Sant'Angelo in Formis, dated around 1080,<sup>23</sup> and in the 12th-century scenes at Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello<sup>24</sup> and in the grotta del Crocifisso in the Sicilian city of Lentini.<sup>25</sup> Correspondingly, the vertical organisation was adopted and widely disseminated in the relief decoration on the facade doors of Western cathedrals in both Romanesque and Gothic traditions.<sup>26</sup>

By contrast, the detailed manifestation in certain monuments of the punishment of sins, effectively their projection in public, threatening potential sinners with castigation, directly relates to the *pittura infamante*, which spread to the Italian urban centres of the late Middle Ages from the 13th century onwards.<sup>27</sup> For example, the damned depicted in the exonarthex of the Virgin Mary in the Ljeviška Cathedral in Prizren (1313) in Kosovo are accompanied by detailed inscriptions explaining their misconduct, while the execution of their sentence is clearly formulated and the instrument of their punishment is identified as the means by which they committed their injustice.<sup>28</sup>

As already mentioned, the position chosen for the damned in the church can be fully understood based on its didactic, educational and preventative character. This was possibly a repercussion of early Western medieval

<sup>19</sup> See Tomeković 1988; Bache 1989; Todić 1997.

<sup>20</sup> Tsuji 1975. See also Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 261–2.

<sup>21</sup> Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1958 (vol. 2), 118–31; Weitzmann 1978, 23. <sup>22</sup> Christe 1999, 27.

<sup>23</sup> Pace and Angheben 2007, 61. <sup>24</sup> Andreescu 1976, fig. 8. <sup>25</sup> Piazza 2015, fig. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Baschet 1993, 143–6; 163–4. <sup>27</sup> Ortalli 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Panić and Babić 1975, pl. XLVI. See also Miljković 2007, 179, figs 5, 6.



perceptions that conceived of the execution of a criminal not as the simple enforcement of punishment, but as a form of sacrifice dedicated to the divine, assigning a sacred character to public executions.<sup>29</sup> Several categories of the damned, such as the Rich Man in the well-known Lukan parable of the Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), hold an important position among the sinners established in Byzantine iconography, as part of the framework of an autonomous parabolical scene<sup>30</sup> and also as part of a wider composition of the Last Judgement.<sup>31</sup> These categories of the damned can provide further evidence of their particular role in the composition, contributing even towards the determination of the character of the monument itself.

The scene of the Rich Man from the Lukan parable as preserved in the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria (see vol. 2, Map 6) offers a decisive example in understanding its structural role in the depiction of the Last Judgement and its subsequent dissemination and popularity. It forms part of one of the earliest depictions of the Last Judgement in Byzantine art, since it belongs to the first layer of wall-painting decoration, dated to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century.<sup>32</sup> The visual narrative of the Last Judgement in the Kastorian monument is developed in a similar way to that seen in the Panagia ton Chalkeon: in the narthex and along the barrel vaulting, on the walls and on the sides of the staircase leading to the gallery. The Deesis is placed on the west side of the barrel vaulting and above the western door of the narthex, and constitutes the nucleus of the composition. The enthroned Apostles are depicted on the east side of the barrel vaulting, while on the north side the episode of the Weighing of Souls is depicted, with angels pushing sinners towards Hell.

The depiction of the Rich Man in the Kastorian monument forms part of the scenes of Hell portrayed in the space around the staircase leading to the north-west gallery of the church (Figs 6.2, 6.3).<sup>33</sup> On the inner side of the staircase and at the level of the gallery, a figure of unusually large scale is depicted burning in flames (Fig. 6.4).<sup>34</sup> Both its iconography<sup>35</sup> and the remains of the inscription between the legs of the figure leave no doubt that

<sup>29</sup> For this reason, political executions in the West were performed in public spaces, such as the market, and they had obvious didactic content, since punishment functioned as a protective measure for the community against those who were considered dangerous; see Vanhemelryck 2010, 125.

<sup>30</sup> In the katholikon of Dečani, dated 1335–47/8, the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus is depicted along with other parables on the northern and western walls of the southern chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas; see Mantas 2012, figs 8–9.

<sup>31</sup> According to Maria Vassilaki, the sinful Rich Man was included in the scene of the Last Judgement from the 11th century onwards; see Vassilaki 1998, 482, and n. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Siomkos 2005, 91–9, sch. 5, nos 67–78. <sup>33</sup> Siomkos 2005, sch. 6, nos 77–8.

<sup>34</sup> Siomkos 2005, fig. 46. <sup>35</sup> On the iconography of the Rich Man, see Mantas 2010, 292–312.

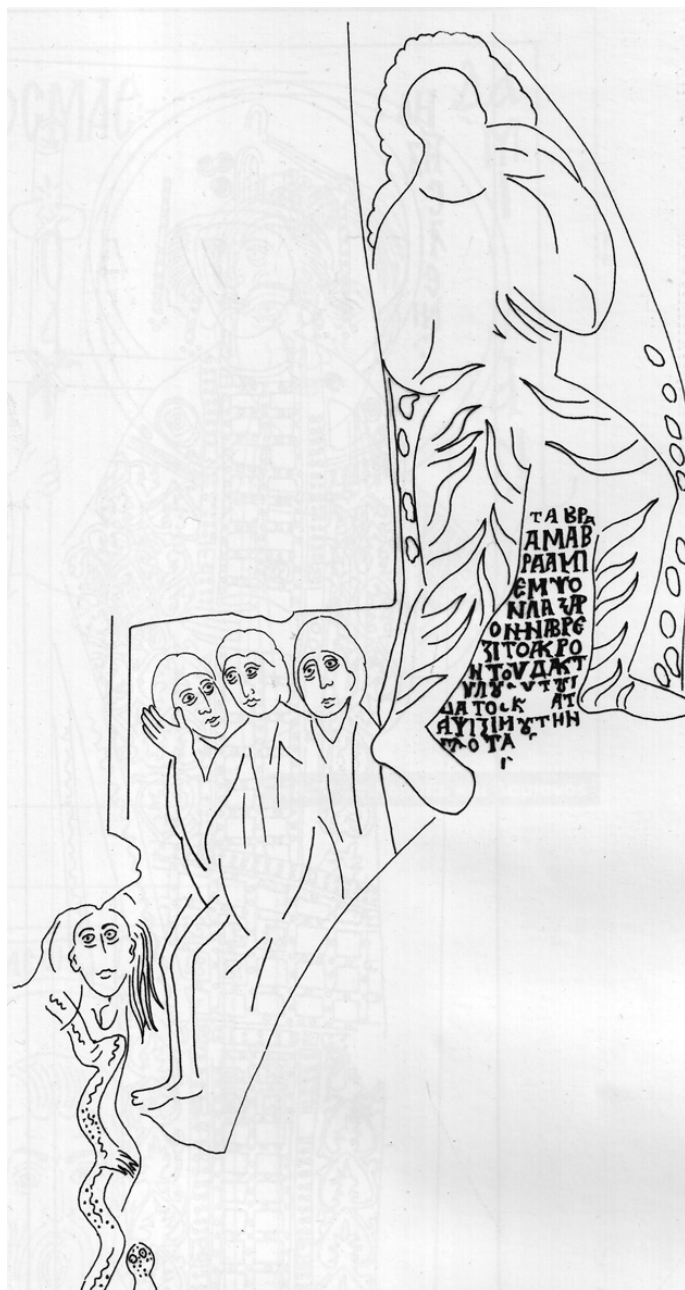


Fig. 6.2 Church of Saint Stephen, Sinners, end of 9th century to beginning of 10th century, wall painting (drawing), Kastoria



Fig. 6.3 Church of Saint Stephen, Sinners, end of 9th century to beginning of 10th century, wall painting, Kastoria

it is the Rich Man of Saint Luke's Gospel,<sup>36</sup> rather than a flaming Hades holding a snake, as has been suggested in the past.<sup>37</sup> The sinful Rich Man

<sup>36</sup> Sotiris Kissas read the inscription and has correctly associated it with the parable of Saint Luke (16:24); see Kissas 1994.

<sup>37</sup> Moutsopoulos 1992, 270, 272. The same identification is included in the guide of the Ministry of Culture, Eleventh Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities 2008, nos 41, 23.





Fig. 6.4 Church of Saint Stephen, Rich Man (detail), end of 9th century to beginning of 10th century, wall painting, Kastoria

brings his left hand to the level of his mouth, a gesture repeated almost identically in several examples, such as in Neredica in Novgorod, dated 1199,<sup>38</sup> in Saint Peter, dated 1232,<sup>39</sup> and in Saint George in Kalyvia Kouvaras in Attica, dated around the middle of the 13th century.<sup>40</sup> The rest of the figures depicted in the narthex of Saint Stephen in Kastoria can

<sup>38</sup> Pivovarova 2002, 82, fig. 64.    <sup>39</sup> Panselinou 1987–8, 184, fig. 12.

<sup>40</sup> Mouriki 1975–6, pl. 85.

be identified as other sinners, such as the currently not well preserved figure of a woman encircled by snakes placed at the base of the staircase.<sup>41</sup>

The depiction of the Rich Man in the Kastorian monument is very important, because it is one of the earliest surviving examples in Byzantine iconography incorporating certain special characteristics that are not attested in other works. For example, the Rich Man's extremely large-scale (almost life-size) proportions; his individual depiction, without the presence of the patriarch Abraham with the Poor Lazarus in his arm;<sup>42</sup> his upright stance combined with his dynamic upward movement towards the gallery, to the west of the church – all give an extraordinary sense of drama to the whole composition. These characteristics render the Rich Man in Saint Stephen unique in relation to his typical iconography; he is commonly presented in small scale, seated on fire or in a fiery lake, with no differentiation in scale from the rest of the sinners.<sup>43</sup>

What led to this unique and eye-catching depiction that singles out the sinful Rich Man of the Lukan parable from the rest of the Last Judgement sinners in the Church of Saint Stephen?

To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the space provided for the depiction under discussion. In particular, it is important to consider the use and function of the gallery towards which the Rich Man of the evangelical parable is moving, following its upward course through the small staircase.

The use of galleries remains an open question that continues to pre-occupy researchers, in relation to the type of church where they are found and to the historical conditions and attitudes of their sponsors. For example, in some episcopal churches, galleries may have accommodated the administrative needs of their metropole, as was the case in Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.<sup>44</sup> In the monastic churches, based on the example of the Monastery of the Great Lavra at Mount Athos, the presence of galleries could be connected to the preservation of valuable documents or vessels;<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Siomkos 2005, fig. 46.

<sup>42</sup> Based on the available surface, it is unlikely that Abraham with Lazarus were part of the scene in the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria.

<sup>43</sup> Out of the numerous examples in monumental painting, see for example: the church at Torcello (Chatzidakis 1994, 165, fig. 151); the chapel of the monastery of Chora in Constantinople, with a *terminus ante quem* 1321 (Underwood 1966, pl. 397); and all the Cretan examples in Lymberopoulou in this volume, 147 (no. 22) and 155.

<sup>44</sup> Kissas 1990.

<sup>45</sup> The owner and abbot of the monastery of the Great Lavra, Saint Athanasios the Great, states in his will that this document should be kept by the monk and ecclesiarch Michael at the *κατηχούμεναι* of the katholikon, which were identified with the gallery situated above the narthex; see Meyer 1965, 123.

to workshops that copied manuscripts (*scriptoria*), as has been argued for the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki;<sup>46</sup> or to private libraries, the most prominent example being the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.<sup>47</sup> It has been argued that the galleries above the narthexes in private churches may have also been used as hermitages by their donors.<sup>48</sup> In most cases, however, the galleries in the *katholika* or in churches that involved donations from emperors or local officials and wealthy parishioners were used exclusively by them to attend the divine liturgy while maintaining their privacy. In the case of Saint Stephen in Kastoria in particular, an arched opening on the eastern side of the gallery enabled visual contact with the central aisle and the observation of the liturgy in complete seclusion.<sup>49</sup>

The privacy of the gallery in Saint Stephen is supported, and ultimately confirmed, by its decoration and, in particular, by the cycle of Saint Anne (exceptionally rare in Byzantine art)<sup>50</sup> placed in its northern part.<sup>51</sup> The small-scale iconographical cycle contains four depictions, which survive only partly and in very poor condition today: the apocryphal and extremely rare episode of Anne's reproach by her servant;<sup>52</sup> Anne's prayer; the Annunciation to Saint Anne and a fourth scene which unfortunately has not been preserved. The worship of Saint Anne in the gallery of Saint Stephen must have had a private character, and for this reason it survived during the Palaiologan period, as is evident from the depictions of Saint Anne nursing the Virgin (*lactans*) in the small pier of the gallery window and Saint Anne holding the Virgin in a small conch on the south-eastern side of the gallery's chapel.<sup>53</sup>

It is highly likely that the privacy of the gallery space in the Kastorian monument also dictated the specific choice of the depiction of the Rich Man of the evangelical parable. It is possible that this particular iconography reflected the personal desire of the donor/sponsor of the iconographical programme of the first layer, to which the cycle of the Last Judgement belongs. The Rich Man is depicted as a sinner who has already accepted his sins, suffered the punishments and torture of Hell, managed to reach the last step of the ladder,<sup>54</sup> and implores Abraham to send him Lazarus to relieve his torment and alleviate his thirst, in accordance with the passage

<sup>46</sup> Velenis 2001, 9, n. 11. <sup>47</sup> Ousterhout 1987, 51. See also Semoglou 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Ćurčić 1993. See also Ćurčić 2000. <sup>49</sup> Siomkos 2005, sch. 6. <sup>50</sup> See Panou 2018.

<sup>51</sup> Siomkos 2005, 103–10. <sup>52</sup> See Thierry 1996.

<sup>53</sup> Siomkos 2005, 271–8, sch. 6, nos a and b, figs 122 and 123.

<sup>54</sup> The depiction of the Rich Man here could evoke the eschatological monastic theme of the spiritual ladder of Saint John Klimakos, which was formed during the 11th century under the influence of the Last Judgement; see Martin 1954.

from Luke (16:24), which is displayed to an unusual extent in an equally unusual position, on the surface between the feet of the sinner.

The rich sinner's cry for redemption, even at the last minute, seems also to be demonstrated in some cases with particular emphasis, supporting the view of Marcello Angehen on the temporary nature of the judgement of the Last Judgement.<sup>55</sup> The eschatological juxtaposition of the Poor Lazarus in the arms of Abraham as an ideal image of Paradise<sup>56</sup> and of the bare naked Rich Man amidst fire did not always confirm or underline a generalised rhetorical type of contrast,<sup>57</sup> as exemplified in the Dečani katholikon, dated 1335–47/8,<sup>58</sup> where the same juxtaposition creates a moral type of dipole: the reward of the virtuous poor on the one hand and the condemnation of the sinful rich on the other.<sup>59</sup> On the contrary, Lazarus' close proximity in many examples to the Rich Man and the portrayal of their dialogical relationship contradicts the evangelical commentary, according to which 'between us and you a great chasm has been set in place, so that those who want to go from here to you cannot, nor can anyone cross over from there to us' (Luke 16:26),<sup>60</sup> while at the same time it may trigger feelings of compassion towards the sinful rich. In several examples, moreover, when Abraham stretches his hand towards the Rich Man, one can discern a clear soteriological perspective that is in full agreement with the comments of the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos on the memorial service for the deceased during the eucharistic liturgy, when he invites all to join the Prophets, the Apostles and the Hierarchs and share the banquet

<sup>55</sup> Angehen 2002. <sup>56</sup> Brenk 1966, 101–2. <sup>57</sup> Maguire 1981, 53–9.

<sup>58</sup> Cvetković 2011, 34 and fig. 10. In the case of Dečani, in particular, the parable of the Rich Man is narrated in a small cycle that consists of four scenes: the Rich Man's dinner; the death of the Rich Man and of the Poor Lazarus; their burial; and the condemnation of the Rich Man to the fire of Hell and the reward of the Poor Lazarus in the arms of Abraham. It is worth noting the manner of depicting the burial of the two protagonists of the parable, unique in Byzantine iconography, in which the lavish burial of the Rich Man in his luxurious garments inside the marble sarcophagus is contrasted with the burial of the naked Poor Lazarus, placed on a straw mattress. At the same time, both the reward of the Poor Lazarus with the transfer of his soul to Heaven by two angels, as well as the punishment of the anxious, moribund Rich Man by an angel trying to harpoon his soul with a trident, are shown in a particularly vivid manner.

<sup>59</sup> See the view of the late Miltos Garidis, who, in the depiction of the Rich Man, recognises 'a certain concession on a social level that aims at satisfying the vast poor masses of the faithful'; see Garidis 1985, 86. However, it should be noted that the iconography of the righteous poor man as a distinctive category of the scene of the Last Judgement and, as an artistic interpretation of the passage of Matthew (ch. 25), appears during the post-Byzantine period; see Simić-Lazar 1987, 177. Therefore, a sociological approach to the depiction of the Rich Man, which is based exclusively on its juxtaposition with the Poor Lazarus, cannot be taken for granted, at least for the early Byzantine works.

<sup>60</sup> χάσμα μέγα ἐστίηται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ οἱ ἐκείθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν.



with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the secret supper of the Kingdom of God.<sup>61</sup> Characteristic are the works of the Armenian codices 212, dated 1337, and 6230, dated 1356–8, of the Matenadaran library in Yerevan (fols 209r and 428r, respectively),<sup>62</sup> which attest the above gesture of the patriarch towards the Rich Man. Similarly, in Autun Cathedral in France, dated to the 12th century, the sinful Rich Man rushes towards the Poor Lazarus in the arms of Abraham, begging for mercy and, ultimately, redemption.<sup>63</sup>

It is worth noting that in the Western medieval tradition, the repose from suffering in Purgatory, which is controversial for the Orthodox Church and presented a massive point of dispute in the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438–9,<sup>64</sup> is made possible through prayers and memorial supplications. The miniature in fol. 110c of the manuscript MS français 12465 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, is indicative because of its correspondence with the message of the parable of the Rich Man. The miniature dates back to 1396 and illustrates a verse from the poem ‘The Pilgrimage of the Soul’ by the French Cistercian monk Guillaume de Digulleville. The visual testimony of the repose from tortures consists in relieving the burning, supplicating souls of the damned by angels, who are portrayed irrigating them with the cool water of the grace of God.<sup>65</sup>

Based on all the above and in conjunction with the privacy of the Kastorian monument’s gallery, it would be reasonable to suggest that the image of the Rich Man of the Lukan parable functions as an artistic interpretation of the supplication of the sinful donor/sponsor ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (‘for salvation and forgiveness of his sins’), in accordance with the multitude of dedicatory inscriptions from this period that preserve such eschatological invocations.<sup>66</sup> Sin is inherent in the punishment, while at the same time it acts as a means towards salvation, thanks to repentance and sponsorship as a devotional act.<sup>67</sup>

It is worth remembering that every believer addresses the Virgin as a sinner, begging for her intercession with Christ. The supplication of the (inherently) sinful believer is the central theme of the parakletic canon of

<sup>61</sup> Meyendorff 1984, 101. <sup>62</sup> Mantas 2010, figs 226 and 227. <sup>63</sup> Angheben 2001, 76.

<sup>64</sup> Marinis 2017a, 74–81, 133. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 26–7.

<sup>65</sup> Cavagna 2010, 203.

<sup>66</sup> See the unpublished doctoral thesis of Anastasiadou 2005, vol. A, 175–6.

<sup>67</sup> The imperial portrait of the sinful emperor, the alleged Leo VI, on the lintel of the Imperial Gate that leads from the narthex to the naos of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople illustrates this view; see Oikonomides 1976. The emperor is shown in *proskynesis* before the enthroned Christ, a posture that manifests his repentance; see Oikonomides 1976, 156; see also Dagron 1996, 129–38. Both the act of repentance and the intervention of the Theotokos, who is shown in a medallion exactly above Leo VI, effectuate his ultimate salvation, which is visually demonstrated in the emperor’s placement to the right of Christ.

Theodore Studites, which was read in monasteries every Friday during vespers from the 12th century.<sup>68</sup> According to the *typikon* of the monastery of the Virgin Evergetis, the same canon was already a part of the *pannychis* (a vigil more usually known as ἀγρυπνία<sup>69</sup>) for the deceased brothers from the 11th century.<sup>70</sup> During the middle and late Byzantine period, the scroll borne by Panagia Paraklesis or Eleousa has a codified dialogue between the Virgin Mary, who intercedes for the sinners, and Christ, who in the end concedes to the persistent supplication of His mother, granting the βροτῶν σωτηρίαν.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, in the majority of dedicatory inscriptions, the donor's offer also aims at redeeming his sins, guaranteeing protection and intercession, and his ultimate salvation.<sup>72</sup> The image, therefore, of an inherently sinful donor in anticipation of his judgement, based on the rich written epigraphic material<sup>73</sup> and on the monumental decoration of some churches,<sup>74</sup> is fully aligned with the depiction of the sinful Rich Man of the parable. The aforementioned hypothesis seems to be further strengthened by the fact that the donor would have almost certainly belonged to the ruling or upper class:<sup>75</sup> either to the military aristocracy,<sup>76</sup> as in the case of the

<sup>68</sup> Eustratiadis 1931, 84–7. <sup>69</sup> Cross and Livingstone 2005, 1222.

<sup>70</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko 1991, 52, n. 58.

<sup>71</sup> Djordjević and Marković 2000–1. See also Semoglou 2003, 56–9.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, the 12th-century verse inscriptions at the base of the apse's conch in Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou and in Trikomo in Cyprus, as well as the inscription that accompanies the dedicatory portrait of Nikephoros on the southern wall of Asinou; see Patterson-Ševčenko 2012, 77–9. For Asinou, see also Weyl Carr in this volume, 354–63.

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, the inscription dated to 897 from the Church of Saints Nicholas, Basil and Hypatius in Germokoloneia of Galatia in Asia Minor, where the owner, *stratoras* and *drouggarios* Gregoras, describes himself as a humble man and a sinner; see Mentzou-Meimari 1977–9, 108, no. 154; also the inscription dated 994/5 in a chancel plaque (*thorakion*) that mentions the donation of the templon to the newly erected Church of Saint George by the sinful Leo for the forgiveness of his sins and of his family; see Grégoire 1922, 121–2, no. 338. For other examples, see also Rhoby 2010, 317–22.

<sup>74</sup> An interesting case is mentioned in an epigram of Nicholas Kalliklis on the representation of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) to the left of Christ the Judge in a depiction of the Last Judgement in the Palace of Blachernai; see Romano 1980, 101–2, no. 24. See also the inclusion of donors both in the early composition of the Last Judgement in Ateni, Georgia, dated to the end of the 11th century (Velmans and Alpagó Novello 1996, 100–1, fig. 73) and the later, similar depiction in the narthex of Saint Herakleidiou of the Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis at Kalopanayiotis in Cyprus, dated to the end of the 15th century. In the last example, although the donors are depicted parallel to the congregation of the righteous, they are actually placed to the left of Christ, exactly above the panel of the fiery river with the damned; thus, they are portrayed as sinners; see De Cholet 1984. See also Weyl Carr in this volume, 368–75.

<sup>75</sup> The late Professor Nikos Oikonomides presented a paper during the 15th Symposium of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology of the Christian Archaeological Society on the relationship between the upper class and sponsorship during the middle Byzantine period; see Oikonomides 1995.

<sup>76</sup> Panayotidi 1989, 308.

corresponding founder of the Cappadocian Churches of Bahattin Samanlığı and of Saint George (Karagedik) in the valley of Peristremma (Belisırma),<sup>77</sup> or to the upper class more broadly, as in the case of the founder of the Virgin Mary in Skripou, dated 873/4, in Orchomenos of Boiotia,<sup>78</sup> and the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki.<sup>79</sup>

If the sinner of the Lukan parable can, however, be associated with the donor of Saint Stephen's Church, a corresponding identification could be suggested for the sinful woman encircled by snakes at the bottom of the staircase under a small seated group of three interposed sinners, with her back turned on the Rich Man. Due to her location, it is possible that the female sinner could, in this case, be associated with the depiction of the Rich Man. Her portrait could be related either to the female fornicator,<sup>80</sup> or to the slanderer, or to the gossip, or to the woman who did not nurse her own children (or those of others), or to the woman who took precautions against conceiving and/or aborted her child, or even to the woman who did not give offerings to God or to the church. These identifications could be made on the basis of numerous examples, such as the Yılanlı Kilise in the Ihlara Valley of Cappadocia, dated to the 10th century,<sup>81</sup> the monastery church of Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria, dated to the 11th–12th century,<sup>82</sup> Ai Stratigos at Boularioi in Mani, dated to the late 12th century,<sup>83</sup> the Metropolis in Mystras, dated after 1292,<sup>84</sup> the Church of Saint Nicholas in Kalotina, Bulgaria, dated 1331–7,<sup>85</sup> and several examples from Crete that are included in the present volume.<sup>86</sup>

Such a proposed interpretation for the depiction of the female sinner at the base of the staircase leading to the gallery is, like the depiction of the Rich Man, in accordance with the private use of the gallery. The association of Saint Anne's cycle with infertility and a good birth,<sup>87</sup> as well as the individual depictions of Saint Anne holding and nursing the Virgin (confirming the continuation of her cult at the same location during the

<sup>77</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2009. <sup>78</sup> Prieto-Domínguez 2013 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>79</sup> Evangelidis 1954, 10 and pl. 1δ.

<sup>80</sup> Meyer 2009. For the translation 'fornicator', see Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 98–9 and 157–8 respectively.

<sup>81</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2007b, 49, fig. 10. See also Warland in this volume, 241–52 (section 5.2).

<sup>82</sup> Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 81β.

<sup>83</sup> Drandakis 1995, 462, fig. 75. See also Gerstel and Katsafados in this volume, 331.

<sup>84</sup> Garidis 1985, pl. XLV, fig. 90. <sup>85</sup> Gerov and Kirin 1993–4, 58, fig. 15.

<sup>86</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, Chapter 3.

<sup>87</sup> It is worth noting that Byzantine emperors, such as Justinian II (685–95 and 705–11) and Leo VI (886–912), erected chapels dedicated to Saint Anne in order to facilitate and protect the pregnancy of their wives; see Panou 2015, 194–5.

Palaiologan period),<sup>88</sup> may be mostly related to the depiction of sinful women who either refused to nurse or took measures against conceiving and/or had an abortion.

The relationship between the gallery of Saint Stephen in Kastoria and the question of childbirth is confirmed by the rest of the decoration of the first phase. The presence of a family portrait, probably of Saint Theopisti with her children, Theopistos and Agapios, on the one side of the soffit of the arch of the opening of the gallery, along with the depiction either of the Virgin Dexiokratousa or of Elizabeth with young John the Baptist in her arms on the opposite side,<sup>89</sup> reinforce this particular connection between the gallery and women. The selection of the depiction of Panagia Glykofilousa in the drum of the external wall of the western door, which is also one of the earliest images of this iconographic type of the Theotokos in Byzantine art, may well relate to this.<sup>90</sup>

This hypothetical interpretation is based on the simultaneous examination of the iconographical programme of the gallery at Saint Stephen with its use and function not only as a space reserved for women, suggested by Sharon E. J. Gerstel,<sup>91</sup> but also as a private familial area. This could lead to the overall reconsideration of the identity and use of the Kastorian monument.

Until now, the presence of a small synthronon in the conch of the holy bema and the existence of the gallery has led some researchers to support the view that Saint Stephen was an episcopal church,<sup>92</sup> while others suggest its association with the katholikon of a monastery.<sup>93</sup> The relatively small dimensions of the monument do not correspond to the episcopal character of a middle Byzantine church, while the depiction of the Last Judgement in the narthex does not belie monastic use,<sup>94</sup> at least in the first phase of the monument. Correspondingly, and despite the opposing views that have

<sup>88</sup> Siomkos 2005, 277–8. See also Gerstel 1998, 96–7.

<sup>89</sup> Siomkos 2005, sch. 6, nos 10 and 11, figs 53–4. <sup>90</sup> Siomkos 2005, sch. 5, no. 79, fig. 60.

<sup>91</sup> Gerstel 1998, 96–7. <sup>92</sup> Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985, 6 and 14.

<sup>93</sup> Wharton Epstein 1980, 200–1, Moutsopoulos 1992, 498; Siomkos 2001; Siomkos 2005, 297–8.

<sup>94</sup> The relationship between episcopal churches and the depiction of the sufferings of the damned in the composition of the Last Judgement seems to be supported by several surviving examples, such as the Episkopi of Mani (see Drandakis 1995, 174, fig. 27; Drandakis 1988, 189 – though it should be noted that Titos Papamastorakis has argued that the church was initially privately owned and that it later received the appellation ‘episkopi’; see Papamastorakis 1987, 155–7); the Metropolis at Mystra, dated 1291–2 (Dufrenne 1970, pl. 9, sch. VIa and b); the church of the Holy Trinity at Sopoćani, 1263–8 (which kral Uroš was planning to use as a cathedral; see Djurić 1963, 40–9 and Mijović 1967b); the Virgin Ljeviška at Prizren, dated 1313 (see Panić and Babić 1975, 130); and Hagia Sophia at Ochrid, in the southern part of the exonarthex’s gallery, dated 1350–5; see Grozdanov 1980, sch. 25.

already been formulated, the monumental Last Judgement in the Panagia ton Chalkeon, placed in the narthex, does not support its identification as a *katholikon*,<sup>95</sup> at least during the initial phase of its construction and decoration.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, the selection of a limited number of male and female monastic portraits in the narthex and the soffits of the south-west and north-west arches facing the narthex in Saint Stephen also do not favour a monastic use for the Kastorian monument. Rather, this practice is observed in both the decoration of the narthex of Hagia Sophia of Thessaloniki after its large-scale renovation following the earthquake of 1037/8<sup>97</sup> and in the interior of the soffits of the arches of the tribelon towards the narthex in the decoration of the Old Metropolis in Veroia, which Thanasis Papazotos dates to the first phase of its decoration, dated 1215/16–24/5.<sup>98</sup>

The familial character of the iconographic programme of the gallery, combined with the selection of and emphasis on the sinful but repentant Rich Man and on the sinful woman in the scene of the Last Judgement, is probably indicative of an edifice sponsored privately, perhaps on behalf of a representative of the military aristocracy of the city of Kastoria. This should, however, be considered as a dedication to the Church or the city rather than as personal property: a case comparable with the Church of Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, where private sponsorship and ecclesiastical authority over a religious edifice in the city coexisted.<sup>99</sup> The choice of the architectural type of the basilica, despite its restricted dimensions (a point probably directly related to private sponsorship), and the existence of a synthronon (a detail that should not be overlooked, since it is currently the only known example among the Byzantine monuments of the city of Kastoria),<sup>100</sup> further strengthened the relationship of the church with the ecclesiastical authority of the city. However, it should be noted that the proposed interpretation only relates to the initial use of the monument, and does not extend to its later history, which could not exclude its function as a monastery's *katholikon*.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>95</sup> See the recent article Paissidou 2015, where the author puts forward an interpretation of an urban monastery.

<sup>96</sup> Ntafou and Semoglou 2015. <sup>97</sup> Leventeli 2011, 29–57 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>98</sup> Papazotos 1994, 168. <sup>99</sup> Ntafou and Semoglou 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Siomkos 2005, 25. Siomkos interprets the presence of a synthronon as a testimony to the seat of the archimandrite rather than to an episcopal church. This interpretation, however, neither explains the private space reserved for women in the gallery nor justifies the selection of and emphasis on the sinners.

<sup>101</sup> Siomkos 2005, 298.

From the above, it follows that the use and function of the church had a direct impact on the final formation of the iconographic cycle of the Last Judgement, as well as on the selection of and emphasis on certain categories of sinners. The case of Saint Stephen in Kastoria is particularly interesting, as it is one of the first examples in which Hell's landscape is organised, and punishments are formulated and arranged within a church.

Similarly, the identification of the sinful rich with the affluent founder of the church, hoping that sponsorship will redeem his sins, is also attested in another small-scaled, 14th-century monument in Kastoria drawing from local iconographic tradition, Saint Athanasios of Mouzaki, dated 1383/4.<sup>102</sup> The donors of the church were the brothers Stoia and Theodoros, of the Albanian family of the Mouzaki (the *πανευγενέστατοι*, or masters of the city). Here, the portrayal of two damned souls in the southern portico of the entrance in a self-contained panel is initially surprising. This is because the sinners under discussion are depicted as individual figures, even though they are part of a wider composition of the Last Judgement, which may have been planned for the external facade of the narthex wall.<sup>103</sup> The absence, however, of the composition of the Last Judgement in the narthex is associated with the possibility that the artist did not have time to complete the mural decoration, perhaps due to the rapid advancement of the Ottoman Turks.<sup>104</sup> Even if we accept the validity of such a hypothesis, it is worth questioning the depiction of a monumental composition from the perspective of the depiction of the punishment of the damned in a particularly symbolic space, the side of the entrance door.

Despite the poor state of preservation of the mural in this location, the figure of a naked man hanging upside down with his hands tied behind his back can still be discerned. His calves are bound with a copper ring at the height of his ankles and his body, pierced by worms, is bent at right angles. To the lower right of the panel, a half-seated male figure is also visible, correctly identified from his posture as the sinful Rich Man of Lukan parable (Fig. 6.5).<sup>105</sup> The naked, upside-down man could perhaps allude to any kind of thief, according to the corresponding illustrations in monuments of Crete.<sup>106</sup> Another possibility is that he acts as a visual reference to

<sup>102</sup> Date based on the inscription above the entrance door situated on the west wall; see Drakopoulou 1997, 95–7.

<sup>103</sup> Pazaras 2013, 313–16 and figs 99–100.

<sup>104</sup> Pazaras 2013, 313. For the date of the conquest of the city of Kastoria by the Ottomans, see Drakopoulou 1997, 99.

<sup>105</sup> Pazaras 2013, 316.

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, those in the Church of Saint John the Evangelist at Kroustas, dated 1347/8, cat. no. 101, and in Saint Eutychios at Tsiskiana, dated 1400, cat. no. 40. See also





Fig. 6.5 Church of Saint Athanasios of Mouzaki, Rich Man, 1383/4, wall painting, Kastoria

a traitor, as represented in examples of the so-called painting of humiliation (*pittura infamante*) used in Italy between the 13th and the 16th centuries as punishment for crimes of that nature.<sup>107</sup> The many relations of Kastoria's art of this period and more precisely of the monument in question with Western iconographic and stylistic influences<sup>108</sup> would

Maderakis 1980–1, fig. 31 (Kroustas) and Maderakis 1979, fig. 23 (Tsiskiana); see also vol. 2.

<sup>107</sup> See for example the preparatory drawings of the Florentine painter Andrea del Sarto for the traitors of the city of Florence during its siege by the army of Charles V in 1530; see Ortalli 1994, 54 and figs 9–11.

<sup>108</sup> Pazaras 2013, 412–16. See also Tsigaridas 1992.

favour such a hypothesis. It is also worth noting that the figures and punishments of the two damned souls have been placed opposite the depiction of a great Patriarchal Resurrection cross, mounted on a stepped podium, adorning the northern jamb of the entrance.<sup>109</sup> Although the presence of crosses at church entrances is commonly associated with protective and apotropaic use,<sup>110</sup> the soteriological role and function of the cross in the Kastorian monument is underlined by its placement opposite the depiction of two damned souls. The location of the cross of the Resurrection may also imply that the landowners were buried in the western wall, as suggested by the morphology of the highly elaborate floor at that location.<sup>111</sup> From this perspective, the placement of the Archangel Michael in the northern part of the western wall, to the right of the entrance door, could assume an eschatological character in addition to his accustomed apotropaic role, as his depiction could be interpreted in the framework of his mission as a judge of souls.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the representation of the damned couple seems to be juxtaposed with the two founders of the dedicatory inscription, which crowns the door and conceptually complements its iconographic programme.

The door programme at Saint Athanasios of Mouzaki thus seems to have been conceived as a visual ‘metaphor of salvation’, since it includes the commemoration of the dedication of the sponsors and is vested with the accustomed apotropaic function. Mainly, however, it announces the separate salvific mission and redemption from sin.<sup>113</sup> Whether the Rich Man of the Lukan parable is portrayed in combination with one who has committed a financial crime, or with someone who has betrayed the trust of the city, the two damned souls in the Kastorian church are certainly not randomly selected, as supported in particular by their location in the entrance/exit to the church. The selection of this particular location for the depiction of the two sinners would have concealed them from the indiscreet eyes of the congregation when the double door of the naos was open, and would have revealed them only when the door was shut.

One last, distinct case worth mentioning is the southern side chapel of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1321, the private and funereal character of which is well known.<sup>114</sup> The Last Judgement in the southern chapel progresses in a unique way in the

<sup>109</sup> Pazaras 2013, fig. 113. <sup>110</sup> Walter 1997. <sup>111</sup> Pazaras 2013, 25.

<sup>112</sup> Pazaras 2013, 284 (with related bibliography) and fig. 91. <sup>113</sup> Jolivet-Lévy 2008–9.

<sup>114</sup> The bibliography on the side chapel of the Chora Monastery is extensive. For the scene of the Last Judgement, see for example Der Nersessian 1975, 325–31; Ousterhout 1995a, 72–5; Gerstel 2011; Volan 2011. See also Akyürek 2001.

eastern domical vault, as well as in the eastern part of the northern and southern walls, functioning as a three-dimensional representation and communicating the intense sense of drama of the Last Judgement directly to the viewer.<sup>115</sup>

The eastern vault of the chapel hosts a monumental composition of the Last Judgement with Christ the Judge in glory, sitting on a rainbow amid the figures of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist in supplication, enthroned Apostles and a large array of angels in an iconographical scheme<sup>116</sup> that alludes to that of the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki. Paradise is depicted in the drum of the north wall, over the door leading to the diakonikon of the katholikon,<sup>117</sup> pointing to the eucharistic role of the composition, as is the case in the diakonikon of the Metropolis at Mystras.<sup>118</sup> Correspondingly, Hell spreads directly across the eastern end of the southern wall.<sup>119</sup> In the chapel of the Chora, the torments of Hell are limited exclusively to the depiction of the four symbolic, easily recognisable and widely used Communal Punishments mentioned in the Gospels, while individual punishments are absent,<sup>120</sup> since they do not have a place in an exclusively private chapel of a great monastic katholikon of the capital and especially of a high-profile sponsorship.<sup>121</sup> In any case, an official and more 'academic' iconographic vocabulary, in terms of character and artistic identity, seems more compatible at the very high level of such a site, its requirements and functions. Four square panels, distinguished by their colour differentiation, form part of a single panel depicting compartments of Communal Punishments: the Gnashing of Teeth, Outer Darkness, the Sleepless Worm, and the Everlasting Fire,

<sup>115</sup> Four arcosolia, two on the north and two on the south wall, host burials that remain unexcavated. Another tomb, placed on the floor before the apse, was excavated in 1958 and has been identified by Sharon E. J. Gerstel as the tomb of the sponsor Metochitis, mainly due to its prominent position; see Gerstel 2011, 133–6. I do not agree with Gerstel's view. Instead, I agree with Robert Ousterhout, who claims that this particular tomb constitutes an addition to the chapel; see Ousterhout 1987, 60; I am currently preparing a publication on this subject.

<sup>116</sup> Underwood 1966, vol. 3, pl. 204. <sup>117</sup> Akşit 2005, 140.

<sup>118</sup> For the Eucharistic character of the scene of the Last Judgement in the diakonikon of the Metropolis in Mystras, see the pioneering work of Millet 1945, 38–9.

<sup>119</sup> Underwood 1966, vol. 3, pl. 209.

<sup>120</sup> For the segregation of punishments into collective and individual ones, see Garidis 1982. See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, Chapter 3.

<sup>121</sup> For example, the depiction of Hell and the damned is also completely absent from the abbreviated composition of the Last Judgement in the south-east chapel of the Aphantiko in Mystras, also a late Palaiologan work of prominent sponsorship; see Dufrenne 1970, sch. XI, pl. 17.

composing a strictly organised quadruple picture of Hell,<sup>122</sup> along with the River of Fire that commences at the feet of Christ the Judge in the eastern domical vault and ends at the south-east pendentive.

The most interesting aspect of the composition, however, is the organisation of the decoration of the pendentives of the eastern domical vault, as they constitute a separate iconographic programme. In the south-west pendentive, the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead is painted. In the north-west pendentive, an unusual representation of an angel leading a naked soul is depicted (Fig. 6.6), while the eastern pendentive hosts Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom (Fig. 6.7)<sup>123</sup> and the Rich Man of the Lukan parable (south-east; Fig. 6.8).<sup>124</sup>

The scene of the angel leading a soul to Christ the Judge, personified in the form of a young naked man with his hands raised in supplication, is a *unicum* in the Byzantine scenes of the Last Judgement.<sup>125</sup> Its independent portrait in the pendentive, along with its proximity to the alleged tomb of Metochitis, led Sirarpie Der Nersessian to support a personalised artistic rendering of an imaginative episode, in which the Archangel Michael leads the soul of the founder of the monastery before Christ the Judge by placing his right hand on the soul's head.<sup>126</sup> This reading was also based on a

<sup>122</sup> It is worth noting that the fourfold organisation of Hell responds, although with different content, both to Western scholastic theology and literature; see Cavagna 2010, 210–11.

<sup>123</sup> Neilos Kavasilas draws an interesting parallel between the Holy Communion, Paradise, and the arms of Abraham: 'Νῦν δὲ τὸ πᾶσαν τρυφὴν καὶ μακαριότητα τοῖς ἐκεῖ γενομένοις ἐργαζόμενον, εἴτε παράδεισον εἴποις, εἴτε κόλπους Ἀβραάμ, εἴτε λύπης καὶ δδύνης ἀπάσης καθαρῶς καὶ φωτεινούς καὶ χλοερούς καὶ ἀναψύχοντας τόπους, εἴτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτήν, οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος', PG, col. 461 C–D ('but in fact that which brings delight and bliss to those who dwell in that place – whether you choose to call it paradise, or Abraham's bosom, or the place free from pain and sorrow, which is full of light, and green and cool – or even if you call it the kingdom itself – is none other than this chalice and this bread'; see Hussey and McNulty 2002, 99). It is worth noting that the early example of Karanlık in Cappadocia, dated to the mid-11th century, points to similar associations. In the diakonikon's conch, the depiction of the patriarch Abraham contains obvious eucharistic and eschatological content; see Jolivet-Lévy 2002, 75–7 and fig. 5. It is not improbable that the space of the diakonikon of the Chora Monastery, which was modified and adorned with mural paintings during the renovation of Theodore Metochitis, was converted to a side funeral chapel that communicated with and was in direct relationship to the elongated southern funeral chapel of Metochitis.

<sup>124</sup> Underwood 1966, vol. 3, pl. 205–8.

<sup>125</sup> In Romanian art, however, analogous scenes seem to have been popular, as shown in the decoration of a wooden altar (altar frontal) of unknown origin, which is kept today at the National Museum of Art in Catalonia in Barcelona (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, no. 3913) and dates between 1220 and 1250. In one of the four square panels of the decoration, and exactly above the scene of the Weighing of the Souls, the archangels Gabriel and Uriel are shown transferring to Heaven the soul of a naked man, who is depicted with his hands in supplication; see Castiñeiras, Camps and Duran-Porta 2008, 129–30 and figs 93–4.

<sup>126</sup> Der Nersessian 1975, 331.



Fig. 6.6 Chora Monastery, Angel leading a soul, 1320/1, wall painting (southern chapel), Constantinople

sermon of Metochitis, in which he pleads to the archangel to mediate for him on the day of Judgement.<sup>127</sup>

As far as I am aware, the interpretation of this unique scene has not been disputed. The personal character of the iconographic programme of the Chora Monastery, inspired by the founder himself both in terms of the selection and of the formation of certain cycles or themes, would probably support such an interpretation.<sup>128</sup> It was not, however, associated at an iconographical level with the parable of the Rich Man with which it shares the space of the pendentives of the eastern cloister vault. It

<sup>127</sup> Kaltsogianni 2015, 22.

<sup>128</sup> Ousterhout 1995a, 66; Ousterhout 1995b, 92; Semoglou 2010, 53–63.





Fig. 6.7 Chora Monastery, Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom, 1320/1, wall painting (southern chapel), Constantinople

is significant that this particular parable is intertwined with a personal and iconographically unique scene of Metochitis' soul being led by its protector and mediator Archangel Michael, justifying, in my opinion, the use and function of this evangelical narrative in an exclusive relationship with the donor himself and his posthumous fears and hopes for the salvation of his soul.

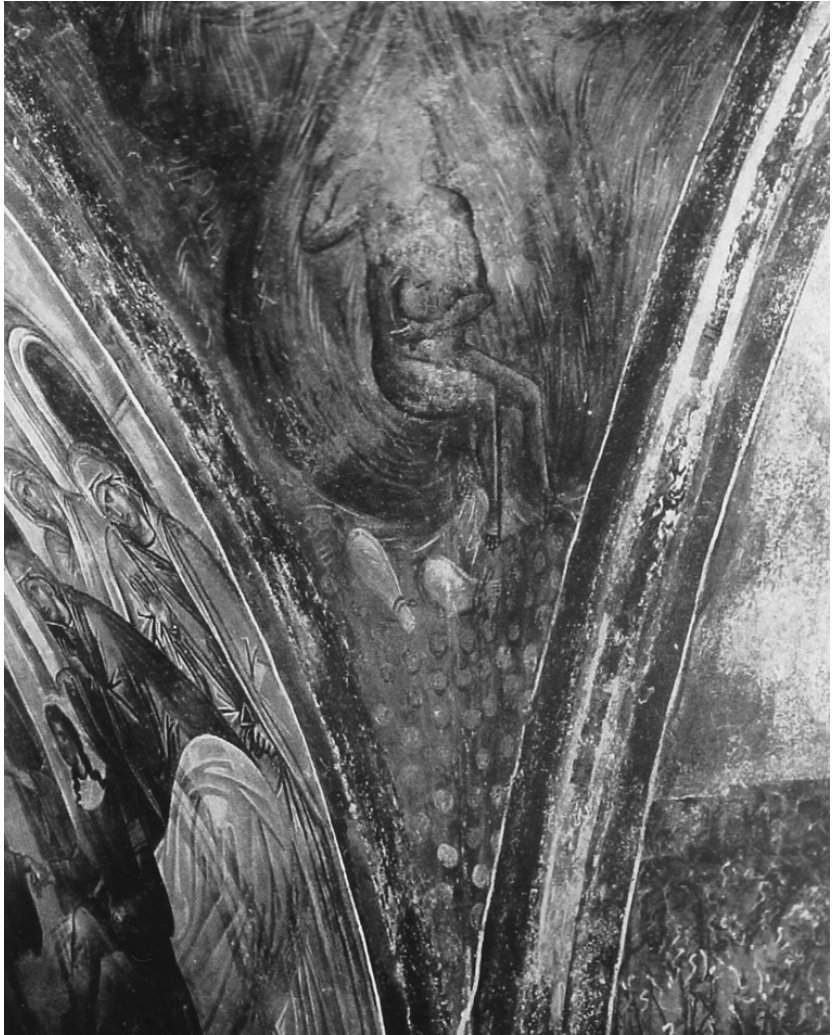


Fig. 6.8 Chora Monastery, Rich Man (detail), 1320/1, wall painting (southern chapel), Constantinople

The blissful and absolute frontality of Abraham and the soul of the Poor Lazarus, dressed in formal white, in the cold plain of the multitude of souls set against the white heavenly landscape,<sup>129</sup> therefore contrasts strongly with the seated, isolated, naked, adult Rich Man in *contrapposto* inside the fiery lake. Although he is portrayed next to the sinners to the south and left of Christ, he is anxiously turning to the opposite side, where the tomb of

<sup>129</sup> On the depiction of Abraham holding in his arms the souls of the righteous as an image of philanthropy (*caritas*) and as a model of ecclesiastic unity, equality and brotherhood that guarantees salvation, see the very interesting study of Baschet 2000, 251.



the founder is probably located, pleading with Abraham to relieve his parched tongue and desperately seeking redemption from his torment. The scattered golden coins and purses signify just and unbiased judgement for all without exception, emphasising the futility of wealth and constituting a fierce critique of its mismanagement, in turn underlining the salvific role of charity, alms and benevolence. To this play of contradictions, against which the artist deliberately places his figures, the contradiction in age between the child-like soul of Lazarus and that of the adult Rich Man should be added: a familiar visual interpretation of the youthful soul that defies and triumphs over time against the adult man who has been defeated by it.<sup>130</sup> From this point of view, the contrast that pertains to the two figures is recorded in the figurative relationship between the concept of time and repentance, which acts as a powerful pedagogical tool and stimulates faith.<sup>131</sup> Finally, the dissolution of the parable between the two eastern pendentives is intended to convey in artistic terms this inaccessible chasm between the sinners and the righteous, always according to the same Lukan parable (16:26) (Fig. 6.9).

In the Chora Monastery, therefore, there is particular significance in the emphasis on the punishment of the Rich Man of Luke's parable, the only individual sinner who is depicted in the funerary side chapel, in a particularly prominent position in the pendentive of the eastern domical vault, and his direct correlation with the suggested personal scene of the leading the soul of the founder by Archangel Michael himself to Christ the Judge. These features highlight the extremely wide dissemination of the parabolic scenes and of the torment of the Rich Man in Byzantine iconography, interpreting its systematic integration into the scene of the Last Judgement.

The preceding analysis leads us to the conclusion that the 'evil' Rich Man seems also to function at an iconographical level as an image of assimilation and identification, the mirror of the donor/sponsor,<sup>132</sup> onto whom he projects his fears, his anxieties and particularly his transgressions and sins. It is, in other words, the image of one's 'evil' self, which every donor renounces to lighten himself of the torture of remorse, to publicly declare

<sup>130</sup> See, for example, the relief plaque in the wall in the staircase of the ambo in Torcello, where a young man grasps Kairos/Time while an adult man is defeated by Kairos/Time; see Antonopoulos 1994–5, 258–9, pl. 60. See also Semoglou 2018.

<sup>131</sup> Myers 2011.

<sup>132</sup> It is, in fact, a process known in psychoanalysis by the term 'projective identification', as described by Melanie Klein: outward rejection of what the subject denies to itself, projection of evil; see Laplanche and Pontalis 1990, 192–3.



Fig. 6.9 Chora Monastery, Eastern domical vault view, 1320/1, wall paintings (southern chapel), Constantinople

his repentance and to claim the opportunity for remission of his sins and eventually succeed in the ultimate redemption.

The 'evil' Rich Man does not acquire specific and identifiable facial characteristics in Byzantine iconography, but rather represents a social class that is condemned along with every sinful man to the eternal fire of Hell.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, in cases such as those explored here, it would be very difficult not to identify him with each rich sponsor, who, due to his economic class and status, would have formed part of the aforementioned group of sinners.<sup>134</sup> The public rejection on his behalf of greed and mismanagement of wealth recalls or, most probably, identifies him with the commissioner of the church himself. This identification entails his final condemnation, which is abolished by his act of sponsorship and by his

<sup>133</sup> Garidis 1985, 86.

<sup>134</sup> On wealth as a major sin in the Lukan parable, see Lau 2016. It is worth noting that the Lukan parable with its exhortation to repent is addressed exclusively to the Rich Man's brothers; see Lehtipuu 2007, 231. See also Stathakopoulos in this volume, 24.

public declaration of repentance as a sinful servant of God, a statement often recorded in the dedicatory inscription of his commissioned edifice.

The example of the Rich Man of the evangelical parable presents an opportunity to discuss issues that concern the representation of the Last Judgement: its structure as a whole and its special character; the relationship between sin and punishment; and atonement through sponsorship. The concepts of punishment and sponsorship seem to have had a simultaneous dynamic during the middle Byzantine period, as outlined through the early example of the Church of Saint Stephen in Kastoria. Furthermore, it is evident that the location and the manipulation of the depiction of each damned soul in the church are directly connected to its function by interacting with the spaces they are meant to denote and signify. It should nevertheless be noted that each case is unique, even the 'ordinary' categories of the damned that were established relatively early in the iconography of the Last Judgement, such as the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus of the Lukan parable, and therefore should be examined as such.

## 7 | Images of Hell and the Afterlife in the Churches of Lakonia

SHARON E. J. GERSTEL AND PANAYOTIS S. KATSAFADOS

‘L’enfer, c’est les autres.’

Jean-Paul Sartre, *Huis clos*

### 7.1 Introduction

In the ancient world, one of the entrances to Hades was located at Cape Tainaron at the tip of the Mani, the southernmost point of Lakonia. It was through this entrance that Hercules was said to have heroically descended into the underworld to fetch Cerberus. Ancient Tainaron was also home to a *nekromanteion* and an important temple of Poseidon.<sup>1</sup> Spolia from the temple and its associated buildings were later incorporated into a Byzantine church dedicated to the Archangels (Hagioi Asomatoi).<sup>2</sup> Located at the lower edge of the rocky peninsula, it is likely that this site, placed in the Middle Ages under the protection of a psychopomp, the Archangel Michael, was recalled as a transitional point between this world and the world to come (see Figure 7.0).

More than one hundred painted Byzantine churches are found in the region of Lakonia, an area that saw the significant construction of churches in the Late Byzantine period. Surprisingly, few preserve representations of the Last Judgement. This chapter is a first attempt to collect and analyse the surviving images of condemned sinners in Hell in Lakonian churches. In order to understand the range of images and spheres of influence, this chapter begins with representations in large settlements in the region, Mystras and Chrysapha, before turning to rural churches in Epidauros Limera, south-eastern Lakonia, and the Mani. A focus on Lakonia allows the examination of the churches influenced by metropolitan trends together with those located in agrarian settings.

<sup>1</sup> Papachatzis 1976; Cummer 1978; Schumacher 1993; Ogden 2001.

<sup>2</sup> The church, which also has a post-Byzantine phase, has not been well studied. For a preliminary study, see Moschou 1975.



Fig. 7.0 Map of the south-eastern Peloponnese

## 7.2 Mystras and Chrysapha

Images of Hell are preserved in two important churches, Saint Demetrios, the metropolitan church of Lakedaimonia, and Panagia Chrysaphitissa, an important foundation outside the large village of Chrysapha in the foothills of Mount Parnon. In the narthex of Saint Demetrios in Mystras is an extensive cycle of the Last Judgement painted in the early 14th century. Compartments of Hell and the torments of the damned are spread across the three walls of the south bay. On the west wall of the chamber, above the representation of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, is an elaborate composition of Hell, where the undulating, flaming river divides the picture plane into irregularly shaped compartments (Fig. 7.1). The fiery river, as a compositional device, is juxtaposed with the red curtains that cover the large scene of the church council immediately below. The comparison



Fig. 7.1 Church of Saint Demetrios (Metropolis), Sinners in fiery river, early 14th century, wall painting (narthex, west vault), Mystras, the Peloponnese

between those condemned by the Church and those saved by its rulings is inescapable. The compartments of Communal Punishments – the Gnashing of Teeth, the Sleepless Worm, and Outer Darkness – are found on the left side of the composition. The composition also incorporates individuals, many of them inscribed with their sins. Although many of the inscriptions can no longer be read, among the preserved figures is a sinner labelled as ‘the wealthy and greedy man’ (ΟΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΤΑΔΟΤΟΣ / ο πλούσιος και αμετάδοτος / *o plousios kai ametadotos*).<sup>3</sup> He is suspended by his neck and crouches, with his hands bound behind his back, over what appears to be a pile of coins. At the upper right is a compartment of four male figures, two of which appear to have pouches suspended around their necks – the signifier of condemned usurers or tax collectors.<sup>4</sup> At the lower right is a compartment containing three female sinners, who are tormented by snakes that wrap around their bodies, biting their breasts and genitals. The central-most figure is likely the woman who refused to nurse or to take

<sup>3</sup> See Pantou 2008–9, 235, n. 12. The inscription has been transcribed without spaces, as it appears in the church.

<sup>4</sup> For similar figures in Cretan churches, see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 140–60 (section 3.5); see also Vassilaki 1998.



care of an infant. The figure to the right is labelled as ‘the woman who terminates a pregnancy’ or even ‘the woman who murders her own child’ (ΠΑΙΔΟΠΝΙΚΤΡΙΑ / παιδοπνικτρία / *paidopniktria*).<sup>5</sup> Four additional small heads emerge from the flames that run along the base of the composition. Differentiated by their head coverings, these figures may represent military and ecclesiastical sinners. One unusual feature of the scene in Saint Demetrios is the gleeful involvement of a large number of small, winged demons, who interact with the sinners, either spearing them with lances or otherwise tormenting them. Painted in black on the surface of the composition, the demons have suffered significant damage and are today nearly invisible to the naked eye. A second representation of sinners, also located above the scene of a church council, shows groups of bishops, emperors and others consumed by fiery flames.

The neighbouring Church of the Hodegetria in the Brontocheion Monastery, painted c. 1320, also contains imagery drawn from the Last Judgement. Yet the emphasis in this church is on salvation rather than condemnation. In the north-west chapel, the Choirs of the Elect are depicted on the four walls, gazing upward towards the representation of Christ at the apex of the tall chamber. The choirs are accompanied by a Theotokion, a hymn to the Virgin taken from the Office of the Dead: ‘Through the prayers of her who gave you birth, O Christ, and the prayers of your Forerunner, of the Apostles, Prophets, Hierarchs, Ascetics, of the Righteous, and of all the Saints, give rest to your servant who has fallen asleep.’<sup>6</sup> Absent are the condemned. Instead, manifesting the words of the inscribed Theotokion, the Choirs of the Elect beseech Christ on behalf of those buried below the chamber’s pavement, the abbot Pachomios and, later, the Despot Theodore I Palaiologos (1383–1407), who took the monastic schema as the monk Theodoretos.

Across the Evrotas River valley, on the slopes of Parnon, the imposing Church of Panagia Chrysaphitissa, dated to 1291, contains a cycle of the Last Judgement in the narthex. The space housed the tomb of the founder, which was marked by an arcosolium on the north wall.<sup>7</sup> Above the curved arch of the tomb is an elaborate representation of Paradise and, on the vault above, the Choirs of the Elect. It is not surprising that an inscription

<sup>5</sup> See Pantou 2008–9, 235, n. 12. For a similar figure represented in Crete, see Gerstel 2015, 87–8 and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 154.

<sup>6</sup> Πρεσβείαις τῆς τεκούσης σε, Χ(ριστ)έ, καὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου σου, ἀποστόλων, προφητῶν, ἱ[ε]ρα[ρχῶν, ὁσ]ίων καὶ δικαίων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τὸν κοιμηθέντα δοῦλον] σου ἀνά[π]ausον. See Dufrenne 1970, 60.

<sup>7</sup> Drandakis 1982–3, 341; Albani 2001, 80–1.

naming the donors,<sup>8</sup> the Sebastos Michael and his wife, Zoe, as well as their portraits, is found on the east wall in the north side of the narthex, the section of the saved. On the south side of the chamber, pierced by the entrance to the narthex, scenes of the condemned cover the vault, compartmentalised by their sins. On the east side, the sinners are accompanied by an inscription also found in the Church of the Episkopi in Mani: 'Depart from me, ye cursed . . . ' (Matt. 25:41).<sup>9</sup> In one of the compartments in this part of the vault, an angel sounds the trumpet. Six compartments on the west wall contain individual and collective sinners set against alternating blue and red backgrounds. The sins were originally labelled, but the surface of the painting is so worn that most of the words can no longer be deciphered. Nikolaos Drandakis read the inscription in the upper right compartment as 'the Outer Darkness' (ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΟΝ / ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΟΝ / *to Skotos to Exoteron*),<sup>10</sup> but the text appears to be much longer. The six male figures in this compartment, represented from the waist up and with their heads slightly inclined, cross their arms over their chests. The upper left compartment has four naked men, two wearing white skullcaps and two with red caps. These are images of ecclesiastical figures who have been consigned to Hell. The adjacent compartment contains the depiction of the Gnashing of Teeth; the one below it, the Sleepless Worm. Below the representation of the condemned stands the figure of the Archangel Michael, labelled the Guardian (Ο ΦΥΛΑΞ / ο φύλαξ / *Phylax*). His intervention must have been sought as protection against the fate of those represented immediately above.<sup>11</sup>

### 7.3 Scenes of Hell in Epidauros Limera

Churches in the region of Epidauros Limera, the south-eastern peninsula of the Peloponnese, are located in or close to agrarian villages. The region also supported a large number of important monasteries. Settlements in this area were closely tied to Monemvasia, which, as the largest and most important population centre in the region, once had a number of significant churches.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the city's monumental painting is not well preserved and

<sup>8</sup> Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 78. The author asserts that this is a later, post-Byzantine(?) copy of an earlier inscription.

<sup>9</sup> Πορέβεσθαι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ κ[ατηρα]μένοι . . . ; Drandakis 1982–3, 394. The passage is also found in Last Judgement scenes in Crete and in Cyprus. For Cyprus see Weyl Carr in this volume, 352 and n. 21, 365; for Crete see vol. 2, cat. nos 6, 49, 72.

<sup>10</sup> See Drandakis 1982–3, 394. <sup>11</sup> Xyngopoulos 1932, 18. <sup>12</sup> Kalligas 2010.

several churches – most importantly Hagia Sophia (formerly the Virgin Hodegetria)<sup>13</sup> – retain little of their original decoration. For glimpses of the kind of painting that would have once been found in this city's churches, one must turn to smaller monuments in the surrounding area.

The Church of Saint George, Vavylas, close to the village of Lachi in Epidauros Limera, preserves exceptional painting of the early 14th century.<sup>14</sup> The narthex contains an expanded cycle of the Last Judgement in three registers, including images of the Earth and Sea Giving Up their Dead, the Hetoimasia, the Choirs of the Elect, and others. The stunning execution of the figures – particularly the two angels rolling up the scroll of Heaven – and the sophistication of the programme lead to the conclusion that the painter was influenced by a Palaiologan source in the Byzantine capital, perhaps filtered through Monemvasia or Mystras.<sup>15</sup> The Last Judgement includes scenes of sinners on the south wall arranged in four compartments in a horizontal band. From the west, these are: the Sleepless Worm, the Gnashing of Teeth, and compartments of female and male sinners. A fairly legible inscription, written primarily in majuscule, runs along the upper border of the two compartments of individual sinners. In the compartment with female sinners, which is partially whitewashed, five figures are represented. Three of the women stand upright, with their hands bound to the upper frame or behind their backs; two of the women are suspended upside down from their bound feet (Fig. 7.2). The women have pendulous breasts with articulated nipples. Traces of snakes can be seen in the composition, particularly attacking the body of the figure at the left side of the panel. This figure, whose hands are bound behind her back, wears an elaborate gold conical headdress, which is attached by a loop to the upper frame. The text above her head reads: 'the one who refuses to take care of the infants' (Η (Α)ΠΟΣΤΡΕΦΟΥCΑΤΑ(ΝΗΠΙΑ) / η αποστρέφουσα τα νήπια / *i apostrophousa ta nipia*). The second sinner, who is suspended from a rope that binds her ankles, is labelled in two lines: 'the ones who do not honour the priests' (ΗΜΗΤΙ ΜΟΝΕΤΕC | ΤΟΥC ΙΕΡΗC / οι μη τιμώντες τους ιερείς / *oi timontes tous hierais*).<sup>16</sup> The third figure from the left, whose hands are bound behind her back, is also labelled in two lines: 'the slanderers' (ΗΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΟΝΤΕC / οι καταλαλούντες / *oi katalalontes*). The labels of the

<sup>13</sup> Kalligas 1977–9.

<sup>14</sup> Drandakis et al. 1982, 445–9. The authors observed representations of the Last Judgement in the narthex of the Church of Saint John Chrysostom at Velanidia but did not, however, mention individual sinners (Drandakis et al. 1982, 456).

<sup>15</sup> Kepetzi 1993–4; Kepetzi 2003, 403–4; Gerstel 2013, 366–7.

<sup>16</sup> The painter uses the plural form and does not distinguish grammatically between male and female genders.



Fig. 7.2 Church of Saint George Vavylas near Lachi, Female sinners, early 14th century, wall painting (narthex, south wall), Epidauros Limera, the Peloponnese

fourth sinner, whose hands are bound to the upper frame, and the fifth, who is suspended upside down, are too damaged to decipher.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The traces of some of the letters can be read as: H (9+- letter spaces) || ZONTEC and H . . . E(C)O || . . . / . . . respectively. In the case of the first of the two ambiguous labels, the one frequently used term is falsely measuring at the scales (ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ / παρακαμπανίζοντες / *parakampanizantes*).

In the adjacent composition to the east, four male sinners are bound to the upper frame by cords binding their wrists (Fig. 7.3). All of the men have similar hairstyles, developed musculature, and undifferentiated genitalia. The second and third have cords around their necks, from which are suspended tools – a round implement with a wooden handle, perhaps a sickle, in the case of the second figure from the left, and a small plough in the case of the adjacent figure.<sup>18</sup> The male figures are also labelled, but the inscriptions are in very bad condition. The label of the fourth figure to the right, who appears to raise an object resembling a knife, can be partially deciphered as (A)ΦΟΝ . . . | . . . , perhaps related to the word murderer (*phoneas*). The figure at the left side of the group is mostly covered by whitewash. As in many churches with representations of individualised sins, the condemned men are linked to agricultural crimes. The Church of Saint George, approximately 40 km from Monemvasia, is located in a region that was home to numerous agrarian settlements.

The 14th-century Church of Saint John Chrysostom stands in the middle of an olive grove in the hills above the village of Velanidia.<sup>19</sup> This is one of several churches in the village painted in the Late Byzantine period. These small chapels, with their elaborate decoration, serve as witnesses to a thriving community, which was linked to other villages in the region, but also to more distant centres, for example to Geraki, a large settlement in the hills of Mount Parnon.<sup>20</sup> A large chamber connected to the south side of the church today functions as a narthex. The original entrance to this chamber was on the south side; a later door was cut through the east wall, piercing one of two blind arches. The lower register of the chamber is decorated with images of frontal figures, including military saints. Its vault is covered with twenty compartments representing scenes from the Last Judgement that manifest the highly individualised hand of an exceptional painter. These are divided into four registers comprising five compartments, two registers to either side of an elaborate decorative band.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Kepetzi 2003, 403.

<sup>19</sup> Drandakis et al. 1982, 453–7. Some of the identifications in this publication are incorrect.

<sup>20</sup> Gkioles and Constantinidi (Drandakis et al. 1982, 457) have asserted a stylistic connection to Saint John Chrysostom, Geraki. In the opinion of the authors of this paper, however, the church can be more closely compared to Saint George, Geraki, which preserves identical ornamental motifs and shows a similar density of figures in its narrative scenes. The church should be dated to the mid-14th century. Connections between the churches in Velanidia and Geraki strengthen suggestions that regional church painters worked both in Epidaurus Limera and on Mount Parnon. See Gerstel 2013, 334–68.

<sup>21</sup> The ornamental band resembles those found in the 14th-century churches of Saint John Chrysostom and Saint George in Geraki; see Moutsopoulos and Demetrokallis 1981, pl. 16 and Demetrokallis 2001, 73, fig. 107.





Fig. 7.3 Church of Saint George Vavylas near Lachi, Male sinners, early 14th century, wall painting (narthex, south wall), Epidauros Limera, the Peloponnese

Images of the saved are located in the upper registers and those of the condemned closer to ground level. All of the compartments are bordered by narrow frames containing a stepped cross pattern.<sup>22</sup> Originally, all of the scenes were labelled; the reading of most of the inscriptions is precluded by the poor condition of the paintings. The two registers of the saved include

<sup>22</sup> This pattern is also used to divide scenes in the church of Saint George, Geraki.



representations of the enthroned Apostles at the north end of the vault, i.e., closest to the arched entrance from the chamber into the nave. The Apostles are followed on the east side of the vault by groups of bishops, monks and nuns, each compartment containing one dozen figures. Facial features and hairstyles are differentiated and the figures are diverse in their depicted ages. The costume details are accurate: dark brown monastic robes, chains of mortification and, in the case of the leader, a *koukoulion*, or monastic hood. On the west side are representations of the choirs of the elect laypeople: emperors, men of the court and holy women, including three crowned empresses. The compartments at the south end of the chamber are covered with salt accretions, and therefore their imagery cannot be deciphered. In each compartment, the hand of the leader crosses over the frame of the composition. The saved figures all turn towards the nave with their hands raised in entreaty. It is likely that the north wall of the chapel, now whitewashed, was painted with an image of Christ or the Deesis.

The lower registers of the east and west sides of the vault represent the condemned. These figures mostly turn towards the south, i.e., away from the nave. The cycle begins at the north-west end of the vault with the Weighing of the Souls, labelled as ΖΥΓΟC ΔΗΚΑΙΟCΙΝΗC ΕΝ CΤΑ[Θ]Μ?/[...]ΛΑ ΕΛΕΧΟΝΤΕC / ‘the balance of justice’/ ‘[...] those who judge’. The adjacent compartment on the west side includes the depiction of seven men. Of these, the five at the centre have rolled scrolls suspended from their necks; bottles hang from the necks of the two external figures (Fig. 7.4). Traces of letters that remain to the right of the composition can be deciphered as ‘.ΑΡΜΑΚ..’, likely the poisoners or potion-makers, wizards (ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΙ / φαρμακοί / *pharmakoi*).<sup>23</sup> If this identification is correct, then the adjacent male figures who wear scrolls around their necks are likely sorcerers or spell-casters.<sup>24</sup> As far as we know, this is a unique composition in Lakonia, but one that is well represented in Byzantine apocalyptic texts.<sup>25</sup> The *Life* of Saint Basil the Younger, for example, describes the punishment of the ‘workers of magic (μάγοι), spell casters (επαιδοί), potion sellers (φαρμακοί), sorcerers, diviners through ventriloquism, effeminates, dish diviners, necromancers, astrologers, those who

<sup>23</sup> See for example Cyril of Alexandria, *Homilia Paschalis* 14, Migne, PG 77, 724; Lampe 1961, 1472.

<sup>24</sup> For ongoing concerns about sorcery and magic as expressed in hagiographical writings, see Abrahamse 1982, 3–7.

<sup>25</sup> Baun 2007, 335–9.

observe omens about the home, and those who resort to these diviners to destroy other people in order to fulfil and accomplish their wicked and shameful desires and deeds'.<sup>26</sup> The central compartment of the lower west vault, with its preserved inscription, represents the Gnashing of Teeth. Here, full-length figures of men, crowded together, display their open jaws with articulated teeth. Three groups of male sinners are preserved in the lower part of the east vault. At the north end is a group of imperial figures labelled 'the perdition of heretical kings' (Η ΑΠΟΛΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΤΗΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ / ἡ ἀπώλεια τῶν αἰρετικῶν βασιλέων / *i apoleia ton airtikon basileon*). The naked figures are identified by their *loroi* and crowns. The adjacent compartment contains, according to the preserved inscription, 'the population of heretical priests in the everlasting fire' (Η ΠΛΙΘΥ[Σ] ΤΟΝ ΕΡΕΤΙΚΟΝ ΙΕΡΕΟΝ ΣΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΑΣΒΕΣΤΟΝ / ἡ πληθὺς τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἱερέων εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον / *i plythis ton airtikon iereon eis to pyr to asveston*).<sup>27</sup> The naked figures wear white skullcaps on their heads and *omophoria* around their shoulders, the costume of members of the clergy (Fig. 7.5).<sup>28</sup> The representation of heretical figures in two compartments may be related to political events of the time, but such figures are also common in Byzantine apocalyptic literature. Adjacent to this compartment is the representation of male sinners, whose wounds are being licked by the two white dragons depicted at the centre.<sup>29</sup> The scenes in the adjacent compartments to the south are impossible to decipher because of damage to the surface of the paintings. It is likely, however, that they would have contained images of female sinners, based on the representation of saved women – nuns and empresses – immediately above them. The scenes of the condemned in this small church are complex, with a multitude of differentiated figures in each compartment. The skill of the painter is demonstrated in his attention to individualised features. Exceptionally, the painter has rendered black tear stains by extending the dark lines that form the lower lid of the eyes. The figures of the condemned in the lower registers thus have a pronounced sorrowful look when contrasted to the triumphant expressions of those who have been saved.

<sup>26</sup> Sullivan et al. 2014, 526–7.

<sup>27</sup> This rendering corrects the previous reading by Gkioles and Constantinidi in Drandakis et al. 1982, 242.

<sup>28</sup> On representations of the white skullcap and clerical garb in the region: Gerstel 2015, 128–38.

<sup>29</sup> Drandakis et al. 1982, 456.



Fig. 7.4 Church of Saint John Chrysostom, Velanidia, Potion-makers and spell-casters, mid-14th century, wall painting (narthex), Epidauros Limera, the Peloponnese



Fig. 7.5 Church of Saint John Chrysostom, Velanidia, Condemned priests, mid-14th century, wall painting (narthex), Epidauros Limera, the Peloponnese

## 7.4 Scenes of Hell in the Mani

In the late medieval period, the Mani peninsula was covered with small, agrarian villages, each containing churches and chapels dedicated to different saints. Through the representation of saints of personal and societal import, the decoration of these churches manifested hope for village supplicants in securing entrance to Heaven through the benevolence of their holy intercessors. Several churches in the region also contain programmes concerned with the Last Judgement, as well as visions of the saved and the damned in the afterworld. These graphic images of the condemned suggest how medieval men and women navigated between landscapes that were simultaneously terrestrial and infernal, real and imagined. In the village, mortal sins against family, neighbours and society had eternal repercussions. What is preserved must constitute a small number of painted programmes that once included scenes of the Last Judgement. Buildings with narthexes, many associated with burials, must have had extensive eschatological cycles. A hint of the existence of such missing cycles can be seen in the impressive Church of Saint Peter in Kastania, Messenian Mani, which preserves faint traces of the Apostles from the Last Judgement and several compartments of Communal Punishments in the narthex.<sup>30</sup> Only in the last year, new images of condemned sinners have been uncovered in the narthex of the Church of Ai Strategos outside of Kastania. Dated to 1194 by an inscription, the images include individualised sinners in framed compartments.<sup>31</sup> Kastania's close relationship with the metropolitan centres of Monemvasia and Mystras may explain the early representation of such scenes, whose inclusion in the church may reflect the size and status of the village, as well as the economic wherewithal and social aspirations of the patrons. Even though the number of Last Judgement scenes in Lakonian Mani is relatively small when compared with other regions like Crete, the surviving number of painted cycles is sufficient to demonstrate that the hereafter was very much on the minds of medieval villagers in this region and continued to be of concern to those who followed them after the fall of Byzantium.

The earliest preserved images of the Last Judgement are found in two related churches in the Inner Mani (Mesa Mani)<sup>32</sup> which are dated to the

<sup>30</sup> For preliminary discussion of the church and the village, see Kappas 2016. We are very grateful to Michalis Kappas for pointing out the traces of this composition.

<sup>31</sup> Kappas 2018; Kappas forthcoming. We thank Michalis Kappas for sharing his forthcoming article with us.

<sup>32</sup> Inner Mani is considered the territory around and near the Byzantine 'castle of Maina' (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 50). The latter has been

13th century, Episkopi and Agetria. Analysis of the two buildings, which are separated by several decades in their decoration, provides an opportunity to consider how painted themes were transmitted within a limited geographical region through the agency of local painters, for there is no question that the painter of the Agetria was aware of the sophisticated decoration of the Episkopi.<sup>33</sup>

The domed, two-column, cross-in-square Church of Saint George, today called Episkopi, emerges from the rocky landscape of the western coast of the Mani like a beacon.<sup>34</sup> The small church is intervisible with the site of Tigani and its excavated basilica, likely the metropolitan church of the region.<sup>35</sup> The outer walls of the Episkopi are decorated with glazed bowls and waterspouts shaped like lion heads.<sup>36</sup> Both decorative features were likely viewed by locals as protective devices that separated the world outside the church's walls from the heavens contained within.<sup>37</sup> Care was taken in the construction of the building. The signature blood-red stone, *rosso antico*, quarried in Dimaristika,<sup>38</sup> close to Tainaron, decorates the western facade of the church and is placed in both vertical and horizontal bands, in bold splashes of colour. Immured spolia from the region demonstrate the site's connection to the ancient past. The same attention paid to the masonry is also seen in the building's interior, where sculptural and painted programmes were executed with care. The building details and aspects of its iconographic programme have been seen as indications of high patronage, likely that of Georgios Daimonogiannis, a leading figure in the region and a property owner originating from Monemvasia, who may have constructed this church in honour of his name saint.<sup>39</sup> If the church

identified with the settlement on Tigani, a low promontory near the coastal village of Mezapos. The area of Inner Mani is the part of the Taygetos peninsula south of the ancient Pyrrichos pass. See Katsafados 1992, 72.

<sup>33</sup> On the relationship between the two buildings, now revised in this paper, see Tomeković 1982.

<sup>34</sup> Drandakis 1995, 151–212.

<sup>35</sup> On the church at Tigani, see most recently Gkioles 2008–9, 61–77; Mexia 2015, 57–65 (with collected bibliography).

<sup>36</sup> On lion-head spouts in Byzantine churches of Greece, including at Episkopi, see Boura 1980. Glazed bowls are commonly immured in the walls of churches in the Mani. For examples from Crete, see, among others, Yangaki 2013.

<sup>37</sup> In ethnographic interviews that author Sharon E. J. Gerstel conducted in the Mani and on Crete, villagers frequently referred to immured bowls as *tagmata*. In many churches of Crete, the bowls are arranged in a cross shape. See vol. 2, 426 and n. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Moschou et al. 1998.

<sup>39</sup> Papamastorakis 1987. Papamastorakis identifies the Episkopi as the Church of Saint George mentioned in a letter of 1222 from Demetrios Chomatianos, which mentions Georgios Daimonogiannis. For the letter, see Kordosis 1986, 126–32.

was indeed built by Daimonogiannis, its painted programme should be dated before c. 1222.<sup>40</sup>

Analysis of the stunning decoration of the nave has often eclipsed discussions of the narthex in considerations of monumental painting in the region. The programme of the western vestibule is dominated by the Last Judgement, which covers the upper vaults and walls of the chamber. A fragmentary donor's inscription is located on the east wall of the north bay of the narthex; the name of the donor is unfortunately not preserved.<sup>41</sup> Although much of the painting in the narthex is damaged (particularly the painting in the north bay), the vaults were covered by elegant images of Apostles enthroned on elaborate wooden benches. On the south vault, above the heads of the Apostles Simon and Philip, is written a text from Matthew 25:41, in beautiful uncial letters: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels.' As seen in other chapters in this volume and in other churches in this chapter, this text was frequently included in the scene of the Last Judgement.<sup>42</sup> Immediately below the Apostles, at ground level, is the scene of the Baptism, which is often linked, in village churches, with the location of a font for holy water that was employed for both spiritual and physical healing.<sup>43</sup> The juxtaposition of the scenes was surely not accidental. Adjacent to the Apostles, in the lunette of the south wall, is the scene of the fiery afterworld, with a blackened and bearded Satan at the centre, enthroned on a coiled dragon (Fig. 7.6). The dragon is elaborately painted, with carefully articulated scales, an extended tail and menacing teeth. At the left side of the composition, a small, winged demon is pulling the beard of a bishop consigned to the flames. A second bishop, on the right side of the composition, is similarly tormented by a small, black, winged demon. The heads of seven additional figures poke out of the flames – these are laypeople, clerics and two imperial figures who are labelled in a 13th-century church in Kouvaras, Attica, as Herod and Herodias.<sup>44</sup> At the

<sup>40</sup> For stylistic dating of the church to the first quarter of the 13th century, see Mouriki 1980–1, 113–14; Drandakis 1986, 692. This dating represents a change from the traditionally published date of the painting to c. 1200.

<sup>41</sup> The incomplete inscription reads: 'The all-holy church has been completed . . .' (ΕΤΕΛΗΘ[Η] [ . . . ] [Π]Α(Ν)ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ[ΑΟC] / ΕΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΗ [ . . . ] Ο ΠΑΝΣΕΠΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ). Drandakis 1995, 159.

<sup>42</sup> See above, n. 9. The same inscription is found in the narthex of Panagia Chrysaphitissa outside of Chrysapha. See Drandakis 1982–3, 394.

<sup>43</sup> Gerstel 2015, 162–5.

<sup>44</sup> Mouriki 1975–6, 149. Herod and Herodias are also included in Crete at Mpentenaki, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89).





Fig. 7.6 Church of Episkopi, Condemned in Hell with Satan at centre, c. 1220, wall painting (south wall lunette, narthex), Inner Mani, the Peloponnese

west end of the lunette is the only labelled figure, who is represented larger in scale and turned to the west wall; this is the Rich Man (ὁ Πλούσιος), who brings his finger to his mouth 'that [Lazarus] may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue' (Luke 16:24). Within the lunette composition, it is impossible to ignore the special treatment given to bishops who receive direct attention from the two small demons. What is interesting is the representation of two sanctified bishops below the scene. They share similar vestments – particularly their prominent *omophoria* – with those who are tormented above their heads in the lunette. It is impossible to know whether this juxtaposition was intended as a warning to the clergy or whether it manifested ambivalent feelings of a rural community towards the church hierarchy. Opposite the Apostles in the same north vault are represented three compartments of Communal Punishments in Hell, each labelled: the Gnashing of Teeth (ο βρυγμός των οδόντων / *o vrygmos ton odonton*), the Everlasting Fire (το άσβεστον πυρ / *to asveston pyr*) and the Sleepless Worm (ο σκώληξ ο ακοίμητος / *o skolix o akoimitos*) (Fig. 7.7). The Everlasting Fire contains naked female figures, who stand against the red background; thin serpents rise sinuously from the bottom of the composition, mirroring the form of the undulating flames in the background. The south bay of the narthex, therefore, is fully devoted to scenes of Hell.



Fig. 7.7 Church of Episkopi, the Gnashing of Teeth, the Everlasting Fire and the Sleepless Worm, c. 1220, wall painting (west half of southern vault, narthex), Inner Mani, the Peloponnese

The raised, central bay of the narthex contains the partially preserved image of an angel in profile over the west portal, which may form part of the representation of the Hetoimasia. The figures of the enthroned Apostles continue in the upper registers of this bay. Immediately below them, on the north and south sides, are vertical bands of the Earth and Sea Giving Up their Dead. The ten fish in the representation of the sea all swim towards the west side of the church, with human body parts – a head, a hand, a foot – protruding from several of their mouths (Fig. 7.8).

The paintings in the north bay are poorly preserved. In the vaults, one can detect two additional enthroned Apostles on the east side, while the Choirs of the Elect are depicted on the west side. It is likely that the representation of Paradise was originally painted in the north lunette, counterbalancing the infernal representation on the opposite wall. The programme in the Episkopi narthex is a carefully painted, balanced composition representing beliefs in the afterlife as expressed in both biblical verse and vivid imagery. The painter makes full use of the architectural configuration of the space to create a site of judgement, with eight enthroned Apostles in the central bay through which the faithful passed, and pairs of Apostles in each of the side bays, which the faithful viewed when looking east. At the same time, the narthex is a space of intercession, as is made clear by the representation of a female saint on the west wall,



Fig. 7.8 Church of Episkopi, the Sea Giving Up its Dead below Enthroned Apostles, c. 1220, wall painting (central bay, narthex), Inner Mani, the Peloponnese

likely Anne,<sup>45</sup> dressed in a crimson robe and *maphorion*, with her hands raised in supplication.

Like the Episkopi, the nearby Agetria (Virgin Hodegetria) Church, close to the village of Hagia Kyriaki, is a domed, two-column, cross-in-square church, although slightly smaller in scale. It, too, is intervisible with Tigani, forming part of a chain of churches that sacralised the west coast of the peninsula. These buildings and a third church, the Blacherna in Mezapos,<sup>46</sup> were visually connected to the old metropolitan centre, whose traces can be found on the low peninsula. The narthex, which has the same architectural form as that of the Episkopi, was added after the church's initial construction in c. 1200. At the juncture between the two parts of the church, a carved plaque once set above the entrance included the name of a supplicant: 'Lord help your servant Vasileios Klisekdikon' (ΚΕΒΟΗΘΗΤΟΔΟΥΛΟCOΥΒΑΧΛΙΟΝΤΟΥΚΛΗCΕΓΔΗΚΟΥ / Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλον σου Βασίλειον τοῦ Κλησεκδίκου / *Kyrie voithei ton doulon sou Vasileion tou Klisekdikou*).<sup>47</sup> The same name, Vasileios, appears on part of the epistyle of the sanctuary screen. Yet another inscription in the

<sup>45</sup> The last letter of the saint's name, to the right side of her head, is A. The colour of the robe is consistent with the representation of Anne, the mother of the Virgin.

<sup>46</sup> For the painting of the church, see Tomeković 1983.

<sup>47</sup> See Drandakis 1977, 215; Drandakis 1995, 234, n. 19. The plaque, now damaged, is in the possession of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia.

church names the supplicant Georgios Akolenpos and his wife.<sup>48</sup> These inscriptions belong to the initial construction of the church before the addition of the narthex, and they demonstrate the interest of the rural community in the building and its decoration. Isolated on a rocky outcrop, the church served, at some point in its history, as the *katholikon* of a small monastery.<sup>49</sup>

The decoration of the narthex, c. 1240–50, is thematically similar to that of the Episkopi: an indication that the painter of this church knew the earlier monument well.<sup>50</sup> Differences in artistic style are evidence of the chronological gap between the two programmes. Much of the painting is still covered with whitewash, a condition that currently precludes full analysis of the decoration. Adjusting for the smaller scale of the narthex, the twelve Apostles, tightly compressed and attenuated, are collected in the central bay. Below them, above the arches that connect to the lateral vaults, are representations of the Earth and Sea Giving Up their Dead. Here, in the representation of the sea, are included those who perished in shipwrecks (Fig. 7.9). Fish swim towards the east disgorging human body parts, including a head and a foot.

Above the entrance to the nave is a representation that is missing in the Episkopi: Christ in Judgement, framed by a mandorla and flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist. Surrounding this core composition are cherubim and angels. This representation, based on Matthew 19:28,<sup>51</sup> is linked to the Last Judgement cycle in the narthex, but also prepares the faithful to cross over the threshold into the nave. On the west wall of the chamber, above the main entrance, Drandakis has identified the representation of the Hetoimasia.<sup>52</sup> As in the Episkopi, the south bay is covered with scenes from Hell, with Satan at the centre of the lunette and the compartments of Communal Punishments on the west side of the vault. The lunette decoration is far simpler than that at Episkopi; fewer heads emerge from the flames and the two small demons are missing. The figure of the Rich Man, inscribed here as the Rich Man *and* Lazarus (ο πλούσι[ος] καὶ λάζαρος), is positioned identically in both churches, facing the compartments of sinners on the

<sup>48</sup> Drandakis 1977, pl. 133γ.

<sup>49</sup> The remains of the surrounding monastic structures, which include cells, storage rooms, ossuaries etc., have not yet been studied.

<sup>50</sup> For the church, see Tomeković 1982; Drandakis 1995, 223–58.

<sup>51</sup> In translation, the text reads: 'When the son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory.'

<sup>52</sup> Drandakis 1995, 251.





Fig. 7.9 Church of Agetria, the Sea Giving Up its Dead, c. 1240–50, wall painting (central bay, narthex), Inner Mani, the Peloponnese

adjacent wall (Fig. 7.10).<sup>53</sup> Though the images are thematically similar, the painter has simplified the compositions to fit the space and, undoubtedly, the budget of the patrons.

On the eastern, sunward side of the Inner Mani, Saint Nicholas in Exo Nyphi preserves traces of a Last Judgement cycle in the vault of the narthex.<sup>54</sup> The church is sited on the edge of a modern-day cemetery. The large number of supplicatory inscriptions in the building and the decoration of its narthex suggest that Saint Nicholas served a burial function even in the Middle Ages. The early 13th-century layer of the church's painted decoration includes the very damaged scene of the Weighing of the Souls at the west end of the north side of the narthex vault.<sup>55</sup> It is followed by six enthroned Apostles, including Thomas, Bartholomew and John (Fig. 7.11). The remaining paintings from this layer are covered by later, primarily late 13th- and early 14th-century representations, which include

<sup>53</sup> The symbol above the ending of the word ΠΛΟΥΣΙ, from what can be seen today, corresponds palaeographically with the tachygraphy for κκα and with 13th-century dense writing. The scribe appears to distinguish between Lazarus and the Rich Man. See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 155, n. 223, concerning analogous cases in 14th-century Cretan churches.

<sup>54</sup> The portraits of Cosmas and Damian and an equestrian saint on the south wall also belong to this early layer. The church has been preliminarily published in Agrevi 2008–9.

<sup>55</sup> The scene is unpublished.



Fig. 7.10 Church of Agetria, the Rich Man and Lazarus, c. 1240–50, wall painting (south wall, narthex), Inner Mani, the Peloponnese



Fig. 7.11 Church of Saint Nicholas, the Weighing of the Souls and Enthroned Apostles, early 13th century, wall painting (north side of vault, narthex), Exo Nyphi, Mani, the Peloponnese



portraits of donors, saints, and inscriptions mentioning communal participation in the construction of this village church.<sup>56</sup>

The decoration of the narthex of the Episkopi and Agetria, and to some extent that of the Church of Saint Nicholas in Exo Nyphi, follows a pattern seen in many churches, as well as in manuscripts, icons and ivories associated with Komnenian Constantinople,<sup>57</sup> where the sins of the condemned are corporate rather than individual. Details like the careful representation of the dragon and Satan, as well as the compartments of the sinners, lead to a source outside of the isolated Mani.<sup>58</sup> Scholars have asserted that the sophisticated programme of the Episkopi may be artistically linked to the influence of Constantinopolitan style. It is plausible that the donor of the church, whose seat was in Monemvasia, may have introduced a metropolitan form to the painters.

From the evidence available today, representations of *individuals* punished in Hell for sins related to the body, the family and society, appear in the Inner Mani only at the end of the 13th century. In this manner of representing the condemned, the Mani forms part of a pan-Mediterranean trend in graphically presenting – particularly within the context of village society – sins that destabilised local order, expressed concerns over gender relations and questioned the power of the elite, whether secular or ecclesiastical, over those who worked the land.

Three churches in the Inner Mani include representations of Individual Sinners within their programmes. In the late 13th century, a layer of painting was added to the narthex of the Church of the Archangel Michael in Ano Boularioi.<sup>59</sup> This is a domed, two-column, cross-in-square church located at the site of Diporo on the outskirts of a large agrarian village. An inscription, which names village donors and lists agricultural offerings (fields and their produce) in support of the church, is painted on the same wall in the narthex as the Last Judgement.<sup>60</sup> Here, we find the representation of the condemned in a chamber that was intended to house burials. Not only are two pseudo-sarcophagi preserved along the north and south walls of the chamber, but a subterranean ossuary is found below the pavement.<sup>61</sup> Immediately above the donor's inscription are the compartments of the Sleepless Worm and the Gnashing of Teeth. These

<sup>56</sup> For the late 13th- and early 14th-century inscriptions in this church, see Katsafados 2015, 102–24.

<sup>57</sup> For collected images of the Last Judgement, see Garidis 1982.

<sup>58</sup> For a comparison of the form of the dragon to representations in manuscripts and icons, see Tsaka 2010, 473–94.

<sup>59</sup> Drandakis 1995, 464; Gerstel 2015, 116. <sup>60</sup> Drandakis 1995, 465.

<sup>61</sup> Gerstel 2015, 116. See also Saitas 2009, 374–5.

compartments, framed in the usual thick red bands, take up a small part of the wall surface. More room is given to the adjacent two scenes, which represent male and female sinners separated by gender and individually labelled. These scenes constitute a departure from what had come before in the Inner Mani, based on surviving evidence, by moving from collective to individual sins. In one compartment, the hands of the naked men are bound to the upper frame of the composition (Fig. 7.12). Three of the male sinners are labelled, left to right, as: ‘the man who ploughs over the boundary line’ (ὁ παραυλακιστής / *o paravlakistis*); ‘the man who reaps over the boundary line’ (ὁ παραθεριστής / *o paratheristis*); and ‘the man who cheats at the scales’ (ὁ παρακαμπανιστής / *o parakampanistis*). The fourth sinner is not labelled, but may have some connection to the church; he wears a white conical hat. The female sinners in the adjacent compartment are also individually labelled: ‘the woman who circulates outside of the house’ (ἡ παραβγένουσα / *η παραβγαίνουσα / i paravgenousa*), ‘the woman who refuses to nurse orphans’ (ἡ μὴ θηλάζουσα τάρφανά / *η μη θηλάζουσα τα ορφανά / i mi thilazousa ta orphana*), and ‘the eavesdropper’ (ἡ παρακροοῦμενι / *η παρακροοῦμενη / i parakrooumeni*) (Fig. 7.13). The represented sins concern village order – the maintenance of agricultural and commercial norms, the establishment of gender roles in village society and the codification of social behaviour.



Fig. 7.12 Church of the Archangel Michael, Compartments of sinners and donors' inscription, late 13th century, wall painting (west wall, narthex), Diporo, Ano Boularioi, Mani, the Peloponnese



Fig. 7.13 Church of the Archangel Michael, the Woman who circulates outside of the house, the woman who refuses to nurse orphans, the eavesdropper, late 13th century, wall painting (west wall, narthex), Diporo, Ano Boularioi, Mani, the Peloponnese

The burial Church of Saint Kyriaki in Kounos (Pentakia), in the same region of the Mani, is one of five small churches that are said to have been built in close proximity to one another. The surviving three churches are located in a modern-day cemetery, likely the location of a medieval burial ground. Indeed, the dirt floor of Saint Kyriaki has yielded many fragments of human bones.<sup>62</sup> Much of the imagery on the church's west wall has been destroyed, but the partially preserved images of three female sinners still remain to the south of the door (Fig. 7.14).<sup>63</sup> The central figure, with her right hand raised in speech and a snake biting her left ear, is 'the slanderer' (ἡ καταλαλήτρια / *katalaletria*). The figure to the left, who is bitten by snakes on her ears and breast, is less easy to identify. The inscription adjacent to her head appears to read 'ou alofe . . . ousa'. It is likely, based on the position of the snakes, that she engaged in sins concerned with nursing infants, a scene commonly represented in villages.<sup>64</sup> The third figure, whose hands are raised above her head, is too fragmentary to identify, and there is no visible inscription. To the right of the door, pendant to the scene of the female sinners, is the representation of the Sacrifice of Abraham. The image above the portal is very

<sup>62</sup> Personal observation by author Sharon E. J. Gerstel in June 2015. <sup>63</sup> Gerstel 2015, 97–8.

<sup>64</sup> +ΟΥ ΑΛΟΦΗ[ . . . ]ΟΥΣΑ / ου αλλοβυ[ζαί]νουσα, which can freely be translated as 'refusing to nurse other infants'.



Fig. 7.14 Church of Saint Kyriaki, Female sinners, 13th century, wall painting (west wall), Kounos, Mani, the Peloponnese

fragmentary, but is likely to be the scene of Crucifixion. It appears that the framed depiction of sinning women at ground level adjacent to the west door is similar to the placement of such representations in many small churches in Crete, where the faithful are confronted at eye level with messages about the consequences of immoral behaviour before leaving the church.

In the Inner Mani, the most complex Byzantine scene of the Last Judgement is found in the narthex of the imposing domed Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Transfiguration) in Gardenitsa. The church is similar in form to that of the Archangel Michael in Ano Boularioi, and it is also located on the outskirts of a large agrarian village. Although images of sinners within the narthex vault were initially published as 18th-century,<sup>65</sup> the scenes have been reassessed following restoration work in 2010 by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia. In a recent publication, the scenes have been preliminarily described by Evangelia Pantou, who provisionally dated them to the 15th century.<sup>66</sup> Based on analysis of the inscriptions, however, co-author Panayotis S. Katsafados is reassigning the paintings to c. 1325, and links them to the hand of Nomikos, a known painter in the region.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Gkioles 1994, 328, n. 2. <sup>66</sup> Pantou 2008–9, 257, n. 164.

<sup>67</sup> Katsafados 2015, 75. The work of the local painter Nomikos (Νομικός), who was active during the third decade of the 14th century, was presented at the 38th Spring Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society (Katsafados 2018), and is the subject of a volume in preparation by Katsafados.

In the Gardenitsa church, the sinners are represented in eight red-bordered rectangular compartments. Inscriptions, part in minuscule, part in majuscule, record the sins of the depicted figures. The scenes are paired thematically. In the lowest register of the west part of the vault are the paired representations of the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The Sea Giving Up its Dead is dominated by four large fish who disgorge human body parts. The largest sea creature clenches the stern of a ship that holds two passengers (Fig. 7.15). The inclusion of a ship in this composition is not unique; in the same scene in Saint Nicholas, Malagari in Megara, dated to the late 13th century, a personification of the sea, labelled Θάλασσα, holds aloft a small ship with two frightened passengers (Fig. 7.16).<sup>68</sup> In the Church of Saint George, Vavylas (Epidauros Limera) described above, the personification of the sea carries a single-masted ship with an unfurled rectangular sail. In the scene of the Earth Giving Up its Dead, today missing from the earlier churches in the Mani described above, human body parts emerge from the mouths of three quadrupeds (including a wolf) and one bird. These representations roughly follow those in the earlier Episkopi and Agetria churches, while adding several important details. The inclusion of a ship with passengers alludes to the dangers of sea travel, a danger that was all too familiar to the residents of the Mani. At Gardenitsa, the careful representation of a wolf and the unusual depiction of low hills in the background suggest that the painter was also emphasising dangers presented by roaming the surrounding countryside.

Male and female sinners are represented in the upper register of the west part of the vault. As in the church in Ano Boularioi, the sinners are divided by gender into two panels.<sup>69</sup> The compartment of men focuses on sins related to the church (Fig. 7.17). A large plant with flaring branches divides the composition into two halves and provides the structure from which one of the figures is suspended on the left side. The naked man, whose hands and feet are bound to one of the branches, is identified by an inscription as ‘the *oikonomos* of the church’, the church steward who misappropriates offerings.<sup>70</sup> A naked figure with a monastic cowl is suspended by his feet to

<sup>68</sup> The scene is unpublished. For an image of one of the donors from the church, see Athanasoulis 2013, 206–7. See also Agrevis 2018.

<sup>69</sup> See Warland in this volume, 256 and n. 70, who suggests that this is encountered for the first time in Cappadocia. For an example on Crete, see vol. 2, cat. no. 19.

<sup>70</sup> +ουτο(σ) εστηνόνικονώμο(σ) τ(ῆ)σ(ε) εκκλησι(α)σ(ε) / οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας / *outos estin o oikonomos tis ekklesias*. For this office, see Leontaritou 1996. For discussions of this figure in apocalyptic literature, see Baun 2007, 355. For images of condemned priests in Cretan scenes of hell, see Gerstel 2015, 135–8 and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 146 (no. 20).





Fig. 7.15 Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Soter) (Transfiguration), the Sea Giving Up its Dead (detail), c. 1325, wall painting (south vault, narthex), Gardenitsa, Mani, the Peloponnese



Fig. 7.16 Church of Saint Nicholas, the Sea Giving Up its (or her) Dead (detail of the personification of the Sea holding a boat), 13th century, wall painting (south wall), Malagari, Megara



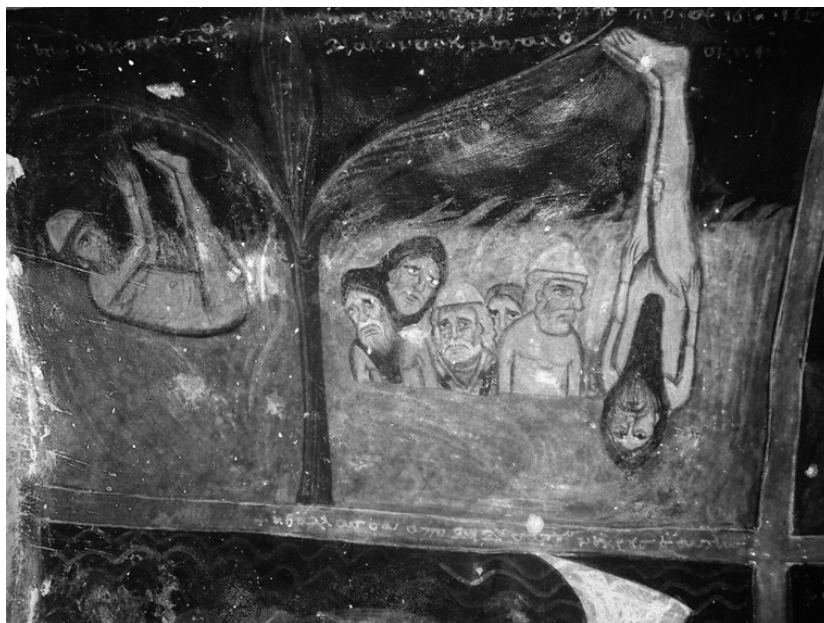


Fig. 7.17 Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Soter) (Transfiguration), Male sinners associated with the Church, c. 1325, wall painting (south vault, narthex), Gardenitsa, Mani, the Peloponnese

the right side of the plant. Above him and the adjacent figures, who peer out of the Lake of Fire, is an inscription that identifies them as ‘archpriests, priests, deacons and monks who have taken the Great Schema’.<sup>71</sup> The composition is a harsh condemnation of churchmen, including both those from the lay clergy and those who have taken monastic vows. Nearly all of the figures wear head coverings that signify their positions. This condemnation of clergymen is not unique to the Mani. A sinner in the 13th-century Church of Saint George in Kouvaras, Attica, for example, is labelled as the ‘evil-minded archimandrite’ (κακόφρον αρχιμανδρίτης / *kakofron archimadritis*).<sup>72</sup>

The adjacent panel is reserved for female sinners (Fig. 7.18). These, too, are linked to the church: *presbyterai* who do not honour their husbands, and nuns.<sup>73</sup> The condemned women are grouped with the unusual

<sup>71</sup> Ἀρχιερεῖς(σ)·ιερεῖς(σ) | Διάκονοι·κ(αι) μεγαλόσχημοι / αρχιερεῖς, ιερεῖς, διάκονοι και μεγαλόσχημοι / *archiereis, iereis, diakonoi kai megaloschimoi*.

<sup>72</sup> See Mouriki 1975–6, 149. See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, 146 (no. 20). For ‘unworthy priests’ in general, see Tsamakda 2012, 156–9 (no. 8).

<sup>73</sup> Η ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΑΙ ΗΜΙ ΤΙΜΩΣΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΑΥΤ(ΩΝ) / αἱ πρεσβυτέραι αἱ μὴ τιμῶσαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν / *ai presbyterai ai mi timosai tous iereis auton* and Η ΜΟΝΑΣΤΡΙΑΙ / αἱ μονάστριαι / *ai monastriai*, respectively.

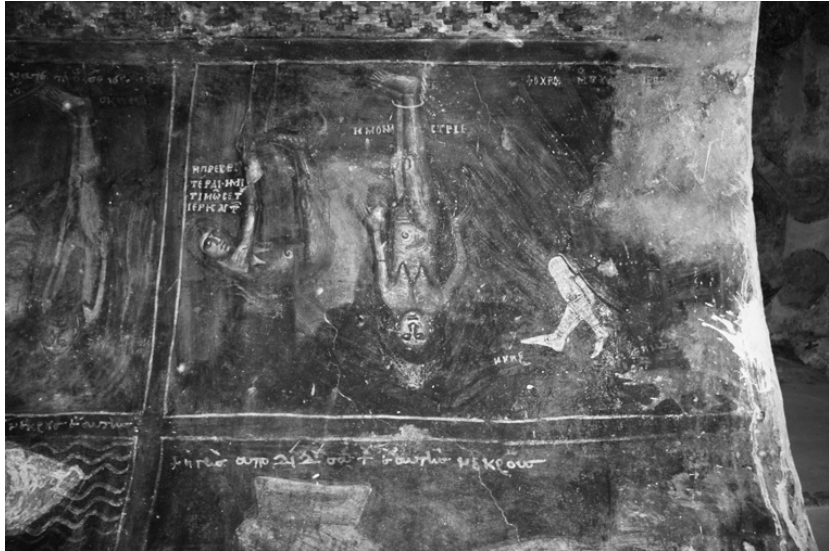


Fig. 7.18 Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Soter) (Transfiguration), Female sinners associated with the Church, the Time of Man, c. 1325, wall painting (south vault, narthex), Gardenitsa, Mani, the Peloponnese

personification of ‘the Time of Mankind’,<sup>74</sup> together with threatening dogs who are labelled as ‘Night and Day’.<sup>75</sup> The condemnation of the *presbyterai* is consistent with descriptions in Byzantine apocalyptic texts of priests’ wives who remarried after their husbands’ deaths.<sup>76</sup> Nuns who have broken their vows and cenobitic nuns are also singled out as subject to damnation in Byzantine texts.<sup>77</sup> The emphasis on punishments for those who committed sins against the Church is unusual in this Maniote church, and may have served as a painted commentary on events that were happening in the region at the time in which the paintings were executed, or an awareness of the type of apocalyptic literature and stories that circulated widely in the empire. Alternatively, the paintings may express the views of the church donor, a clergyman, who is represented in the north bay of the same narthex.<sup>78</sup> The emphasis on temporality embodied in the figures labelled as the Time of Mankind, the Night and the Day gives an

<sup>74</sup> + ΟΧΡΟΨΟ(Ν) ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ / ο χρόνος του ανθρώπου / *o chronos tou anthropou*.

<sup>75</sup> Ἦν’ Ἡς Ἡμέρα / Ἡ νύξ Ἡ [ἡ]μέρα / *i nyx, i imera*.

<sup>76</sup> Baun 2007, 361. The *presbyterai* are condemned in both the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*. For these and related passages in other sources, see also Stathakopoulos, Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this volume, Chapters 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Sullivan et al. 2014, 554–7. <sup>78</sup> Diamanti 2010.



Fig. 7.19 Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Soter) (Transfiguration), Female sinners, c. 1325, wall painting (south vault, narthex), Gardenitsa, Mani, the Peloponnese

urgency to the representation, which places fragile human time within the framework of eternal time.

Four naked female figures are contained within yet another of the eight compartments in the church in Gardenitsa (Fig. 7.19). Three are shackled by their raised and crossed hands to the upper border of the composition. The second figure from the left hangs with a noose around her neck. The figures are strikingly similar to the representations in the Archangel Michael in Ano Boularioi. The women are labelled as: ‘she who refuses to nurse infants’ (ΗμΗθ(η)λάζουσα Τανήπι(α) / η μη θηλάζουσα τα νήπια / *i mi thilazousa ta nipia*),<sup>79</sup> ‘the female fornicator’ (ηπωρ(νι)σα / η πόρνισσα / *i pornissa*),<sup>80</sup> and ‘the eavesdropper’ (ή παρακροάστρηα / η παρακροάστρια / *i parakroastria*).<sup>81</sup> The fourth figure, unusually, is labelled as a ‘quarrelsome’ person.<sup>82</sup> The female figures all have snakes biting the parts of their body associated with their sins.

<sup>79</sup> See Gerstel 2002, 211; Gerstel 2015, 91.

<sup>80</sup> For the translation as ‘fornicator’, see Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 98–9 and 157–8 respectively.

<sup>81</sup> In some churches, this figure is labelled παραφουγκραστρέα. See Gerstel 2015, 97 and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 153–4.

<sup>82</sup> The word, although misspelt, could be the informal female form of συμβαλλομάχος; see Dimitrakos 1953, vol. 8/15, 6794: (here with one λ) ‘συμβαλομάχος = ό διαπληκτιζόμενος, ό συμβάλλων τινά ή συμβαλλόμενος εις μάχην, meaning: quarrelsome’; see also Lampe 1961, 1280: “συμβαλλόμενος”, prone to fighting, contentious’. The word is used for example by Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Departure of the Soul and on the Second Coming*, PG, vol. 77, *Homiliae*



Fig. 7.20 Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour (Soter) (Transfiguration), Male sinners, c. 1325, wall painting (south vault, narthex), Gardenitsa, Mani, the Peloponnese

The adjacent scene contains images of male sinners: ‘the forger’ (ὁ ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦ(ΩΝ) / ο παραγράφων / *o paragrafon*), ‘the gossip’ (Ὁ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑ(ΩΝ) / ο παραλαλών / *o paralalon*),<sup>83</sup> and ‘the falsifier of measurements’ (or ‘the one who cheats at the scales’) (ΟΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝ(Ι)ΖΩΝ / ο παρακαμπανίζων / *o parakampanizon*) (Fig. 7.20).<sup>84</sup> One additional figure is labelled as ‘the man who dilutes wine’ (ΟΠΑΡΑ(?Κ)ΡΑΧΟΜΕΙΞΟΜΕΝΟΣ / ο παρακρασομειξόμενος / *o parakrasomeixomenos*), referring to a wine merchant who waters down his product.<sup>85</sup>

Representations of male sinners engaged in agrarian transgressions, for example ploughing over the boundary line or stealing livestock, are commonly found in rural churches throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>86</sup> Such figures are not included among the restored figures of the condemned in the Gardenitsa church, although they may still be covered by whitewash. The preserved scenes represent infractions in financial and commercial

*diversae* 14, 1085: Οὐαὶ τοῖς παρακροαταῖς, καὶ συμβαλλομάχοις, καὶ ταρχοποιοῖς. We thank Vasiliki Tsamakda for bringing this form to our attention.

<sup>83</sup> The rendering of παραλαλών as gossip instead of slanderer is preferable, since distorting or purposely modifying someone’s sayings (παραλαλώ) is inherent in gossip; it is different to the false and malicious statement (or report) about someone, which is associated with the slanderer (καταλαλώ) and fits better with the participle καταλαλών.

<sup>84</sup> Drandakis 1964, 64. A part of the scale’s beam is visible, arranged as in several Cretan churches. The term παραζυγιστής, which is more common for this sin (cheating at the scales), is found in Saint Michael the Archangel in Ano Boularioi.

<sup>85</sup> This figure is found in post-Byzantine representations in the region. See Pantou 2008–9, 249.

<sup>86</sup> Gerstel 2002, 211.



activities. Sinners frequently carry attributes that can help, in tandem with inscriptions, to identify their crimes.<sup>87</sup> The one who cheats at the scales, for example, appears to hold an object that resembles a rectangular stick or the ruler of a balance.

The sins represented in Gardenitsa express concerns about moral behaviour in a small community. Many of the sins, particularly those of the female figures, are commonly represented in the Inner Mani and elsewhere. Several of the male sins, including the forging of documents and cheating at the scales, can be linked to other representations of the period, such as the image of the usurer, the dishonest miller etc., found in churches on Crete. Like the sins of the women, these male sins manifest the day-to-day concerns of villagers about legal and commercial transactions, which were frequently linked to moral behaviour. The Gardenitsa images are unusual, however, in stressing particular concerns about the Church. Whether one can link the represented sins to the concerns of the learned donor, whose portrait is found in the same space, needs to be further explored. The donor, who possibly came to the Mani from elsewhere, may have been commenting on conditions in the region.

The depiction of images of the condemned in Hell in churches of the late 13th century and later in the Mani indicates a change in representations of the afterlife in this region. Rather than focusing on the compartments of Hell found in late 12th- and earlier 13th-century churches – the Sleepless Worm, the Gnashing of Teeth, etc. – which are found in metropolitan art and also express notions brought up in apocalyptic texts, the later churches turn towards moral infractions that plagued villagers. It is interesting that such representations began to appear in the Mani after 1262, when the fortress of Maina, and consequently the region, had been returned to imperial control and had been assigned the role of a military base whence the conquered lands could be retaken. The putative population expansion, economic growth and adoption of social practices related to ‘urbanisation’ resulted in an upsurge in church construction, which may have stimulated an interest in expanding the canon of scenes found on ecclesiastical walls. The selection of sins speaks not only to the broader concerns of the Church, but also to those of local communities that could be destabilised by the actions of immoral or corrupt individuals. As in many agricultural regions in Byzantium, small settlements were characterised by densely built houses, where gossip and dishonest behaviour could create schisms

<sup>87</sup> For the depiction of the instruments of the sinners used to warn unlettered laypeople, see Mouriki 1975–6, 161; Gerstel 2002, 212.

within families and among neighbours. Agreements over landholdings and trade, while protected by law, were more likely to be regulated between families, who needed to collaborate in such activities as harvesting crops and threshing. Individuals who sought more than their fair share, either through aggressive behaviour, such as ploughing over boundary lines, or through cheating, such as diluting wine with water, were quickly stigmatised, both verbally and, it appears, on the painted walls of the church. The sins represented on the walls are also accounted for by the differentiated roles of men and women in the village. Women who were sexually promiscuous or who wandered around the village would certainly have been condemned in the village square. A woman named as a witch, too, was one who dabbled in activities that were unsanctioned by the Church. Rather than being envisioned as a physical space, Hell, in the village, was the ever-seeing eyes of one's neighbours and the need to conform to a set of harsh codes that regulated everyday life.

Among the many sins included in the Mani representations are those of gossip and eavesdropping. Although these sins are usually associated with condemned women in painted churches, the Gardenitsa church includes the depiction of a male gossipier (Ο ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑ(ΩΝ) / ο παραλαλών / *paralalon*). Like actions that had economic repercussions, the spread of gossip – obtained through sharing information, spying or overhearing – was a danger to small communities.<sup>88</sup>

Added to the picture of Hell in the Mani, is the frequent and perhaps surprising condemnation of clergymen. The Gardenitsa church represents ordained men, monks and nuns, and the wives of priests who have sinned. These are much more vivid judgements than the inclusion of bishops in the Episkopi lunette. Circulating within the village, the priest, who was also a farmer, was held to a high moral standard. But surely many fell below the threshold.

Evangelia Pantou has addressed the continued representation and proliferation of sinners in post-Byzantine churches in the region, in a study of fourteen churches in the northern and eastern part of the Mani.<sup>89</sup> The old Byzantine Hell illustrations, occasionally updated through the introduction of new labels to characterise the same crimes, remained and were enriched by new sinners who represented violations of contemporary social and moral codes.<sup>90</sup> The long-standing moral crimes of the unfaithful

<sup>88</sup> Gerstel 2015, 96–100.

<sup>89</sup> Pantou 2008–9. Pantou is engaged in a lengthier study of Last Judgement scenes in post-Byzantine churches in the region.

<sup>90</sup> Labels found in older Byzantine churches were often retained, occasionally in variant but etymologically equivalent writing, such as 'the one who counterfeits documents' (ο



woman, the old social misbehaviours, agrarian deceptions and fraudulent economic transactions were still frequently represented, while supplementary new sinners like the liar (ψεύτης / *pseftis*), traitor (προδότης / *prodotis*), informer (καταδότης / *katadotis*), perjurer (επιόρκος / *epiorkos*), drunkard (μεθυστής / *methystis*) and others entered into the list of the condemned, all mirroring the day-to-day concerns of the community. The scenes of the sinners' torments were now separated from the Last Judgement and simply served a moralistic role.

The decoration of the Church of Saints Constantine and Helena in the large village of Lagia, close to Tainaron, provides an excellent example of a village church that was decorated in 1862 for the extended members of a family.<sup>91</sup> On the west wall of the church, under the scene of the Crucifixion, are two bands of paintings devoted to the representation of Hell. The lower band has wide panels representing the compartments of the Sleepless Worm and the Gnashing of Teeth. The narrow band above is a parade of sinners, each labelled and marked with the attributes of their crime. The figures begin at the left with the witch, who is confronted by an angelic (demonic?) figure painted in white (Fig. 7.21). They appear to tussle over a mirror that she holds in her left hand. Adjacent to her is the thief, who is chained by his neck and his upraised wrists to the upper frame. The images continue with the one who cheats at the scales, a male sinner, the man who ploughs over the boundary line, a promiscuous man, a murderer, a greedy and unjust man (ΑΡΠΑΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΚΗΣ / άρπαγος και αδικης / *arpagos kai adikis*), and finally, those who sleep on Sunday rather than attending church services (Ὁ ΚΗΜΟΜΕΝ(ΟΙ) ΣΤ(ΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ) / οἱ κοιμώμενοι στην

παραγράφων / *o paragrafon*), 'the one refusing to nurse infants' (η μη θηλάζουσα τα νήπια / *i mi thilazousa ta nipia*), 'the eavesdropper' (η παρακροάστρια / *i parakroastria*), the female fornicator (η πόρνη / *i porni*; for the translation 'fornicator', see Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 98–9 and 157–8 respectively). The labels could also occasionally be changed. For example, 'the one who cheats at the scales' was changed from παρακαμπανίζων (*parakampanizon*) to παραζυγιστής (*parazygistis*), etc. In the Church of the Saviour, Gardenitsa, the innovative sinners labelled as 'nuns' (ΜΟΝΑΧΤΡΙΕ / μονάστριαι / *monastriai*), 'priests' wives (ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΑΙ / πρεσβυτέραι / *presbyterai*), 'the one who dilutes wine' (ΠΑΡΑ(?)ΚΑΧΟΜΕΙΞΟΜΕΝΟΣ / παρακρασομειξόμενος / *parakrasomeixomenos*) are unattested elsewhere in the Peloponnese and can be considered either as borrowings by the painter or as his artistic rendering of descriptions of common sins of his period. In the decades that followed until the post Byzantine era, these labels were canonised in church painting as ἀποκαλογραία / *apokalograia*, παπαδιά / *papadia* and κρασποῦλος / *krasopoulos*, respectively. See also Pantou 2008–9, 241–3.

<sup>91</sup> The date is found above the portal adjacent to the image of Saint Constantine. For the church: Kassia 1990, 62, 63, 315. The date of 1866 should be corrected to 1862.



Fig. 7.21 Church of Saints Constantine and Helena, Witch, 1862, wall painting (west wall), Lagia, Mani, the Peloponnese



Fig. 7.22 Church of Saints Constantine and Helena, Sinners sleeping on Sunday, 1862, wall painting (west wall), Lagia, Mani, the Peloponnese

Κυριακή / *oi koimomenoi stin Kyriaki*, Fig. 7.22). Represented behind the backs of the congregants in this small chapel, the figures formed a powerful social commentary on the habits of the villagers.

## 7.5 Conclusion

Rural village churches in the Inner Mani and Epidauros Limera, connected to the larger cities of Mystras and Monemvasia in the late Byzantine period and to Crete and other islands after the fall of the empire, follow trends seen in the articulation of Hell in monumental painting elsewhere in Byzantium. The two churches in Epidauros Limera, linked to Monemvasia, include sins described in apocalyptic texts that circulated broadly. The painters of the Church of Saint John Chrysostom, set on a hill outside of Velanidia, were certainly aware of unusual sinners – including poison-makers and spell-casters – but also of heretical figures who were popularly condemned in Byzantine apocalyptic texts.

Politically isolated in the early 13th century, churches in the Inner Mani, like the Episkopi and Agetria, preserve a conservative type of representation that was common in Byzantium in the late Komnenian period. With the return of the Mani to Byzantine hegemony and the upsurge in church construction in the second half of the 13th century, a reflection of renewed economic prosperity and political stability, representations of Hell expand to include the kinds of individual sins found elsewhere in Byzantium. These sins reflect a new way of commenting on village society by emphasising the potentially destabilising effects of immoral behaviour on the community as a whole and linking moral turpitude to eternal condemnation. Codified on the walls of churches in small settlements, these represented infractions must have sent a powerful message to the villagers, whose lives were judged not only by God, but also by their neighbours.

## 8 | Hell in the ‘Sweet Land’

### Hell’s Place in the Last Judgements of Byzantine and Medieval Cyprus

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR\*

#### 8.1 Introduction

Aside from a bit part in the Anastasis, Hell appears in Cypriot imagery only within the Last Judgement (Ἡ Δευτέρα Παρουσία or Ἡ Μέλλουσα Κρίση).<sup>1</sup> The vignettes with individual punishments do not appear independently of the Last Judgement compositions, as they do in Crete.<sup>2</sup> This is easily dismissed as retrograde. In fact, the imagery of divine punishment was evolving steadily in Cyprus, but in the hands of a society that produced no self-image so narrowly local as the Cretan sinners. Cyprus became colonial only late in the Middle Ages. Externally, it was well meshed into the play of Mediterranean politics, commerce, culture and war; internally, elite and village patrons were inventoried together in church inscriptions and depicted together in their respective roles in Last Judgements. The sense of profound division between cosmopolitan and local cultures that Sharon E. J. Gerstel evokes so beautifully in her reflections on medieval Greece is not readily applicable to Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> The elite, late Byzantine templates of divine judgement continued to serve both city and village. Offering their sinners embedded within the whole, however, Cyprus’ images pose questions about the way Hell should be understood.

As in the medieval West, so in Byzantium divine judgement was believed to punctuate both the end of life and the end of time. But this duality was

\* I owe my sincere thanks to the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, and to the bishops of Famagusta, Limassol, Morphou, Paphos, and Tamassos for access to the sites I have visited and photographed. I owe warm thanks, too, to Vasileios Marinis, who shared Marinis 2017a and 2017b with me before their publication.

<sup>1</sup> The two are not strictly the same, and 16th-century images make efforts to set apart the Second Coming (Matt. 24:30; Mark 13:26) from the judgement that ensues: see n. 99 below. ‘Second Coming’ is the title preferred in the murals, though they focus upon judgement.

<sup>2</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this volume, 181–2. <sup>3</sup> Gerstel 2015.

inflected differently, as seen in the names for the sinners' destination. Both the Germanic *Hölle*/Hell, derived from Helle, the goddess of the underworld, and the Romance *Enfer/Inferno*, meaning regions below, refer to a place. It is where the damned go at death. The Greek counterpart, Κόλαση (*Kolasi*), means punishment. It refers not to a place but to a state of being. It reflects Orthodox belief that souls are condemned already in their life after death to suffer pain for unabsolved sins, but are not condemned to damnation until the end of time, when they are clad once again in their bodies and confront the Last Judgement.<sup>4</sup> Broadly, it seems that where Western Christians invested a preponderance of anxiety in Hell, Greek Christians felt profounder threat in the long period of tormented dread that stretched from death to the final judgement. Nonetheless, just how the place(s) and conditions of post-mortem suffering related to those of irremediable damnation was never given firm doctrinal definition, and the term *Kolasi* was applied to both.<sup>5</sup> Thus, *Kolasi* had an elasticity of both place and time that Hell did not. This ambiguity was intensified by the way they were visualised in art, for the Last Judgement was pressed into service for both.<sup>6</sup> The iconographic repertoire of the Byzantine Last Judgement was largely in place by the 11th century, but especially on its sinister side, no fixed order emerged among its judged, and they coexist in a shifting melange that continues to resist interpretation. Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko is unquestionably correct in saying: 'One thing is sure: the disjunctions we experience here are intentional. The usual conventions for depicting time and space in Byzantine painting have been deliberately ignored.'<sup>7</sup> This is not to say, however, that they did not change. Each Last Judgement inflects the condition of sinners in its own way, and emplacement is among the most eloquent ways of doing this. Thus, to grasp the shifting meaning of divine punishment in Cypriot imagery requires giving significance to place. This inevitably mobilises questions of *Kolasi* and Hell.

Twenty-four images of the Last Judgement are preserved on Cyprus. Twenty-two of them predate the fall of Crete to the Ottomans in 1669, the date at which this publication closes.<sup>8</sup> Of these, two are panel painted icons;

<sup>4</sup> On this well-recognised contrast, see most recently Marinis 2017a. See also Constan 2001, 91–124; Angheben 2002; Bathrellos 2014; Weyl Carr 2017a.

<sup>5</sup> Strictly, only the latter is punitive; see Bathrellos 2014, 90, and the quotation from Kallistos Ware in n. 189 below.

<sup>6</sup> On Byzantine imagery of the Last Judgement, see especially Brenk 1966; Maderakis 1979; Garidis 1985; Angheben 2002; Baun 2007; Patterson-Ševčenko 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko 2009, 256.

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to the survey of surviving examples by Nicolaïdēs and Perdiki 2011. I have added only the Last Judgement in the Church of Saint Epiphanius, Doros; see Flourentzos 2006, 27, figs

the remainder are mural paintings. On the basis of their date, their placement within their building and their distribution over available surfaces, they are gathered in three roughly sequential clusters. The first, extending from the first third of the 12th to the first third of the 14th century, includes the images in Saint Nicholas tis Stegis near Kakopetria, the Church of the Transfiguration at Sotira Ammochostou and the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou (see Map of Cyprus, Fig. 8.0). All three are concentrated in the western part of the church, either in the narthex or at the western end of the naos, and all are three-dimensional, occupying the vaults and upper walls of interior spaces. The second cluster, dated in the later 14th and first three quarters of the 15th century, includes the murals in the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrangomi, Saint Mamas at Sotira Ammochostou, the Holy Cross at Kouka and Saint Herakleidios in the monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Kalopanayiotis. In these the Last Judgement is compressed onto one dominant surface, though elements may spill onto an adjoining wall, pier or pendentive, thus retaining a hint of three-dimensionality. Only the last of these four takes its place in the narthex; the other three occupy a wall within the central portion of the naos, confronting one or more scenes from the Christological narrative. Together, these two groups adorn four monastic and three secular churches. Spanning just over three and a half centuries, they embrace the Byzantine (965–1191) and Lusignan (1191–1489) periods on Cyprus. The final cluster, with fifteen members, or over two thirds of the sum, is crowded into the eight decades – and especially the later decades – of Venetian rule on Cyprus (1489–1571), though some members must spill over into the early Ottoman years. The great majority of these paintings, including the two panel paintings, are self-contained compositions on a single, flat surface. Of the mural paintings, some reclaim a place at the west, others face Christological narratives across the central space of the naos, while two occupy an outer wall adjacent to the main entrance to the building. Only two of the fourteen examples from this period adorn monastic katholika; the remaining thirteen adorn village and funerary chapels.

Few of the twenty-two Last Judgements have survived fully intact. It seems clear, moreover, that the imagery of the tormented has proved more vulnerable to abrasion – deliberate or otherwise – than that of the blessed. Thus, summations and comparisons must be made with caution.

12–13. The remaining examples include the mid-18th-century Last Judgement in the archiepiscopal Church of Saint John Bibi in Nicosia, on which see Papageorgiou 1999, and the icon of 1826 by the 80-year-old Michael Proskynitis in the Chrysosotira Church in Treis Elies. On the mural paintings, see Stylianou and Stylianou 1996; Stylianou and Stylianou 1997. Bibliography on individual monuments will be cited as they appear.





**Fig. 8.0** Map of Cyprus

Nonetheless, they suggest a slow reconceptualisation that affected not only Hell's *dramatis personae* but its character as a place.

## 8.2 The Initial Group of Images: 12th to Mid-14th Century

A first glimpse of Hell in Cypriot imagery appears in the narthex of the monastic Church of Saint Nicholas tis Stegis, adorned with a Last Judgement in the first third of the 12th century.<sup>9</sup> Little survives of it beyond the Deesis above the east door to the naos and the Apostles flanking it in the vaults, but what does remain relates to Hell. At the far north end of the east wall sits the naked and corpulent Rich Man of Luke 16:19–31;<sup>10</sup> opposite him on the west is the Sea,<sup>11</sup> and beside her a blind arch bears on its soffit the sombre bust of the angel who weighs men's deeds,<sup>12</sup> flanked by an angel and a black demon. Above them, on the west face of the vault, are two groups of the judged (Fig. 8.1). One, with uplifted hands, follows an angel southward beneath the inscription '... the just into Paradise'.<sup>13</sup> The other, with gestures that create a sense of rhythmic dissonance, is being driven by a crimson angel in the opposite direction towards the lunette of the north wall. This is 'the fiery angel driving the sinful into Hell'.<sup>14</sup> As Heaven awaits the one group, Hell awaits these. The fire around them – rooted in the words of Matthew 25:41 – was, and would remain, the cardinal signifier of damnation.<sup>15</sup> Striking in the two groups is their mirror-image character: in each, we see the cleric, the monk, the emperor, the youth; only the white-capped tax collector and the women are unique to Hell. In short, the saved – with pointed exceptions – are the very same

<sup>9</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 59–63; Papageorgiou 2011. See also Stylianou 1946, 115–21; *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1968* (Nicosia, 1969), 8, figs 30–1.

<sup>10</sup> Inscribed Ο ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ (*o plousios Lazaros*).

<sup>11</sup> Inscribed Η ΘΑΛΑССΑ (*i Thalassa*). See Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 63, fig. 24. On the inclusion of Earth and Sea in the Last Judgement, see Brenk 1966, 145; Mijović 1967a, esp. 211–12.

<sup>12</sup> Inscribed ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ζυγοστ[ής] (*o angelos o zygotis*).

<sup>13</sup> ... καλὼν τοὺς δικαίους εἰς τὸν παράδεισον / ... καλὼν τοὺς δικαίους εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον / *kalon tous dikaios eis ton Paradeison*.

<sup>14</sup> ἄγγελος πύρινος ἀπολαύνων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς τὴν κώλασιν / ἄγγελος πύρινος ἀπολαύνων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς τὴν κώλασιν / *angelos pyrinos apolaunon tous amartolous eis tin kolasin*.

<sup>15</sup> Based upon Dan. 7:9–10: 'I beheld until the thrones were set, and the Ancient of days sat; and his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head, as pure wool: his throne was a flame of fire, [and] his wheels burning fire. A stream of fire rushed forth before him: thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousands of myriads, attended upon him: the judgment sat, and the books were opened.'

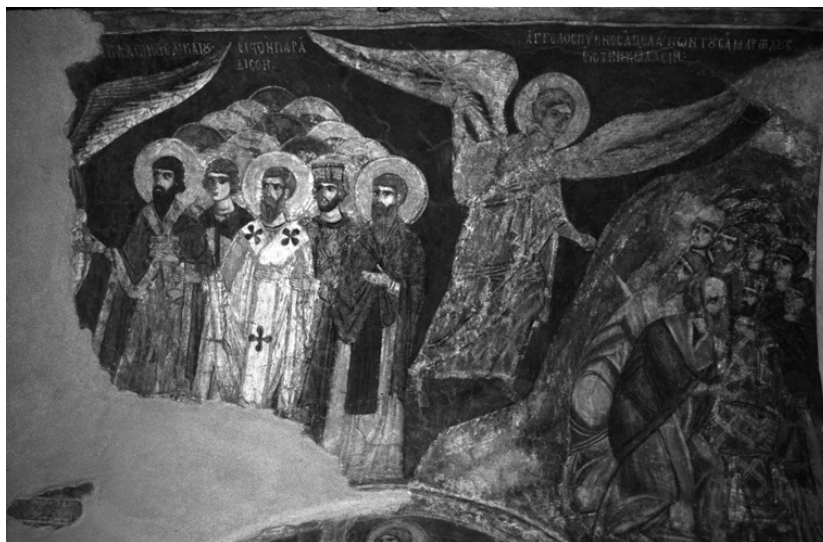


Fig. 8.1 Church of Saint Nicholas tis Stegis, Last Judgement: the saved and the damned, 12th century, wall painting, near Kakopetria, Cyprus

kinds of people as the damned. The singling out of women stands out: never again would females mingle among the power brokers assembled beside the flaming river. They must reflect monks' wary distrust of women.

The imagery seems at first unequivocal: the figures are socially uniform; they are judged on their deeds; and this judgement yields only two categories: the saved and the damned. There is no in-between.<sup>16</sup> Yet questions arise. The condemned sinners are visibly immersed in the punishment of fear and rejection. The ferocious gusto with which the *Life of Basil the Younger* described such psychological torment shows that it was a crucial part of Hell's horror.<sup>17</sup> But since they are being driven into Hell, they must not yet have arrived there. The Hell towards which they are being hurried was long ago demolished with the original north wall and now eludes even judicious speculation.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, their condition, clothed in their social, economic and gendered identities, is clearly different from that of the naked Rich Man.

<sup>16</sup> On οἱ μέσοι, those not saved at death but potentially capable of salvation through the suffrages of the Church: Bathrellos 2014, 89; Marinis 2015, 76.

<sup>17</sup> Sullivan et al. 2014, 390–7, 434–643.

<sup>18</sup> A wingless, loin-clothed figure astride the Dragon, identified by Drandakis as Hades, occupies a similar tympanum in two churches of c. 1200 in Mani: see Drandakis 1995, 205 and figs 53, 56 on the Church of the Episkopi; 237 and fig. 29 on the Agetria church. The same figure appears again at Saint Peter, Kalyvia-Kouvara, though not discussed by Koumparake-Panselinou 1976. Hades was the acknowledged site of post-mortem souls, and in none of these cases was it shown as the destination specifically of the damned, as in Kakopetria. A range of other images can be found in such spaces, as well. For instance, the compartments of Communal Punishments and

Does he depict their eventual destination? If so, is his rather than theirs the definitive image of Hell?<sup>19</sup> Whence do they come: from death, or from the interval between death and the Last Judgement? How intentional is the relative placement of the motifs? The location of the condemned in the north arm of the narthex – to the right of the judging Christ over the east door – produced dislocations in the composition, severing the River of Fire from its customary source in Christ's throne,<sup>20</sup> and compelling Christ himself to hurl his violent dismissal of the damned over his own blessing right hand.<sup>21</sup> Thus, interconnective nuance seems to have been less important than the piecemeal impact of individually compelling elements. Just where the terrified sinners are, whence they come and what the Hell is to which they are driven, are all unstated. What is clear is their subjection to a Judgement that yields only salvation or damnation. There is no middle ground.

The next surviving Last Judgement on Cyprus challenges this duality. Produced in the mid- or later 13th century, this must originally have filled the entire western end of the village funerary Church of the Transfiguration in Sotira Ammochostou,<sup>22</sup> but all that remains today is a narrow band of imagery preserved on the eastern transverse arch of the barrel vault over the west bay. Residues of two registers fill its north face, the upper showing two enthroned Apostles, and the lower a row of three haloed women, presumably part of the procession of the blessed. By contrast, three registers occupy the south face (Fig. 8.2). At the top sit two patriarchs cradling souls, clearly part of Paradise.<sup>23</sup> Sea is below them, and beneath her, in the third register, a dynamic nude dangles above a little fire. He is identified as the man who cheats at the scales (*parazygiastis*).<sup>24</sup> Such specifically identified figures of peasant sinners strung up for punishment, often by means of tools of their trade, had proliferated in

the Rich Man are at Nereditsa: see Miasoedov 1925, pl. LXXVII, 2. Thus, the likely imagery of the north wall is uncertain.

<sup>19</sup> Whether the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus presents souls in the post-mortem interval or after the Last Judgement was never resolved: see especially Alexandre 1972, 425–41.

<sup>20</sup> See n. 15 above.

<sup>21</sup> On this reversal, see Weyl Carr 2017b. His words, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels' (Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (οἱ) καταραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, Matt. 25:41) are clearly visible in the Deesis. Common in Last Judgement scenes, the passage is found in Crete and in the Peloponnese, as noted by Lymberopoulou and Gerstel and Katsafados in vol. 2, cat. nos 6, 49, 72 and in this volume, 314, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Ioannou and Hadjichristodoulou 2002, 29–32.

<sup>23</sup> There must initially have been three; see Dodd 2001, 85–90.

<sup>24</sup> What survives of his label, 'ὁ παραζ...', shows he was the παραζυγιαστής (*parazygiastis*). This was a common transgression; see Pitarakis 2012, 416–26; it is found in both Crete and the Peloponnese. I thank Vasileios Marinis for drawing my attention to this article.



Fig. 8.2 Church of the Transfiguration, Last Judgement: Paradise, Sea and the Man Who Cheats at the Scales, 13th century, wall painting, Sotira Ammochostou, Cyprus

late 12th-century Byzantium; this is the first example known on Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> Beside him is the leg of another – there must have been a whole wriggling row of them. These paradigms of popular transgression give a punitive force to the

<sup>25</sup> On such images of identified sins: Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 143–8 (with earlier bibliography). See also Mouriki 1975–6; Maderakis 1979; Maderakis 1981; Garidis 1985, 82–117; Gerstel 2002; Tsamakda 2012, 205–8.



theme of post-mortem distress. They occur on Cyprus solely in conjunction with scenes of the Last Judgement, but they share neither the fine clothing nor the fiery backdrop that characterise the overtly damned at Kakopetria. This raises questions about their status. That they opposed the ranks of the blessed on the opposite face of the vault is clear; it is less clear how they might have related to end-time damnation. They must have been far from the fire that flowed from below Christ's feet at the west; instead, they are close to Paradise. Sea lies between, but her work of resurrection could be as much a promise as a threat. The sinners are obviously in punishment, but it is not clear that they are therefore in the eternal punishment that follows the Last Judgement. The Church prays for those suffering after death, intimating their remediability;<sup>26</sup> even the grim *Κανών εἰς ψυχοῤῥάγοῦντα* (Canon for One at the Point of Death) implies that post-mortem torment, terrible as it was, was not terminal damnation.<sup>27</sup> Where Kakopetria had seemed to offer only the categorical binary of salvation or damnation, Sotira blurs that picture, adding not only an artisan class of sinners, but a class of punishment distinct from the River of Fire. The fragmentary condition of their imagery makes a conclusive comparison difficult, though.

The third church in this group, the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, at last preserves its Last Judgement intact, allowing one to see how all its elements interact (Fig. 8.3).<sup>28</sup> It fills the vaulted ceiling of the narthex, which is domed, with an apse to either side. A now fragmentary inscription over the east door dates the programme to 1332/3 and specifies support from both monks and laypeople.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, five lay portraits, two from the late 13th century and three from 1332/3, cluster in and around the south apse. Christ as Pantokrator anchors the Last Judgement in the dome; the Apostles surround him in the pendentives. From here it unfolds in three directions. To the south, on the soffit of the south conch above the donors, are those in punishment, above all the famous four panels with paired sinners on the arch's east face. Opposite them, Earth, Sea and Paradise with the Choirs of the Elect fill the north apse, joining resurrection and salvation. To the west,

<sup>26</sup> Marinis 2017a, 93–106.

<sup>27</sup> Marinis 2017a, 140. See also Marinis 2015, 59–84, where the final verse states that through the prayers of others, especially those of the Theotokos, the condemned soul may be 'called back' from Hades and saved. Of the sinners in the Apocalypses, Baun 2007, 312, writes: 'Both the fact that intercession can help, and the implication that the Last Judgment is just around the corner, indicate that our texts take place not in Hell or even in Hades, but in some third, less defined and more flexible location in the Byzantine religious consciousness.'

<sup>28</sup> See the outstanding study by Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 131–54, with comprehensive earlier bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 176.





Fig. 8.3 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Last Judgement: narthex looking south-east with Pantokrator and Apostles, 1332/3 wall painting, Asinou, Cyprus

finally, over the western door, the Judgement itself takes place (Fig. 8.4). As angels trumpet shrouded souls from their tombs, the River of Fire boils from the base of the Hetoimasia, its waves awash in anxious male figures. Striding down it, the fiery angel wields a pitchfork to 'put the sinners into the fire'.<sup>30</sup> Within the flames a small, naked Rich Man points to his mouth;<sup>31</sup> outside the river, at the base of the lunette, pale-skinned 'Insatiable Hades' rides a coil-tailed dragon.<sup>32</sup> In the soffit behind him, an angel monitors the scales of justice, which hang from a little arc of Heaven.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> συμβάλλουν τοὺς ἀμαρτολοὺς | ἦς το πῦρ / συμβάλλουν τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ / *symvalloun tous amartolous eis to pyr*.

<sup>31</sup> Identified as ὁ πλούσιος Λάζαρος / *o plousios Lazaros*.

<sup>32</sup> Identified as ὁ ἀκόρεστος Ἄδης / *o akorestos Adis*.

<sup>33</sup> Labelled 'the judgement' (ἡ δικαιοσύνη / *i dikaiosyni*). See Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 143, fig. 5.23.



Fig. 8.4 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Last Judgement: Hetoimasia and River of Fire, 1332/3, wall painting, Asinou, Cyprus

The placement of Hellfire over the western door was calculated. The north door, leading to the monastic buildings, is surmounted by Paradise; the fiery flood of divine justice crowns the portal used by the laity. This signals the heightened importance of the laypeople in Asinou, seen already in their patronage and portraits. Another indicative change emerges in the population of the fiery river. As at Kakopetria, the group engulfed in the flames – now entirely male – include clerics, emperors, monks and the well-to-do. Here, however, the hierarchs are significantly varied. There is no abbot, but among the bishops are two with conspicuous mitres: either Latins, or Orthodox who acknowledged the Latin Church.<sup>34</sup> They mark a shift in the personnel of damnation. Formerly

<sup>34</sup> On Byzantine mitres, see Woodfin 2012, 167–71, 286–7. The depiction of Orthodox hierarchs wearing mitres in the late 14th-century apse mural in Saint George of the Greeks, Famagusta, has made it clear that such garments could have characterised Cypriot clergy who had adopted Roman customs; see Paschali 2014, fig. 3. Conversely, beards need not identify these figures as Greeks, given Philippe de Mézières's description of Saint Peter Thomas' need to enforce the proscription against beards; see Smet 1954, 211. I thank Nicholas Coureas for help tracing Latin clergy with facial hair. Latin clergy with facial hair can also be seen in the fire of Cretan Hell; see vol. 2, cat. no. 90.

paralleled pointedly with the saved, they come in the Frankish period to include an ever more capacious inventory of Others.<sup>35</sup>

By far the most famous component of Asinou's Last Judgement is the vivid sequence of individually classified sinners on the east face of the south soffit, clearly akin to the surviving sinner at Sotira (Fig. 8.5). Naked but for the insignia of their iniquity, they hang here on meathooks, concretising the carnality of their transgressions. These are social, and for material gain:<sup>36</sup> the man who ploughs over the boundary line (ὁ παραβλακίστις / ο παραυλακιστής / *o paravlakistis*) with a plough hanging to his groin, the deceitful miller (ὁ παραμιλονας / ο παραμυλωνάς / *o paramylonas*) with millstones suspended from his neck, the thief (ὁ κλέπτις / ο κλέπτης / *o kleptis*) with a striped cloth at his chest, the slanderer (ὁ κατάλαλος / *o katalalos*) with a snake biting his tongue, and the usurer and the man who cheats at the scales (ὁ τοκιστής κ[αι] παραζηγιάστις / ο τοκιστής και παραζυγιαστής / *o tokistis kai parazygiastis*) hanging upside down with his head in a fire, follow one another in a sequence of social predations punished with escalating ferocity. Where in Crete the sins of agricultural theft had been paramount, here the most vicious retribution is accorded the commercial sinner, interestingly the same that survives at Sotira.<sup>37</sup> He is paired with the sixth and most exceptional figure: the bad nun (ἡ αποκαλογρέα / η αποκαλογραία / *i apokalograia*). Unique among the recorded sins of late Byzantine iconography, her presence is striking here in a male institution, and draws attention to the obituaries of three nuns noted by Gilles Grivaud in the marginal notations of Asinou's Synaxarion.<sup>38</sup> The monastery may for a time have had a sister institution. The nun's extended arm and the snake at her ear suggest sins of a social more than a sexual nature – eavesdropping, gossiping, meddling. The case may be different for the bad monk (ὁ ἀποκαλόγερος / *apokalogeros*), who dangles with flapping scapular in the lowest compartment. His sin may be spelled out by the woman who hangs beside him, gazing at him: she is 'the one who turns away her babies' (ἡ ἀποστρέφουσα τα νήπια / *i apostrefousa ta nipia*), aborting or abandoning them.<sup>39</sup> Her figure must imply the evil

<sup>35</sup> On diversity in Hell, see recently Ritzerfeld 2013.

<sup>36</sup> As Baun 2007, 319, writes of the Apocalypse texts, 'The compilers wrote to convict the hearts of sinners – and not just any sinners, but those who posed concrete threats to their local communities.'

<sup>37</sup> His posture, hanging inverted with his head in flames, is the most drastic of the eight. The usurer has the same posture in the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*; see Baun 2007, 392 ¶3.

<sup>38</sup> Grivaud 2012, 29.

<sup>39</sup> Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 145 amalgamates her epithet with that of the woman who refuses to nurse children (η μη θηλάζουσα τα νήπια, or μη βυζαίνουσα τα νήπια) and interprets it as





Fig. 8.5 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Last Judgement: composite photograph of sinners, 1332/3, wall painting, Asinou, Cyprus

fruits of monastic lust. If the monks watched the sins of the laity, the laypeople surely also watched the miscreant monks.

Asinou's is the largest, most explicitly labelled assemblage of identified sinners on Cyprus.<sup>40</sup> Their twisted postures have a punitive literalness.

transgressing not sexual but social norms of charity towards others; Vassilaki 1986, 44 speaks of not wanting to have children. The *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, however, in Baun 2007, 393 ¶7, is quite clear that '... these are whosoever brought down their own children from their womb and cast them out'. I thank Chara Olympiou for discussing the word *apostrephousa* with me. Maderakis 1979, 79 points out that both the woman who turns away her children and the woman who refuses to nurse children sometimes appear in the same monument, implying different sins. Be that as it may, the underlying sin for both is the rejection of children, which was certainly threatening for the medieval status quo; see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 154.

<sup>40</sup> Though the present context invites their consideration simply as depictions of sins, these figures can be studied from many different perspectives: the relation of lay and monastic communities, morality and theology in defining sin, the relation of body and soul in 14th-century religious anthropology, the relation of gender to the assignment and visualisation of sin, and the relation of sin to law. The last is addressed in Gasparis in this volume, Chapter 2.

Unquestionably, they are in punishment. This is what Martha Himmelfarb calls measure-for-measure punishment, inflicted upon the body part most implicated in the sin.<sup>41</sup> Explicit and visual, measure-for-measure punishments are designed for exposure and public disgrace. The sinners at Asinou suffer the Hell of exposure. Just whose Judgement they are exposed to is illuminated by their bodies, which are pink, plump and intact. They show no sign of the disintegration that defines death. Thus, they say little about the physical horror of death. Rather than anxious pity, they invite judgemental scrutiny. As Rossitza Schroeder has argued, the sacrament of confession was among the rituals that took place in the narthexes of monastic churches.<sup>42</sup> The depicted sinners surely offered confessors compelling pictures of the wages of sin. But if they elicited fear, they must also have invited a gratifying measure of retributive scorn.<sup>43</sup>

The sinners' role within the visualisation of Hell emerges as one assesses the ways in which they are seen. Their close proximity to the lay portraits was certainly calculated (Fig. 8.3).<sup>44</sup> The portraits confronted the monks as they entered the narthex from their monastic buildings; facing their major donors, the monks would also face the sins they practised – and provoked. But the sinners' place is clearest when one is looking eastward (Fig. 8.6). In this way, they take their place appropriately at the Pantokrator's left. Opposite them, at his right, lies Paradise – indeed, not Paradise alone, but the Choirs of the Elect in Heaven. As the saints assemble along the north apse's apex, displaying the benign rewards of virtue, the sinners dangle along the south one, reaping the retributive rewards of vice. A dialogue of contrasting recompense plays out between them. If the Heaven of the holy opposes them, the sinners must be in Hell.

Yet nothing binds the sinners to the culminating drama of judgement in the western lunette. They themselves vanish when one is looking westward. Instead, the west face of their soffit is occupied by the compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 8.7). Seen in Last Judgements since the 11th century, these are curiously hard to interpret. Huddled, de-individualised, never wholly visible, their figures suffer what Himmelfarb calls environmental punishments: darkness, fire, cold, vermin, stench – categorical punishments that corrode individual identity.<sup>45</sup> They are usually identified as Hades, but the biblical epithets they visualise speak instead of

<sup>41</sup> Himmelfarb 1983, 75–109. <sup>42</sup> Schroeder 2009.

<sup>43</sup> On the propriety of heaping shame on the sinful, see Krausmüller 2013, 221.

<sup>44</sup> As pointed out by Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 180. <sup>45</sup> Himmelfarb 1983, 106–25.



Fig. 8.6 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Last Judgement: narthex looking east with Deesis, Paradise and sinners, 1332/3, wall painting, Asinou, Cyprus



Fig. 8.7 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Last Judgement: narthex looking west with compartments of Communal Punishments, Hetoimasia and River of Fire, Paradise. 1332/3, wall painting, Asinou, Cyprus



damnation.<sup>46</sup> Densely packed and static, they form a visual dead end. The busy end-time angels of the west lunette turn their backs on them, opening a new, rightward path across the tympanum (Fig. 8.4). Running diagonally over the Hetoimasia and river of fire, it closes in the weighing angel on the north soffit. Far from reaching back to the sinners, it opens a different dialogue.

It, too, is vengeful: no Heaven counterbalances the River of Fire. What one sees is condemnation. Before God, mortals are culpable. Death, like confession, drew laypeople into Asinou's narthex, which was used for funerals, but its issues exceeded retributive violence. Retribution was for activities one could amend in life; the western tympanum elicits the terrifying finality of terminal culpability.<sup>47</sup> Yet relentless as it is, the River of Fire remains small within the tympanum as a whole, and curiously passive. It does not blossom into a fanfare of fully fleshed-out tortures.<sup>48</sup> Its huddled victims are not swept away or thrust into individual torments. Nor is there any visual intimation that the sinners in the south apse should be understood as having been swept there by the fiery river, answering Niphon's vague intimation that '... the sinners were distributed to the punishments – for it was through the fire that they were dispersed to all the punishments'.<sup>49</sup> Instead, the lunette has its own impetus, summed up in the unusual placement of the interceding Eve,<sup>50</sup> who kneels behind Adam at the right side of the Hetoimasia. As so often in Asinou, a woman is especially significant.<sup>51</sup> Eve's union with Adam captures the visual diagonal that runs across the tympanum, carrying the eye over the River of Fire and past it, to the weighing angel beyond. More emphatically than his counterpart at Kakopetria, and in a way never encountered again, the weighing angel turns not towards, but away from the River of Fire. He

<sup>46</sup> They include the Sleepless Worm (ο σκώληξ ο ακοίμητος / *o skolix o akoimitos*), the Gnashing of Teeth (ο βρυγμός των οδόντων / *a vrygmōs ton odontōn*), Tartarus (ο Τάρταρος / *o Tartaros*), and Outer Darkness (το σκότος το εξώτερον / *to skotos to exoterōn*). A fifth, Everlasting Fire (το πυρ το άσβεστον / *to pyr to asveston*) is often present. I know of no Cypriot instance of boiling Tar (πίσσα / *pissa*), which is encountered in Crete and Cappadocia. On their ambiguity, see Angheben 2002, 122–7; Marinis 2017a, 64–6; Weyl Carr 2017a, 135–6.

<sup>47</sup> On the visual expression of paralysis in the face of divine judgement, see Ambrose 2011.

<sup>48</sup> This is true, too, of the *Vitae* of Basil the Younger and Niphon. The former engages in serial violence as it describes group after group of the sinful being hurled into the River of Fire, but does not go on to define or describe what happens to them thereafter; see Sullivan et al. 2014, 434–643. Saint Niphon speaks of the river distributing sinners to punishments, but abandons the subject mid-sentence and offers no details; see Marinis 2017b, 215 ¶89.

<sup>49</sup> Marinis 2017b, 215 ¶89.

<sup>50</sup> She has the same place in the Sinai hexptych; see Galavaris 2009, 134 and pl. 15.

<sup>51</sup> On women in Asinou's murals, see Connor 1999, 214–16, 218–19; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 115–30, 188–9.

directs attention onward, towards the procession of those approaching Paradise. Sombre as it is, then, the Hellfire of the end time has its own visual dynamic within the whole. Its language is not of retribution and reward, but of culpability and faith: in the face of inescapable culpability, recourse lies only – but also inalienably – in God Himself.<sup>52</sup>

Heaven and Hell emerge not as a fixed duality here, but as a kaleidoscopic triangulation played out in three dimensions. Contrasting images of castigation appear in different visual frames. Close to the lay donors, the sinners speak to the appetites of life, drawing vivid attention to the florid vitality of lust and greed. Seen opposite Heaven, the sinners offer the punitive Hell of exposure to opprobrium, guilt and violent retribution. The western lunette with the River of Fire is isolated from their explicit, corporeal violence. Its Hell is the finality of mortal culpability in the face of divine judgement. Instead of elaborating on its specifics – in a sense the Hell of Western imagination – it lays out the stark bottom line of divine justice. Punishment does not come to an end in a place here; it is a process, variously played out between death and eternity. It is presumptuous to define how 14th-century viewers evaluated these variables, but there is no question about the distribution of individual sinners on the one hand, the immersive flood of fire on the other, in different visual frames. They deny Hell any single image.

During the decades between the murals of Sotira and those of Asinou, Cyprus unexpectedly hosted the promulgation of two new papal doctrines concerning the life of souls after death.<sup>53</sup> In 1254, in response to a query from the papal legate on Cyprus, Pope Innocent IV composed the first official definition of Purgatory, and required that Cypriots accept it. Soon thereafter, Purgatory was imbricated in a second major Latin controversy, around the contention that righteous souls, once purged and granted Paradise, could, even before the Last Judgement, enjoy the ‘Beatific Vision’ of seeing face to face the Divine Essence of God. In the learned court of King Hugh IV (1324–59), Parisian scholars debating the Beatific Vision converged with Greek theologians embroiled in the Palamite controversy over the accessibility of the Divine Essence.<sup>54</sup> This yielded a forum for debate on the subject as vivid as any in western Europe itself. Among

<sup>52</sup> See Bathrellos 2014, 88–90, on Mark Eugenikos’ presentation of the Orthodox Church’s understanding of the purifying experiences after death, through which souls become fit for the kingdom of God. Central to this process is not satisfaction for wrongs committed, but God’s love for humankind, on which Eugenikos places few limits. On Mark Eugenikos see also Sthakopoulos in this volume, 26–7, 39.

<sup>53</sup> See Le Goff 1984, 283–8; Duba 2000. <sup>54</sup> Duba 2000, 177–8.

the Latin theologians was Elias de Nabinaux, who arrived as the newly appointed Archbishop of Cyprus just as Asinou's Last Judgement was being completed.<sup>55</sup> Seven years later, in his momentous Provincial Synod of 1340, Elias incorporated the newly promulgated papal doctrine of the Beatific Vision, and with it that of Purgatory, in a definition of faith presented to the leaders of all Christian creeds on Cyprus. In defending his demand that Cypriots accept Purgatory, Pope Innocent had written that:

Since the Greeks themselves believe and profess truly and without hesitation that the souls of those who die after receiving penance but without having had the time to complete it, or who die without mortal sin but guilty of venial (sins) or minor faults, are purged after death and may be helped by the suffrages of the Church; we, considering that the Greeks assert that they cannot find in the works of their doctors any certain and proper name to designate the place of this purgation, and that, moreover, according to the traditions and authority of the Holy Fathers, this name is Purgatory, we wish that in the future this expression be also accepted by them.<sup>56</sup>

The lack of site-specificity for post-mortem punishment that Innocent pinpoints is precisely what the programme at Asinou exemplified. Its interlinked triangulation illustrates graphically the multiple valences of punishment that made a planar cartography of post-mortem experience gratuitous for Cyprus' Greeks. Yet confronted with Elias de Nabinaux's definition of faith in the Synod of 1340, all Cyprus' religious leaders, Eastern and Western, Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian, endorsed it.

### 8.3 The Middle Group of Images: Mid-14th to Late 15th Century

The Synod of 1340 was not followed by a surge of eschatological imagery, and its doctrines on the afterlife left no perceptible trace among the Greeks.<sup>57</sup> But the ground had shifted: the murals of the Last Judgement designed after 1340 differ from those before. What seems to have been the

<sup>55</sup> On Elias de Nabinaux, see Schabel 1998; Schabel 2000, both reprinted in Schabel 2010.

<sup>56</sup> Le Goff 1984, 283–4.

<sup>57</sup> Two Athonite monks exiled to Cyprus in 1276 arrived with firm hostility to the doctrine of Purgatory; see Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 496–500. The Cypriots themselves seem simply to have dismissed it; see Duba 2000, 175, noting the one, dismissive reference to Purgatory in Leontios Machairas; and Mirşanu 2008, 189–90, noting that Purgatory figures only glancingly in two of the 'Lists of the Errors of the Latins'.

earliest of them, in the Panagia Kanakaria, Lythrangomi, survives only in the most fugitive fragments – portions of Paradise, and the gossamer remains of a figure of Sea resembling that in Asinou.<sup>58</sup> Yet they are enough to show that the composition, probably not far in date from Asinou's, was novel in two significant ways: it was concentrated on a single surface, and that surface occupied one side of the central bay of the naos, facing Christological scenes on the opposite wall. Comparable shifts in format and location characterise the remaining Last Judgements of the Lusignan era. Stripped of the three-dimensionality that had given the earlier programmes their flexibility, they assume a new clarity of focus. As none of the earlier examples had been, these are organised bilaterally, arraying Christ and the Apostles above two clearly divided realms, one of redemption, the other of fiery condemnation. All further elements defer to this bifurcation. An emphatic central axis plunges from Christ through the Passion instruments and Hetoimasia to massive scales of justice, placing the weighing of deeds, and thus the act of judgement, at the very navel of the event. Stressing judgement itself over the individuals judged, the scales blur the contrast between post-mortem and end-time penalties. Both the bilateral composition and prominent scales suspended from the Hetoimasia had characterised the earlier Last Judgement in Christ the Saviour in Chora, Constantinople.<sup>59</sup> That these changes reflect in any way the western European debates surrounding Purgatory and the Beatific Vision is dubious. Nonetheless, focusing on Christ's pervasive judgemental authority, and embedding it in the naos, they respond to an impetus seen equally in the West: that of integrating the threat of divine judgement more fully within the didactic message of the Church.

Of the three remaining Last Judgements, two must date close to the year 1400, though in very different contexts. The Holy Cross, Kouka, is a cruciform monastic church high in the south-western Troodos with an origin myth reaching back to Saint Helena.<sup>60</sup> Its Last Judgement occupies the east face of the barrel vault over the south arm, facing scenes of the trial of Jesus. Saint Mamas in Sotira Ammochostou, by contrast, is a tiny private funerary church.<sup>61</sup> Though its murals are Greek in form and inscriptions, it must have served a titled and so plausibly Latin donor, for a now illegible crest adorns the outer door jamb. Its Last Judgement balances the Koimesis in a clearly funerary programme. What unites the two monuments is their

<sup>58</sup> Megaw and Hawkins 1977, 153–5.

<sup>59</sup> Underwood 1966, 3: pl. [204] 4, [204] 5. See also Semoglou in this volume, 301–7.

<sup>60</sup> Hadjisavvas 2003a, 31, figs 14–15; Kappais 2009.

<sup>61</sup> Ioannou and Hadjichristodoulou 2002, 53–5; Olympios 2014, 174–6.



Fig. 8.8 Church of Saint Mamas, Last Judgement, late 14th century, wall painting, Sotira Ammochostou, Cyprus

compression of the Last Judgement into a single image that forms one voice within a larger programmatic dialogue.

At Saint Mamas, Christ and the Apostles must have occupied a broad arc at the top of the south pendentives (Fig. 8.8). The tympanum below them displayed two registers. Above, the scales divided the realms of Heaven and Hell, while below them a stately throng of the righteous moved eastward from Earth and Sea towards what must have been Paradise.<sup>62</sup> The cadenced procession of the righteous tends to dominate one's attention. Nonetheless, the fires of condemnation assumed a new forcefulness here. The fiery river streamed rightward from the mandorla of Christ, his words to the damned from Matthew 25:41 – 'Depart from me, ye cursed'<sup>63</sup> – lying just over its flames. They gathered in what must once have been an ample Lake of Fire. Within it crouched a beast against whose body one can still decipher a pale leg evoking Asinou's pale Hades; if he bore that name, he would have been our last to do so.<sup>64</sup> The ample lake creates an unequivocal destination for

<sup>62</sup> The obliteration of the dexter side of the composition makes it impossible to guess whether Paradise with its trees was set in deliberate contrast to the natural world of Earth and Sea, but later Last Judgements make it clear that – as in Byzantium earlier – the garden world of Paradise was anything but natural. See in particular Maguire 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Πορεύ . . . ἀπ' ἐμ . . . / Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ κατηραμένοι / *poreuesthe ap' emou oi katiramenoi*. See above, n. 21.

<sup>64</sup> The name will also be seen at Emba, but at present only as part of the 19th-century over-painting.

the damned: an apparently unambiguous Hell. Its finality is challenged, however, by figures to its right. Within the west pendentive, five pale green rectangles frame a naked, full-length figure each. Their full-figure individuality differentiates them from the naked body parts in the compartments of Communal Punishments, associating them instead with the named sinners. Unsexed, unlabelled and unembellished with fires, snakes or the tools of their iniquity, however, they have none of the sinners' acerbic specificity. Their lack of definition could reflect an aristocratic patron's disinterest in the sins of peasants, but nothing identifies them as peasants, and their nudity seems to tell us simply that they are dead. They seem, like the 'I' of the liturgy on the Sunday of the Last Judgement, to plead with the judging Christ to '... put me not to shame before the angels, but ... have mercy ... upon me'.<sup>65</sup> All the Churches affirmed the capacity of the living to aid the souls of the dead until the final judgement. These figures stand outside the fiery river, outside the very lunette embracing the drama of judgement. They are not among those addressed by Christ's words from Matthew 25:41. Thus, for all the apparent condensation of the Last Judgement into a mirror-image duality between Heaven and Hell, an ambiguous space of post-mortem existence remains outside the fiery realm of damnation. 'Punishment' retains its time-honoured spatial fluidity.

The Last Judgement at Kouka confronts humankind's foolish judgement of Christ with Christ's implacable judgement of humanity at the end of time (Fig. 8.9). This is still in the process of cleaning, but seems to have been starkly summary. Earth, Sea, Paradise, the throng of the righteous, the peasant sinners are absent.<sup>66</sup> Below the enthroned judges, the scales of justice separate two confronted realms. On the judges' right, two registers of identified saintly choirs hover in a blue void.<sup>67</sup> To their left, by contrast, rocky purple mountain peaks form a landscape setting. A crowd of well-appointed males occupies it. Between their upturned faces and the judges above lie words approximating Matthew 25:41: 'Go from me, ye cursed.'<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Mother Mary and K. Ware 1978, 156. On the use of liturgical experience in the production of a penitent self, see Krueger 2013; Krueger 2014.

<sup>66</sup> There is no room at the left of the surviving image for Paradise, and though the south wall is today empty, the inclusion of the black Archon (identified in n. 70 below) within the vault makes it clear that his realm is there, and not beyond it on the south wall. While sinners may have occupied the south wall, there is no visual evidence to suggest this.

<sup>67</sup> The choirs of the Prophets, the Hierarchs, and below them of the Martyrs still retain their identifying labels. The Martyrs are led by a youthful martyr-deacon, most likely Saint Stephen. For the prominence of Stephen in intercessory contexts, see Baun 2007, 297.

<sup>68</sup> ἀπέλθατε ἀπο μου οἱ κατήραμένοι / ἀπέλθατε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἱ κατήραμένοι / *apelthate apo emou oi katiramenoi*. See above, n. 21.



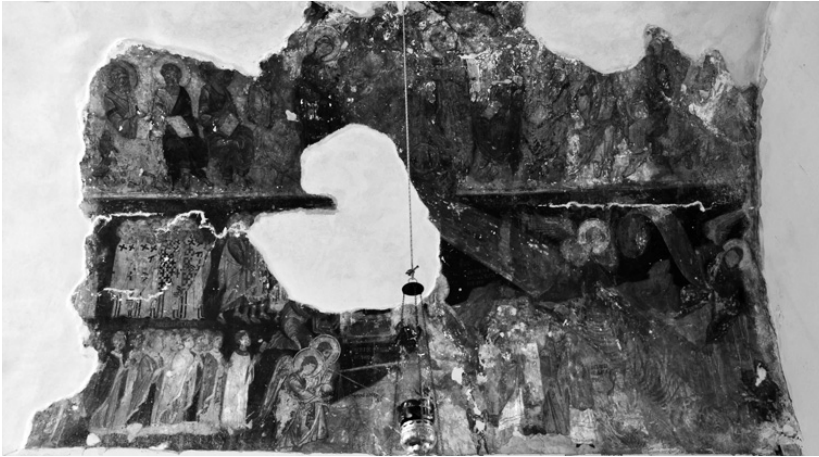


Fig. 8.9 Church of the Holy Cross, Last Judgement, late 14th or early 15th century, wall painting, Kouka, Cyprus

They are the damned. The naked Rich Man crouches behind them,<sup>69</sup> turning his back to the blessed. Slashing past them, the River of Fire cuts a scarlet diagonal, cascading into the lower right corner where a snouted scarlet jaw opens to consume it. Both the black giant who hunkers over the jaw, and the serpentine angel rolling the scroll of the heavens above him, give emphatic closure to the composition, and though the adjacent south wall is now blank, there is no indication that the imagery continued onto it. The painting fulfils its function opposite the judgement of Jesus, and its most significant innovations are clear in what survives. These are two. One is the new imagery of where the condemned go. The fiery river, instead of collecting in a lake, gushes through the jaws of a Leviathan-like Hell mouth into a subterranean region presided over not by the pale-skinned 'insatiable Hades', who eats all who die, but by the black 'Archon' who rules the unredeemed.<sup>70</sup> Even more than the Lake of Fire in Saint Mamas, these motifs give site-specificity to post-mortem torment. It is no longer a state of being; it is a place, underground. The damned sinners, however, are not in it. They stand in a landscape, the second innovation. The dead had

<sup>69</sup> Identified as Ο ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟC ΛΑΖΑΡΟC / *o plousios Lazaros*.

<sup>70</sup> He is identified as ὁ ἄρχων / *o archon*. On the Hell mouth, see Garidis 1985, 66–72; Sheingorn 1992, 1–19. Garidis points out that as Leviathan, the great mouth was familiar in Byzantine imagery of Job from the 9th century, but the isolation of its spread jaw as the Hell mouth was a Western motif. He associated its dissemination with 16th-century prints, and pointed out Theophanis' adoption of it in his wall painting at the Great Lavra. But it is clearly earlier here. On the identity of the ruler and the monster he rides, see Angheben 2002, 124; see also Garidis 1985, 63; Maayan-Fanar 2006, 107, n. 73 and *passim*; Tsaka 2010.

always been imagined in barren gloom;<sup>71</sup> this, however, has a scenic character and even a sky. Where the redeemed stand in an unlocalised etherium, the condemned stand in a natural setting. They are in a state of nature, in our world. Here the natural and the damnable converge, opposing an airy and supernatural Heaven.

After the abraded condition of the other late Lusignan Last Judgements, that in Saint Herakleidios, Kalopanayiotis, is welcomely intact.<sup>72</sup> It returns to the narthex, a location customarily linked with the presumed monastic function of the church. In fact, the identification of the mural's donors as priests of 'this village church' shows that the building must have been a secular church in Lusignan times.<sup>73</sup> Occupying the east and lower south walls of the narthex's south, entrance bay, the Last Judgement addressed the villagers and pilgrims coming to the church itself and the adjoining chapel of Saint John Lambadistis (Fig. 8.10).<sup>74</sup> The painter signed himself as from Constantinople,<sup>75</sup> but he was thoroughly familiar with local imagery. As at Kouka and Saint Mamas, his main, east wall is bisected by a vertical axis plummeting from Christ through the cross and Hetoimasia to large scales of justice,<sup>76</sup> placing the weighing of deeds with its cluster of angels, demons and souls at the visual core of the composition. Below it, as in Saint Mamas, a procession of the saved marches leftward from Earth,<sup>77</sup> where an angel trumpets resurrection, towards Paradise with its three Patriarchs. Above the Patriarchs, the blessed rise in layer upon layer, first Mary and then the successive choirs of the saints, filling the left side of the image.

After the ascending density of the righteous, the sinister side of the image is eerily unstable, a gravity-less expanse of blue and barren rock, slashed across by the River of Fire. High at the river's far side kneel the

<sup>71</sup> For visualisations in art, see Marinis 2015, fig. 5 (Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, MS 295, p. 340) and fig. 8 (Athos, Chilandar Monastery, Tower of Saint George), both in colour.

<sup>72</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 109; Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 306–12; Emmanuel 1999, 248–51; Papageorgiou 2012. The attribution to the second half of the 15th century remains persuasive to me, though I have long pondered the Latin graffito in the lower frame that Jean Richard pointed out to me and read as '1418'.

<sup>73</sup> Papageorgiou 2012, 9–11. Papageorgiou suggests that the monastery was founded – or refounded given the 12th-century figures of kneeling monks portrayed on the apse wall – in the mid-16th century.

<sup>74</sup> On its relation to its space and surrounding images: Weyl Carr 2017b.

<sup>75</sup> Papageorgiou 1974, 197.

<sup>76</sup> Identified as ζυγός δικαιοσύνης / ο ζυγός της δικαιοσύνης / *o zygos tis dikaiosynis*.

<sup>77</sup> They are inscribed οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες ἡ . . . χοντες . . . το παρ . . . / οἱ ἅγιοι Πάντες εἰ[σὲρ]χοντες [ἐν] τῷ παρ[αδείσῳ] / *oi Agioi Pantes eiserchontai en to Paradeiso*.



Fig. 8.10 Church of Saint Herakleidios, Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Last Judgement: the saved and the condemned, second half of 15th century, wall painting, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus

donor portraits.<sup>78</sup> Shrewdly placed at the very feet of the Apostles as the first and best of sinners, the patrons display their high humility by abstaining from a place among the saved. They are special, nonetheless: Christ's

<sup>78</sup> Their inscription is given in Stylianou and Stylianou 1996, 1321, along with a summary of the controversy over the Church they represent, whether Latin or Greek.

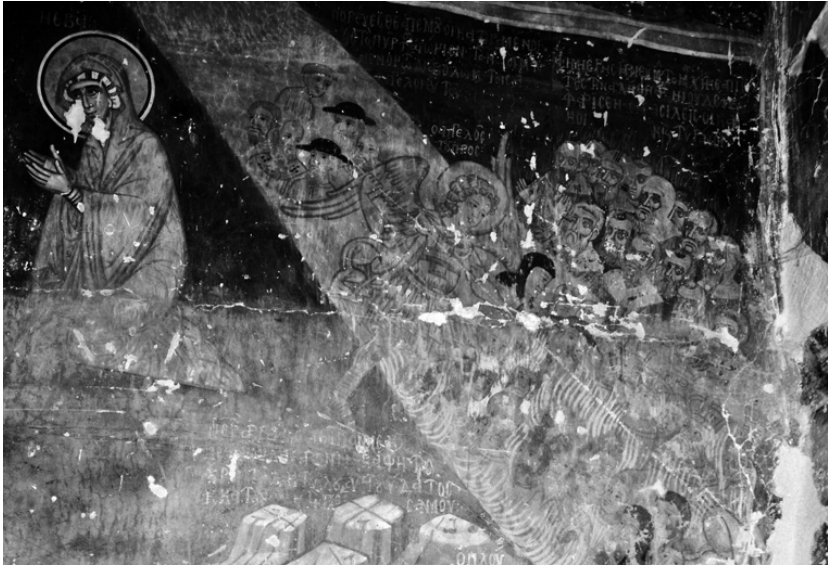


Fig. 8.11 Church of Saint Herakleidios, Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Last Judgement: the River of Fire, second half of the 15th century, wall painting, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus

condemnation from Matthew 25:41 lies below them. Beneath it, a cluster of male faces, some in liturgical vestments, some in striped head cloths, turn hollow eyes towards the flames, expressing the torment of fear that Basil the Younger had detailed with such relish (Fig. 8.11). Over them is written: ‘The false priests, the fighters against the spirit and unbelievers, [those not speaking] the truth, the Jews, the Pharisees, the evil kings, and tyrants’.<sup>79</sup> The displacement of Latin by infidel Others, though striking, was not unique to Cyprus.<sup>80</sup> The figures’ ethnic diversity continues in the variegated headgear of the many being swept down the river’s flames. The river spills at the wall’s edge into a crimson jaw, which gapes around the exposed backside of a naked figure being prodded by the fiery angel. This touch of scatology makes it clear that scorn, not pity, was felt for those in the flames.

The area beneath the river’s diagonal is occupied by rocky crags (Fig. 8.12). Less encompassing than the mountains in Kouka, they nonetheless

<sup>79</sup> As read by Stylianou and Stylianou 1996, 1323: *ἡμῆ ἐρης ἡ πνευματομαχη κε ἀπιστοὶ . . . τὴν ἀληθειαν. Ἡ Ἰουδαὴ κ(αὶ) φαρίση · οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κακοὶ καὶ τυράννοι / οἱ μὴ ἱερεῖς, οἱ πνευματομάχοι καὶ ἄπιστοι, (οἱ μὴ λέγον)τες τὴν ἀληθειάν, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κ(αὶ) Φαρισαῖοι, οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κακοὶ καὶ τυράννοι / *oi mi iereis, oi pneumatomachoi kai apistoi, oi mi legontes tin alitheian, oi Ioudaioi kai Farisaioi, oi basileis, oi kakoi kai tyranoi.**

<sup>80</sup> Dumitrescu 1984, 123–4; Ritzerfeld 2013, 356. Jewish communities existed in a number of cities under the Lusignans; see Arbel 1979.





Fig. 8.12 Church of Saint Herakleidios, Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Last Judgement: the Rich Man, condemned sinners and the Earth Giving Up her Dead, second half of the 15th century, wall painting, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus

draw damnation and nature together. Their most conspicuous denizen is the naked Rich Man, his full plea from Luke 16:24 inscribed before him.<sup>81</sup> Below him, demons lead a long, sad chain of naked and fettered souls rightward over the words: 'sinful souls enter Hell'.<sup>82</sup> The figures lie at eye level, and like the demons who drive them, have been scratched and defaced over time: they have aroused not compassion, but judgemental

<sup>81</sup> He is identified as ὁ πλούσιος Λάζαρος / *o plousios Lazaros*, and pleads: 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue . . .': Π(ατ)ερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλεῆσον με καὶ πέμψε λαζαρον ἵνα βαψῇ τὸ ἀκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ υδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσαν μου / Πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησον με καὶ πέμψον Λάζαρον ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου / *Pater Abraham, eleison me kai pempse Lazaron ina vapsei to akron tou daktylou autou ydatos kai katapsyxei tin glossan mou.*

<sup>82</sup> ἁμαρτωλῶν ψυχὴ ἡσέρχοντε ἡ . . . κολάσσην / ἁμαρτωλῶν ψυχὰι εἰσέρχοντες εἰς τὴν κόλασσην / *amartolon psychai eiserchontai eis tin kolasin.* The chain of fettered souls is seen in Christ the Saviour in Chora, and this may lend some substance to the painter's self-identification as from Constantinople; see Underwood 1966, 3: pl. [204], [204] 4, [204] 5. However, features of the Chora's Last Judgement were known earlier on Cyprus, as seen at Saint Mamas, Sotira. On the Chora Last Judgement, see also Semoglou in this volume, 301–7.

ferocity in their viewers. Below them, the angel bends to trumpet the dead from Earth.<sup>83</sup> No frame separates the rocky landscape of Earth – from which the dead rise – from the rocky realm of castigation under the River of Fire. As in Kouka, nature merges with condemnation.

Both the plunging diagonal of the fiery river and the parade of sinful souls direct the eye onward to the adjacent south wall, where the imagery continues on either side of the door. When entering through that door, viewers parallel the blessed marching towards Paradise; on leaving, they move with the sinners towards the River of Fire's destination. To the left of the door, above a square of Everlasting Fire (one of the Communal Punishments),<sup>84</sup> a red rectangle houses the black, winged figure of the Archon (Satan) on his black dragon (Fig. 8.13).<sup>85</sup> Even more clearly than in Kouka, this rectangle comes close to giving Hell a locality. The Archon cradles in his arms the naked Judas the Traitor;<sup>86</sup> his dragon gulps a white-scarfed sinner,<sup>87</sup> and coils its tail towards three floating heads. Strikingly, given the absence of women in the River of Fire, these look female, with a white headscarf, long hair and soft, beardless contours. Their gender assumes a sharp edge in view of the panel on the other side of the door (Fig. 8.14). It preserves just one of what were once three identified sinners: a naked woman, hanging head down and entwined by a serpent that bites her breast. Of her inscription, only the word 'babies' (τὰ νηπιά / *ta nipia*) survives: she is either the woman who aborts or the one who refuses to nurse/feed babies or children. Two further sinners would have accompanied her over the compartments of Communal Punishments in the lowest register. But she is nearest to Hell.<sup>88</sup> Women emerge as the last word on sin. Set off on a separate wall, uniting Hellfire and sinners, this area has a unity of its own, and one feels prompted to say that it is Hell: that Hell has a place. But it dwindles by comparison with the vast, vertiginous cascade of figures and conditions that hurtles towards it from the adjacent wall. Neither its individualised torments nor the confined cubicle of the Archon gives finality to the voracious tumult of the River of Fire, whose drama of process quite overwhelms its destination.

<sup>83</sup> Only the figure's head survives, identified as ἡ Γῆ / *i Gi*.

<sup>84</sup> Identified as τὰ φῶτα ἀταχθόνια / *ta fota atachthonia*.

<sup>85</sup> Identified as ὁ Δράκων / *o Drakon*.

<sup>86</sup> Identified as οὗτος ὁ προδοτής / ο Ἰούδας ο προδοτής / *o Ioudas o prodotis*.

<sup>87</sup> Only the letters ὁ Ηοο . . . survive. Close to a century later, Julian the Apostate (ἡουλιανὸς / *Ioulianos*) would appear in the Last Judgement at Galata (see below, 404).

<sup>88</sup> There may have been two rows of sinners, three in each register, but the presence of the Everlasting Fire on the left side of the door suggests the presence of further compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower register on the right.





Fig. 8.13 Church of Saint Herakleidios, Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Last Judgement: the Archon on his dragon, second half of the 15th century, wall painting, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus

After the complexity of Asinou's Last Judgement with its shifting perspectives, the two-dimensionality of the succeeding century's four compositions seems to offer a more clearly localised picture of Hell. The bilateral balance, with beatitude on the one hand, condemnation on the other, implies a comparably straightforward formulation of Heaven on one side and Hell on the other. No less binary are the scales of justice, culling bad from good. They blunt the contrast between post-mortem and end-time judgement, drawing them together in the single, visual metaphor of 'being tested in the balance'. In all three legible programmes, the River of Fire,



Fig. 8.14 Church of Saint Herakleidios, Monastery of Saint John Lambadistis, Last Judgement: the woman who aborts or refuses to nurse children, second half of the 15th century, wall painting, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus

definitive signature of damnation, flows to a localisable terminus, be it Sotira's swelling Lake of Fire, Kouka's gulping Hell mouth, or Kalopanayiotis' ruddy rectangle housing the Archon on his satanic dragon. Where identified sinners still exist, as they do in Kalopanayiotis, they gather far closer to the fire than they ever had before. Yet in the end, in

none of these cases do sinners – even sinners cursed by Christ's own malediction – actually appear in the fire. They hover deliberately outside the firestorm of Sotira's Last Judgement; at Kouka, they stand in the landscape that closes over what the Hell mouth swallows. And in Kalopanayiotis, the cascading River of Fire, the parched terrain it flows through, the gaping jaw at its mouth, the shackled chain gang of the rejected, the compressed block of fire beyond and the labelled sinners all compete for a finality that remains ever mobile. Punishment eludes conclusive destination. Far more than a place as such, it is a process, a consciously variegated condition of being cast out, or cast away. The terror of ejection looms far larger and more compellingly than any place to which its victims might be condemned.

#### 8.4 The Venetian Period: Late 15th to 16th Century

When Kalopanayiotis' narthex was painted, Cyprus had been under Lusignan rule for close to three centuries. The art of this era is studied largely in terms of east–west interpenetration. Its Last Judgements, however, had remained firmly Byzantine in both iconography and content. Venetian hegemony did not begin abruptly, but it brought a sea change as Cypriots responded to the influx of ideas from Venice itself and its empire, especially Crete.<sup>89</sup> Two Last Judgements belong early in Venetian rule, around 1500. One, in Saints Kerykos and Ioulitta, Letymbou, has lost its portions treating Hell.<sup>90</sup> But the other, in the monastic Church of Christ Antiphonitis, suggests dramatic change (Fig. 8.15).<sup>91</sup> Shattered since 1974, it was a self-contained, two-dimensional composition occupying the north wall of the naos. It faced a vast Tree of Jesse, its image of Christ's messianic return facing the messianic message of his Davidic genealogy.<sup>92</sup> The dome between them, too, displayed Christ as end-time judge.

<sup>89</sup> See Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 319.

<sup>90</sup> Papageorgiou 2008, 29 on the date, and 44, 62, and figs 34–9 on the Last Judgement; Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 414–18.

<sup>91</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 469–85, esp. 476–81 and pl. 290; Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1973 (1974), 17, figs 32, 33. The Last Judgement was hacked from its wall by thieves after 1974. Fragments were recovered in the summer of 2014.

<sup>92</sup> Seen later on Cyprus in conjunction with the Last Judgement at Saint Sozomenos, Galata (below, 404), the Jesse Tree accompanied Last Judgements also in Crete; see vol. 2, cat. nos 41, 48, 51, 52 and 91.



Fig. 8.15 Church of Christ Antiphonitis, composite photograph overlaying the destroyed Last Judgement over the current church interior, early 16th century, wall painting, Kalogrea, Cyprus

Already the placement of the cross and Passion instruments above Christ and not on the Hetoimasia signals a shift, announcing Christ's redemptive Last Judgement.<sup>93</sup> The tetramorph peers from his mandorla, a Latin motif implying apocalypse. The motifs of Earth, Sea and the rolled scroll – all typically Byzantine – are absent here, while the scales of justice, for the first time on Cyprus, are placed in the hands of the overseeing angel.<sup>94</sup> More

<sup>93</sup> The placement of cross and Passion instruments above the Deesis had been seen in Gothic tympana – the south portal of Chartres is the earliest example; see Sauerländer 1972, pl. 108; Feltman 2014, 126–7 and fig. 6. The elevated Passion instruments also appear in Palaiologan images of the Anastasis; see Deliyianni-Dori 1994; Parpulov 2010, fig. 103. The placement of the Hetoimasia itself over Christ as a sign of the Last Judgement had been seen in Crete; see Bougrat 1984, 34. Thus, the motif's adoption at Antiphonitis seems to meld both Latin and Greek traditions. The throne of the Hetoimasia is abbreviated as a result. It is flanked not by Adam and Eve, who lead the Choirs of the Elect, but by three winged putti labelled τὰ ἅγια βρέφη / *ta hagia vrefi*, the first appearance on Cyprus of the Holy Innocents massacred by Herod at the birth of Christ.

<sup>94</sup> An angel holds the scales of justice in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 74, fol. 51v (see Fig. 4.2 in this volume), and also in the Hamilton Psalter, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78. A.9, fol. 111r, often attributed to Cyprus itself. But neither manuscript identifies him by name, and the same is true here. For Paris BnF gr. 74, see Omont 1908, 1, fig. 41; Angheben



emphatic are modifications to the regions of fire that engage us. The river is not a torrent but a thin umbilicus, connecting Christ to a bell-shaped enclosure that can only be called Hell. For the first time, Hell is a definitively enclosed place. Its ruler, though winged like his precursor at Kalopanayiotis, has the black, bulbous corpulence of the widely imitated Satan in Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel (see Fig. 4.12 in this volume), and like him, gnaws voraciously on a soul.<sup>95</sup> An element of direct influence is not impossible: already by this date Cypriots were capitalising on their colonial status to enrol in the University of Padua.<sup>96</sup> Where the ruler's fiery region at Kalopanayiotis is bounded only by the limits of its architectural space, Kalogrea's is a clearly circumscribed container. It is not impermeable: colourless demons flit like shades across its borders to besiege the scales of justice. But its boundedness is clear. Moreover, the exemplary damned are for the first time inside it. They are a select company. Around a cauldron of souls sit Annas and Caiaphas, prominently labelled, a mitred hierarch, and a turbaned Muslim. Unlike Kalopanayiotis' generically labelled crowd, these are as clearly defined in identity as their Hell is in shape.

After the turbulent maelstrom of mass ejection that the realm of the damned had been hitherto, this Hell is strikingly small and closed. Nonetheless, retribution did exceed its boundaries. At far left, alongside the lowest heavenly choir and the procession of the righteous, dangle four individually identified, nude sinners, all male (Fig. 8.16): the man who cheats at the scales (ὁ παραζηγιαστής / ο παραζυγιαστής / *o parazygiastis*) holding a set of scales, the man who ploughs over the boundary line (ὁ παραβλακιστής / ο παραυλακιστής / *o paravlakistis*) with a plough lodged in his furrow, the bad miller (ὁ παραμύλωνας / ο παραμυλωνάς / *o paramylonas*) with millstones hanging from his neck, and the glutton (ὁ λέμαργος / ο λαίμαργος / *o laimargos*) gripping his gut.<sup>97</sup> Even here, where Hell has closed boundaries, punished evildoers exist outside it. Kolasi's realm of post-mortem castigation extends beyond Hell. Like the sinners of Sotira's Transfiguration church centuries before, the sinners here infect the region of Heaven, foreclosing a clear dichotomy between redemption and retribution, right and left, salvation and sin. They show, moreover, that if the individually labelled sinners had indeed dwindled

2002, fig. 20. On the Hamilton Psalter, see Havice 1984; Vassilaki 2000b, 388–9, entry by N. Patterson-Ševčenko.

<sup>95</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 216–18. <sup>96</sup> Nicolaou-Konnari 2009, 40.

<sup>97</sup> On these figures see Chatziioannou 1953, 295.



Fig. 8.16 Church of Christ Antiphonitis, Last Judgement: Sinners, early 16th century, wall painting, Kalogrea, Cyprus

in the later Lusignan period, they were taken up again with enthusiasm in the Venetian one, adding sins of personal as well as public excess.

The closed Hell of Antiphonitis was never repeated in Cyprus. By comparison with it, even the grandiose Last Judgement of the Panagia Katholiki, Pelendri, with its 16th-century Italianate style, looks retrospective and Byzantine.<sup>98</sup> This spreads over the entire western wall of the naos (Fig. 8.17). Only its central portion is still largely intact, including Christ and his tribunal, the ranks of the redeemed, the scales of justice and the River of Fire. A high-walled Garden of Paradise originally lay to the left, while to the right Earth disgorged its dead to the trumpet call of a towering angel. The innovative style is matched by many iconographic innovations, including the pure white figure of the transfigured Christ in the gable, visualising his Second Coming in glory just before the Last Judgement

<sup>98</sup> Philotheou 1996, 77; Stylianos and Stylianos 1997, 233–4; Christou 2003, 25, figs 14–15; Hadjisavvas 2003c, 25, figs 12–13; Gerasimou et al. 2005, 104. These authors assign the paintings to the very early 16th century on the basis of the date of 1502 in the dedicatory inscription of the Church of the Panagia Podithou in Galata, given in Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 12. On the basis of the clothing of the portrait figures and the style, Frigerio-Zeniou has challenged the connection of that inscription with the paintings at Podithou and attributed the paintings there – I believe correctly – to the third quarter of the century. I believe the same is true of the paintings in the Panagia Katholiki, Pelendri, given the inflection of their volumetric, ponderated figures with selective realistic details and exaggeratedly serpentine postures, both characteristic of Italian Mannerism in the second quarter of the 16th century.





Fig. 8.17 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement, 16th century, wall painting, Pelendri, Cyprus

(Matt. 24:30; Mark 13:26);<sup>99</sup> the zealous angels flourishing the Passion instruments before the Deesis as in many Gothic tympana;<sup>100</sup> and the balletic central archangel who holds the scales of justice, an emissary again from Gothic art.<sup>101</sup> The armed angels of the fiery river bear white shields emblazoned with a red cross each, a heraldic device recurrent in western Europe for the hosts of Heaven (Fig. 8.18);<sup>102</sup> the long fur of the

<sup>99</sup> The visual distinction between Christ's Second Coming in power and glory, and the Last Judgement in which he judges the quick and the dead, noted already in the Introduction to this volume, 7–8, had been made at an earlier date in Crete; see Bougrat 1984, 35; Tsamakda 2012, 192–7. Mark 13:26 was also elaborately illuminated in Cilician Armenian manuscripts: Der Nersessian 1973, 9–10.

<sup>100</sup> The south portal of Chartres cited in n. 93 above is among many examples; see also Christe 1999, figs 62, 129 for the west portal at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges; figs 69–70 for the Last Judgement portal at Notre-Dame, Reims; fig. 106 for the Last Judgement portal at Notre-Dame, Paris; fig. 156 for Last Judgement portal at the cathedral of Santa Maria de Regla, Leon.

<sup>101</sup> Though he is not named, it is hard not to call him Michael, for his central placement evokes the many European examples, where he is Michael; see Brilliant 2009, 339. Michael had been adopted by other post-Byzantine painters: see in particular Davigo 1984, 173–4, where he stands frontally as here in Pelendri. On an angel holding the scales, see n. 94 above.

<sup>102</sup> The white banner with red cross, familiar in Renaissance paintings of the Resurrection of Christ, is seen also in the Last Judgements of Giotto in Padua (Pace and Angheben 2006, 216),



Fig. 8.18 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: the damned, 16th century, wall painting, Pelendri, Cyprus

demons corralling the souls is associated with the West;<sup>103</sup> and a frantic friar joins the merchants, mitred hierarchs and Jew among the damned. Yet for all these novelties, the scene looks more Byzantine than Latin. Its elements float in a sifting indeterminacy that bewilders any concrete finality of destination and leaves damnation a scatter of varied conditions. Especially indicative is the group of anguished nudes of ambiguous gender, coiled in snakes, at the far left (Fig. 8.19). They are clearly suffering, yet they stand below the walls of Paradise. Such figures had represented sinners since Byzantium's earliest Last Judgements,<sup>104</sup> but had been largely displaced by the individually identified tradesperson sinners. Having such generic sinners instead of the individually labelled villager transgressors

of La Brigue, Notre-Dame des Fontaines, of 1492, where they are on banners of angels driving damned into Hell and on the trumpet of the angels raising the dead, both the saved and the damned; see Pace and Angheben 2006, 205; and of Signorelli in Orvieto, where they hang from the instruments of the trumpeting angels; see Pace and Angheben 2006, 235. That the motif had been embraced in Cyprus with the same message of divine triumph is seen in its inclusion in the 16th-century icon of the Anastasis in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia: Papageorgiou 1992, 155 and pl. 111.

<sup>103</sup> Provatakis 1980, 82; Garidis 1985, 51. They had been adopted by Georgios Klontzas; see Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich 2000, pl. XXXI.

<sup>104</sup> They appear already in the Yılanlı Kilise in the İhlara (Peristremma) Valley, Cappadocia, c. 900, and continue to be used through the centuries – a good example is in Sopoćani, of the mid-13th century; see Warland in this volume, 241–52 (section 5.2); see also Mijović 1967b, 239–48; Thierry 1979, 337, fig. 7.



Fig. 8.19 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: sinners with snakes, 16th century, wall painting, Pelendri, Cyprus

with the emblems of their trade reinforces the sense of selective fidelity to Byzantine tradition. This is underscored by their location, for their placement on the side of Heaven deliberately challenges any binary partition between good and bad, right and left, Heaven and Hell.

Only more slowly does one realise a significant shift in the imagery of Hell. This emerges in the prominence given to Earth and the landscape of resurrection (Fig. 8.20). Earth herself is an imperious figure, clothed in crimson with a winding-sheet *loros*. Though sovereign over death, she presides over resurrection. Resurrection, as the precondition for terminal judgement, was a crucial component of the Last Judgement in Orthodox faith, and Earth and Sea had been among the features most sharply distinguishing the Byzantine from the Latin tradition of Last Judgement imagery.<sup>105</sup> Earth's inclusion here after its omission at Antiphonitis contributes to the painting's Byzantine fidelity. If important, though, Earth and Sea had never acquired a stable place within the logic of the event, appearing now with Heaven, now with Hell, now in the upper and now in the nether reaches of the scene. But in both Europe and Byzantium, resurrection had gained in importance from the 14th century on.<sup>106</sup> By

<sup>105</sup> Brenk 1966, 145–9.

<sup>106</sup> A critical monument here is Gračanica of 1321, where a panoramic land- and seascape fills the sinister side of the Last Judgement: see Živković 1989, unnumbered drawings.

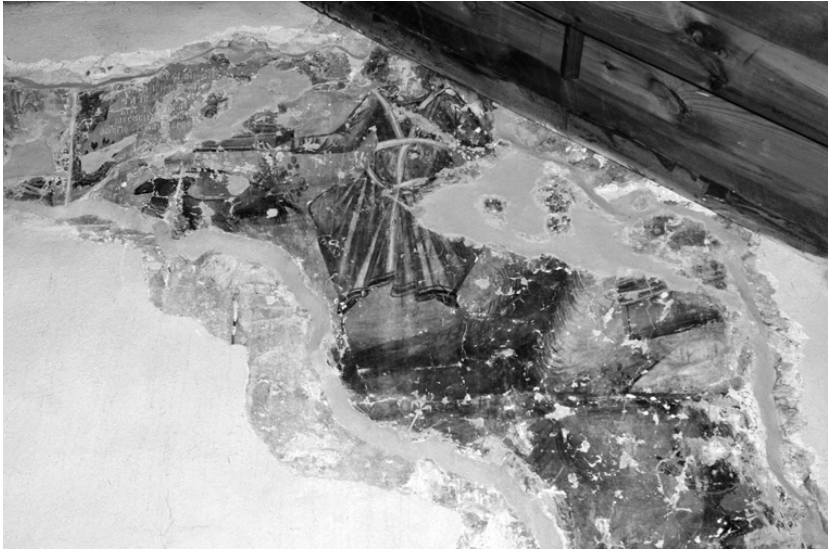


Fig. 8.20 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: Earth, 16th century, wall painting, Pelendri, Cyprus

the 15th century in Europe, it often dominated all other components of the Last Judgement.<sup>107</sup> In the Byzantine world, too, a compositional paradigm introduced at Gračanica, and retained through the post-Byzantine centuries, devoted the whole sinister side of the Last Judgement to a panoramic landscape of Earth and Sea alive with resurrection.<sup>108</sup> This paradigm was developed most famously by the Cretan painter Theophanis, and his great monastic murals at Meteora and Athos assured it wide 16th-century dissemination.<sup>109</sup> But it had reached Venetian Cyprus, too, as indicated here at Pelendri, where resurrection occupies a third of the scene. A large area of destruction obliterates its lower portions, but a suggestive detail at the far right – a cave-like hollow enclosing a chortling demon with a soul in

<sup>107</sup> Thanks to <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/>, one can watch this change graphically in miniature paintings in the Morgan Library. Compositions with the judging Christ over groups of the saved and damned, as seen for instance in Liverpool, Museum, Mayer 12004, fol. 11v of 1225–35 (Swarzenski 1936, no. 53; I, p. 133; II, pl. 116, fig. 656), are displaced by images with the judging Christ over the rising dead; see New York, Morgan Library, M.72, fol. 157v of 1270–80; Morgan Library, M.969, fol. 447v, from the last third of the 13th century; Morgan Library, M.455, fol. 166v, c. 1410–20; Morgan Library, M.453, fol. 184v of 1425–30; Morgan Library, M.1145, fol. 2 of 1455–70; Morgan Library, M.894, fol. 216v, of c. 1485; Morgan Library, M.451, fol. 91v, of 1531. This development culminates in the sifting rise and fall of souls in Michelangelo's Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel.

<sup>108</sup> Živković 1989, unnumbered drawings.

<sup>109</sup> Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003. See also Millet 1927, pl. 149–51 (Great Lavra), pl. 244–7 (Docheiariou); Yiannias 1971.



his arms – suggests that the River of Fire emptied into a netherworld below Earth. This rationalised the composition, locating the destination of the damned visibly in a place underneath the earth. At the same time, it bound Earth itself to the side of Hell. This alignment of Earth and resurrection with Hell played a determinative role in the Last Judgements of the Venetian period.

Landscape had surrounded the wicked already in Kouka, and in Kalopanayiotis the landscape of resurrection had not been framed off from that of the judged. But only in the 16th century was the fusion of resurrection with the Last Judgement's sinister side elaborated. Just what it implied about the drama of divine judgement was variously understood by the Cypriot painters, yielding differing topographies of punishment. Only very rarely was it omitted. This may have been the case at Saint Epiphaios, Doros.<sup>110</sup> This is a gabled building with long, low naos walls. Residues of Paradise and the processing blessed march westward along its south wall, culminating in Choirs of the Elect to the left of the western door. The judging Christ in glory fills the space to the right of the door; the hosts of the condemned must once have filled the now blank north wall. With figures close in scale to the real-life worshippers, confronting them at eye level, the effect must have been truly gripping. Sadly, the loss of the whole sinister side precludes our illustrating Doros' Hell. But if included at all, Earth and resurrection cannot have been prominent. In all other examples, they play a significant role. Three variants can be identified.

One variant was realised with particular clarity in the Church of the Stavros tou Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.<sup>111</sup> The last monastic church of this survey, this is a small, gabled naos surrounded by an outer aisle enclosed under the engulfing roof. The aisle serves on the west as a narthex. Its steeply gabled east wall displays a vast Last Judgement, one of few on Cyprus that survive fully (Fig. 8.21). It is dense with detail. Beneath a Christ whose Second Coming is expressed by his elevated position and diamond-shaped light-burst, the Apostle Tribunal flanks a large cross and Hetoimasia, from which hang the scales of justice with their attendant personnel. Below them, the River of Fire plummets vertically, dividing the scene in two. The blessed pack the right side too tightly even for haloes. The sinister half is perceptibly less populated. Under the Apostles stand five eminently evil men, and below them, an ample land- and seascape opens out. Earth and Sea, personified but

<sup>110</sup> See Flourentzos 2006.

<sup>111</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 186–218; Argyrou and Myrianthefts 2004. On the mural's date see n. 114 below.



Fig. 8.21 Church of the Stavros tou Agiasmati, Last Judgement, 16th century, wall painting, near Platanistasa, Cyprus

not labelled, preside as assorted beasts – including the winged lion, bear and leopard of Daniel 7:4–5<sup>112</sup> – busily disgorge body parts. The River of Fire laps the edge of this verdant expanse. Riding its waves, a portly Rich Man points to his mouth as gold and silver coins glitter around him. Landscape notwithstanding, there is nothing agrarian in his greed – it is for monetary gain. Below him, the river turns sharply to the right, forming a final register below the landscape of resurrection (Fig. 8.22). It constitutes a genuine underground realm. The shaggy ‘Lord of Darkness’ (ὁ ἀρχ[ων] του σκοτ[ους] / ο Ἀρχων του σκοτους / *o Archon tou skotous*), surrounded by flames and assorted floating heads, sits atop a pale, prodigiously toothed, bicephalous beast.<sup>113</sup> Beyond him, the flames flow onward. They seem initially to have encircled the compartments of Communal Punishments, for a segment of blue ground with the letters Ο ΒΡ[υγμός τῶν ὀδόντων] emerges at the top.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> On the prophecy of Daniel, see below, 392.

<sup>113</sup> On the two-headed dragon as the throne of Satan, see also Duits in this volume, 217–22 (section 4.5).

<sup>114</sup> The interior of the church and the lunette beneath the Last Judgement in the narthex were painted by Philippos Goul in 1494 or 1505. The Last Judgement itself is by a different hand, probably later, but clearly earlier than the over-painted sins, which still belong within the



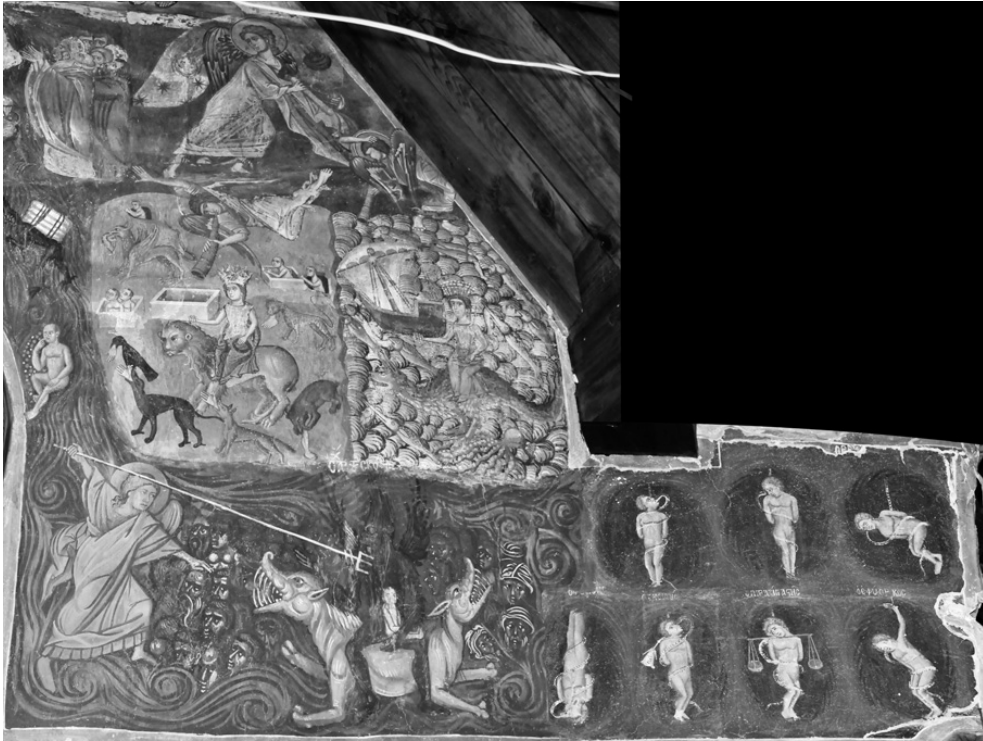


Fig. 8.22 Church of the Stavros tou Agiasmati, Last Judgement: composite photograph with landscape, Lord of Darkness and sinners, 16th century, wall painting, near Platanistasa, Cyprus

Later in the 16th century, they were over-painted with seven black caves. In each hangs a male nude, entwined with snakes and labelled with a sin. To the extent that they are still legible, their transgressions are strictly social, and – as intimated by the coins encircling the Rich Man – more commercial than agrarian: nearest the Archon is the murderer (ὁ φονεὺς / ο φονεύς / *o phoneus*), head down like the man who cheats at the scales at Asinou; he is followed by the usurer (ὁ τοκιστής / *o tokistis*) with a moneybag around his neck, the man who cheats at the scales (ὁ παραζηγιαστής / ο παραζυγιαστής / *o parazygiastis*) with his scales, and the perjurer (ὁ ἐφύορκος / ο ἐπίορκος / *o epiorkos*) with a snake biting his face; the sins above have lost their

decades of Venetian rule. Whether the Communal Punishments indicate an earlier version beneath it, perhaps by Goul, is as yet unknown. The date in Goul's inscription is damaged, and extensively debated. Constantinides 1999, 266; Argyriou and Myrianthefts 2004, 9-10; and Eliadis 2012, 287 date it to 1505. Stylianou and Stylianou 1976, 279–82; and Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 186, date it to 1494. On Philip Goul: Parani 2010.

inscriptions but their snakes imply sins of the tongue, eye and ear. As no sinners seen so far had been, these are clearly within the Archon's Hell.

In stark contrast to the instability of late Lusignan compositions, what emerges here at the Stavros tou Agiasmati is an impressively ordered image of condemnation to Hell. At its visual centre is the landscape of resurrection. Above it, evildoers contemplate their condemnation; meanwhile, the flaming river sweeps away the signature malefactor, the Rich Man, into a dark and fiery underworld beneath the sunny surfaces of sea and land. Here the Lord of Darkness presides; here the compartments of Communal Punishments were assembled; and here, too, the sinful predators on civic life are imprisoned and punished. Fire, darkness, malevolent domination and punishment are confined together below the earth, much as implied in the liturgy of the Sunday of the Last Judgement, which prays for protection from '... the gates of hell, from chaos and darkness without light, from the lowest depths of the earth and the unquenchable fire, and from all the other everlasting punishments'.<sup>115</sup> The words come from deep in the Byzantine era, but they had never been visualised with the coherence seen here. How clearly this coherence was understood is demonstrated by the figure of the fiery angel. Occupied in earlier murals with 'putting the sinners into the fire', as the inscription at Asinou had said, he is here engaged in something different: he is attacking the Lord of Darkness and closing his realm.<sup>116</sup> It is a place of containment.

Three other 16th-century Last Judgements echo the Stavros tou Agiasmati's rationalising of the Last Judgement's components. The fragmentary fresco at the Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Psimolofu, retains only an indicative detail (Fig. 8.23).<sup>117</sup> At the damaged fringes of its sinister side, two angels weigh deeds. Above their heads, amid the plaited streams of the River of Fire, black demons wielding axes attack two naked and bloodied sinners, who hang with bound arms from meathooks. A third sinner plunges head first down the flames. Small, unlabelled and frighteningly vulnerable with their bleeding wounds, they belong nonetheless to the tradition of individually identified sinners, and suffer the rewards of

<sup>115</sup> Mother Mary and K. Ware 1978, 159.

<sup>116</sup> His behaviour may have been understood quite differently by medieval viewers, for local residents today say that the archangel is wresting from the Devil a soul unjustly condemned. This positive reading, endorsed by the vastly larger number of saved than damned in the mural, is a helpful counterbalance to the post-Reformation grimness many of us bring to Last Judgement images.

<sup>117</sup> See most recently Eliadis 2012, 305–6. See also Paulidis 2011, 18: 471, s.v. Φιλάρετος ζωγράφος. A 16th-century Last Judgement adorned the south naos wall, but was extensively damaged by a fire in the 19th century.



Fig. 8.23 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: sinners tormented, 16th century, wall painting, Psimolof, Cyprus

transgressive greed. They are no longer in a realm of their own, though; instead, like the sinners of the Stavros tou Agiasmati, they are integrated in the fire, their individually tailored castigations amalgamated into the categorical image of end-time damnation.

Also fire-damaged but better preserved on its critical sinister side is a panel-painted icon formerly in the Church of the Phaneromeni in Nicosia but now in the Byzantine Museum there (Fig. 8.24).<sup>118</sup> Interestingly, both the angels weighing deeds at the icon's centre, and the little procession of naked sinners moving rightward from them, had been scratched and obscured before the fire damage occurred. Apparently, the process of weighing itself had become threatening enough to warrant destruction. Farther right, as vigorous angels wrestle malefactors into the River of Fire, a mountainous landscape with spreading meadows displays belching animals and rising bodies. Below them, the River of Fire swells rightward, forming a glowing-red, subterranean realm of barren ground and rocks. As at the Stavros tou Agiasmati, it forms a fiery domain beneath the earth. Silhouetted against its red light looms a ruined fortress, its ragged turrets and broken-toothed portcullis circled by a swarm of tiny demons. Enforced incarceration was

<sup>118</sup> Papageorgiou 1969, 116 and pl. p. 94.



Fig. 8.24 Church of the Panagia Phaneromeni, Icon of the Last Judgement, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, no. 100

no new metaphor for post-mortem pain.<sup>119</sup> But the fortress is a dramatically new way of visualising it, presenting Hell in terms other than through the human body. It is an imported image, borrowed from the art of northern Europe.<sup>120</sup> It may have reached Cyprus through prints,<sup>121</sup> but the dramatic exploitation of colour here invites speculation that the painter actually knew German or Netherlandish paintings. More important than its actual provenance, however, is the very fact of its use: until Hell had been gathered into a place, coherently bounded and tied to the end of time, the fortress would not have been a functional way of imagining it.

The final Last Judgement of this group, again only partially preserved, is in the village Church of John the Baptist in Askas.<sup>122</sup> Attributed by Eliadis

<sup>119</sup> It was a long-entrenched metaphor in literature, as emphasised by Baun 2007, 241–2, seen well already in the 10th century in Ryden 1995, vol. 2, 165. In particular, Michael Glykas' mid-12th-century verse compares his imprisonment in Constantinople to Hell; see Tsokalis 1959.

<sup>120</sup> Familiar in Netherlandish painting, especially of Hieronymus Bosch, one sees it well in Stefan Lochner's Last Judgement in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; see Pace and Angheben 2006, 209.

<sup>121</sup> On the impact of Renaissance prints on Cypriot painting, see Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 173–5.

<sup>122</sup> Demosthenis 2008, 19–99.



to the 1560s<sup>123</sup> and to the decades after the Ottoman conquest by Frigerio-Zeniou,<sup>124</sup> it covered the west wall and both faces of the arcades dividing the central vessel of the naos from the two side aisles. The west wall itself was demolished when the church was extended in 1683, leaving only the westernmost spandrel of each arcade. Though limited, what survives is vivid. The aisle faces of both spandrels are devoted to resurrection, with shrouded heads being trumpeted from a barren landscape on the south, and on the north a brilliant seascape of busily disgorging fishes presided over by a bosomy and engaging figure of Sea astride a whale (Fig. 8.26). On the naos face of Sea's spandrel is the River of Fire, with a dense procession of the damned being driven relentlessly towards the soffit (Fig. 8.25). Only its first ranks survive, but they are eloquently selective: after white-bearded kings comes a veritable horde of hooded monks who grip their whiskered cheeks in terror; a flock of mitres follows. If Latinising clerics deserved condemnation, so did rapacious Greek monks. A huge red demon on the soffit wrestles the group down the torrent of flame as it gushes into the gaping mouth of a many-toothed whale labelled the 'Dragon of the Depths' (ὁ βίθιος δράκων / ο βύθιος δράκων / ο *vithyos drakon*). He lies directly beneath the depths of Sea astride her similar whale. The compression of punishment into a fiery realm underground is clear.

At the base of the soffit, gleefully observed by demons, a couple lies in bed. They are, in the words of the accompanying inscription, 'the ones who sleep on Sunday and don't get up for Orthros'.<sup>125</sup> Like the glutton at Antiphonitis, they reflect the 16th-century inclusion of personal as well as public sins. Along with the man who cheats at the scales, the Sunday sleepers are the most frequently depicted sinners on Cyprus. They are also the most revealing: those who see the Sunday sleepers cannot be they, for to see them one must be in church, which the Sunday sleepers are not. Thus, the sleepers reinforce the impression that the individualised sinners were designed not just to evoke fear of one's own culpability, but perhaps more pointedly to elicit scorn for that of others. The sleepers serve here to sweep the small sinner along with the great one down the fiery sluice of condemnation. That there was just one such sluice – that post-mortem punishment in all its Byzantine variety had indeed been condensed at Askas into the one domain of Hell – is confirmed in the Christological scene of the Anastasis. Not the shackled Hades, but a clutch of

<sup>123</sup> Eliadis 2012, 312–19. <sup>124</sup> Frigerio-Zeniou 2003, 351–71.

<sup>125</sup> It reads οὔτι ησιν η κιμομενη την αγιαν κηριακην και εις τον ορθρον ουκ εξεγειροντε / οὔτοι εισιν οι κοιμώμενοι την αγιαν κυριακήν και εις τὸν ὄρθρον οὐκ ἐξεγείρονται / *outoi eisin oi koimomenoi tin hagian kyriakin kai eis orthron ouk exegeirontai*.



Fig. 8.25 Church of Saint John Prodromos, Last Judgement: the damned led to Hell, 16th century, wall painting, Askas, Cyprus

hefty black devils glares up from the darkness that Christ tramples.<sup>126</sup> Christ indeed harrows not Hades here, but Hell.

<sup>126</sup> Eliadis 2012, 314, fig. 22. The elaboration of a demonic Hell would become standard in Russian icons of the Anastasis: see Weyl Carr 2011, 142–3, no. 49; 160–3, no. 56, entries by A. W. Carr.





Fig. 8.26 Church of Saint John Prodromos, Last Judgement: the Sea and the damned led to Hell, 16th century, wall painting, Askas, Cyprus

Where the Last Judgements of the late Lusignan period had assembled communal and end-time punishment in a sprawling, unlocalisable convergence, this group of 16th-century versions rationalised punishment's location by assembling its varied manifestations in a single, subterranean destination confined beneath the expansive landscape of end-time

resurrection. Kolasi thus assumed much of the closure and finality of western European Hell. Cyprus' second group of 16th-century Last Judgements gave the middle zone of resurrection a different role, incorporating into it the imagery of Daniel's apocalyptic vision (Dan. 7:1–28). Daniel's vision had already provided the signature motif of the River of Fire.<sup>127</sup> But the river was just one part of an elaborate allegory of eras, animals, rulers and powers, that was central to both Byzantine and 16th-century apocalyptic speculation.<sup>128</sup> Daniel's imagery had been incorporated in Theophanis' influential Last Judgement at the Great Lavra on Athos,<sup>129</sup> and his composition may lie behind the dominant monument of this second group: an intricate icon formerly in Foini in the Paphos District but now in the Byzantine Museum, Nicosia (Fig. 8.27).<sup>130</sup> It must have been commissioned by the hieromonk who is portrayed, not among the sinners like the patrons at Kalopanayiotis, but kneeling splendidly vested in Paradise itself. His name was once inscribed above him: 'Remember, Lord, your servant Max . . .'<sup>131</sup> The words echo those of the Good Thief, also in Paradise. Ioannis Eliadis has attributed both the Foini icon and the murals at Askas to Silvestros Axiotis, a painter known from two dated icons of 1560–70 in the Paphos District,<sup>132</sup> but the two works share nothing iconographically.<sup>133</sup>

The icon gathers the whole supernatural personnel of the Last Judgement in the upper half of its tall, slender panel. Painted entirely on

<sup>127</sup> See n. 15 above.

<sup>128</sup> Argyriou 1982, 112–24 and *passim*; Pertusi 1988; Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich 2000, 55–70 and *passim*.

<sup>129</sup> Millet 1927, pl. 149, 1 and 2. Theophanis adds the allegorical figures of Daniel's vision to the middle zone of resurrection here, emphasising ascent, as both the rising dead and Daniel's allegory point upward to the final events of the judgement. His imagery creates a cyclic dynamism of ascent and descent: forms in the layered realms of punishment establish ascending diagonals that continue through the landscape, as though drawing those in post-mortem punishment upward through resurrection into apocalyptic judgement. From judgement, in turn, the River of Fire plummets to the very base of the scene, hurtling the condemned past the layers of post-mortem punishment, and pulling the eye down to begin again from the bottom.

<sup>130</sup> Hadjisavvas 2010, 240, no. 204, entry by I. Eliadis. See also Papageorgiou 1969, 116 and pl. p. 95. On the relation of Cypriot images like this icon to Theophanis' Last Judgement, see Albani forthcoming.

<sup>131</sup> It reads: Μνησ(θη)τη Κυριε τον δουλον σου Μαξ [ . . . ] ορος / μνήσθητε Κύριε τὸν δοῦλον σοῦ Μαξ [ . . . ] ορος / *mnisthite Kyrie ton doulon sou Max* [ . . . ] *oros*.

<sup>132</sup> Hadjisavvas 2010, 240; Eliadis 2012, 316–18.

<sup>133</sup> A huge figure of Daniel occupies the soffit of the south arcade in Askas, bearing Daniel 7:9–10 on his scroll; see Demosthenis 2008, fig. p. 48. Thus, the apocalyptic components of his vision could have been included on the now vanished western wall. But the surviving imagery bears no resemblance to that in Foini.



Fig. 8.27 Icon of the Last Judgement from the village of Foini, Paphos District, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, no. 101



gold, this region embraces not just the Deesis, Apostles and cloud-borne Choirs of the Elect, but the full drama of the scales of justice and the River of Fire. A long chain gang of naked souls, a group of Jews and merchants and a bevy of kings are being marshalled into the cascading river, as a glittering crowd of Orthodox hierarchs in *poly-stavia phelonia* stands in its waves. Just beyond them, the river swells into the fiery lake with the black Archon on his gnawing beast. Thus, Heaven with its choirs of the holy, and Hell with its satanic ruler and river of sinners are conjoined in a prophetic realm of celestial judgement. Even the River of Fire vanishes as it reaches the realms of life. These occupy the panel's middle tier. Paradise with its cultivated trees is at Christ's right, with the four rivers flowing from lion-head spigots at its base.<sup>134</sup> Nature unfolds to his left, with land and sea. Resurrection is not its dominant theme; instead, Daniel's four winds surround Sea;<sup>135</sup> his many-horned beast swims beside her; and his spotted leopard, lion and bear populate the land. With this, the Last Judgement – hitherto a picture of the fate of individuals – becomes the climax of a cosmic allegory. Accordingly, the figure enthroned on a lion on dry land is labelled not 'Earth', but 'Cosmos',<sup>136</sup> and his domain is one of transition: horizontally for the resurrected righteous marching to Paradise; vertically as its mountains rise to meet the end of time.

This has significant implications for the icon's final region beneath the earth. This has just two zones of punishment, a band of gold above the compartments of Communal Punishments. No ripple of the River of Fire reaches it. The gold implies a bond with the realm of divine will above, but its occupants are of wholly different scale. They are two: the Sunday sleepers in their tented bed, and a large, youthful nude who points to his mouth, with a paraphrase of Luke 16:24 inscribed above him.<sup>137</sup> He is the Rich Man, and for the first time, he is answered. From within Paradise, the Good Thief turns back to view him, unfurling a scroll with Luke 16:26: 'between us and you is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come

<sup>134</sup> In its artificiality, it is clear that Paradise is not nature: see above, n. 62. The rivers are identified with paired initials: ΦC = Phison, ΓΓ = Ganges, ΤΓ = Tigris, ΕΦ = Euphrates.

<sup>135</sup> She is labelled ἡ Θάλασσα / *i Thalassa*. <sup>136</sup> Ο κόσμος / ο Κόσμος / ο *Kosmos*.

<sup>137</sup> It reads: Περιβ [ . . . ] βαθησον με και πεμψον [ . . . ] υλου αυτου υδατος και καταψ [ . . . ] εν τη φλογι, adapting Πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέμψε λάζαρον ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου, ὅτι ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ / *Pater Avraam eleeson me kai pempe Lazaron ina vapsei to akron tou daktylou autou ydatos kai katapsyxei tin glosan mou, oti odyonmai en ti flogi tauti*.

from thence'.<sup>138</sup> The division between the registers is absolute. Both earth and Paradise are firmly closed to those below. Yet the river of flame with its fiery finality does not touch them, either. Isolated in the gold of divine will but untouched by the hyperbolic theatre of the end of time, the Rich Man and the sleepers occupy a suspended netherworld of exclusion, indifferent to the *hora novissima* of the Last Judgement and its distant Hell. The communal punishments, too, are a static blur. Here Kolasi dwarfs the coming and going of apocalypse.

The remains of the Last Judgement on the western wall of the Panagia Katholiki, Kouklia,<sup>139</sup> though very fragmentary, seem to adhere with remarkable fidelity to the Foini icon's imagery. Just two portions remain, one at each side of the western door. To its left, Saint Peter approaches a gate of Paradise which is preceded by steps, as in the icon (Fig. 8.28); beyond it, the Good Thief turns to look back, identical in all but his scroll, while below him the rivers of Paradise flow from lion-headed spigots.<sup>140</sup> To the door's right is a double row of coloured rectangles, each identified with one of the compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 8.29).<sup>141</sup> The figures still visible within them are fully outlined nudes, not body parts, but their muffled colours evoke those of the icon. Whether the remainder of the mural in Kouklia adhered to the imagery of the icon is unknown, but here, too, there is no trace of the River of Fire in the lowest zone. Thus, Kouklia seems to have belonged with the Foini icon to a distinct iconographic type, perhaps best known in the Paphos region.

Four similar panels of Communal Punishments survive beside the main, north door of the village funerary Church of Saint Michael in Choli in the Paphos District.<sup>142</sup> They are cited here as possible echoes of this iconographic type, though there is no indication that they belonged to a larger image of the Last Judgement. Like the Communal Punishments at Kouklia, these enclosed full-length nudes

<sup>138</sup> It reads: χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρι(ι)κτ' ὅπ[ο]ι οι θελοντ[ε]ς διαβῆναι ἐνθε[ρ] [ . . . ] / χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ οἱ ἐκείθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν / *chasma mega estiriktai opos oi thelontes diavinai enthen pros ymas mi dynontai mide oi ekeithen pros imas diaperosin*.

<sup>139</sup> Paulidis 2011, vol. 8, 37–8, s.v. Καθολικὴς Παναγίας ἐκκλησίαις, Κούκλια.

<sup>140</sup> Only Euphrates is named, here fully: Εφράτης.

<sup>141</sup> The upper row includes an unlabelled panel with nude figures standing with snakes; another unlabelled panel with nude figures seated in a group; and Outer Darkness, labelled τὸ σκ[ότος] [ . . . ] / τὸ ἐξῶτε[ρ]ο[ν] / τὸ σκότος τοῦ ἐξώτερου / *to skotos to exoteron*. Below are the Sleepless Worm, labelled ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκυμήτος / ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκοίμητος / *o skolix o akoimitos*; the Gnashing of Teeth, labelled ὁ βρυγμός τῶν ὀδόντων / ὁ βρυγμός τῶν ὀδόντων / *o vrygmos ton odonton*; and the Everlasting Fire, labelled [ . . . ] ἡ βεστον / τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστον / *to pyr to asveston*.

<sup>142</sup> Cited by Nicolaïdēs 1995, 76; Hadjisavvas 2003a, 36, figs 30–1; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 144.



Fig. 8.28 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: Paradise, 16th century, wall painting, Kouklia, Cyprus

painted in pale colours. But though three bear expected labels – the Sleepless Worm, the Everlasting Fire and Tartarus<sup>143</sup> – the fourth label

<sup>143</sup> They include a pale grey rectangle labelled *ὁ τάρταρος / ὁ Τάρταρος / ο Tartaros*, a pinkish one containing two nude women overlaid with white squiggles labelled *ο σκοληξ ο ακήμιτος / ο*





Fig. 8.29 Church of the Panagia Katholiki, Last Judgement: compartments of Communal Punishments, 16th century, wall painting, Kouklia, Cyprus

is not readily explained,<sup>144</sup> and there are no further scenes associable with the Last Judgement. Only a representation of the Communion of Mary of Egypt to one side evokes last rites and human transience.<sup>145</sup> There is no indication that the scenes of Communal Punishment accompanied a Last Judgement here, though their use without a judgemental context would be exceptional.

Distinct from both the subterranean fire of the first group and the timeless suspension of the second is the Hell of a third and final cluster of 16th-century Last Judgements. These are composed on long, horizontal surfaces, two on the south side of the barrel vault over the naos facing Passion and post-Passion scenes, and two on the outer face of the entrance wall of the church, flanking the door. In these, the land- and waterscape of Earth and Sea assumes a particularly expansive role. Once again, it lies to the Lord's left. But it is not used here to place punishment in a clear underground. Instead, it lodges it within earth itself. Oblique in Saint

σκόληξ ο ακοίμητος / *o skolix o akoimitos*, and a red rectangle labelled [...] το ἄσβεστο [...] / το πυρ το ἄσβεστον / *to pyr to asveston*.

<sup>144</sup> Light brown with naked upper bodies twined with snakes, it is labelled οἱ φιλίας | ἐς / *oi filia sn | es*.

<sup>145</sup> Saint Mary of Egypt appears in Cretan churches with Hell scenes: see vol. 2, cat. nos 1, 26, 38, 42, 61, 84, 85, 91, 96.



Fig. 8.30 Church of Saint George, Last Judgement, 16th century, wall painting, Monagri, Cyprus

George, Monagri, and the Chryseleousa, Emba, this integration of elements emerges clearly in the Panagia tou Moutoulla and Saint Sozomenos, Galata.

The Last Judgement in Saint George, Monagri, occupies much of the south face of the long barrel vault over the naos, running directly above the church's dominant door (Fig. 8.30).<sup>146</sup> Paradise lies over the templon, so – in contrast to Saint Epiphanius, Doros – the path of the saved echoes that of worshippers in the church. The composition comprises two long registers, each segmented into four fields. Christ the Just Judge,<sup>147</sup> the Deesis and the choir of the Apostles with the angels behind them dominate the central two fields in the top register; the process of judgement occupies those just below. Damage consumes much of the field beneath Christ's right hand, but the words 'all saints coming into Paradise' over the head of Saint Peter,<sup>148</sup> still visible at the void's left edge, indicate that the righteous must have stood here; a shadowy Eve shows that the Hetoimasia was here, too. Behind Eve, two small angels manage the scales of justice, while the fiery river plummets past them to fill the area under Christ's

<sup>146</sup> Winfield 1971, 259, figs 1–3.

<sup>147</sup> Labelled ο δηκεος κρητης / ο δίκαιος κρίτης / ο *dikaïos kritis*.

<sup>148</sup> η αγιοι παντες ερχομεν [ . . . ] εν το παραδεισο / οι Άγιοι Πάντες έρχόμενοι έν τῷ παραδείσῳ / οι *Hagioi Pantes erchomenoi en to paradeiso*.

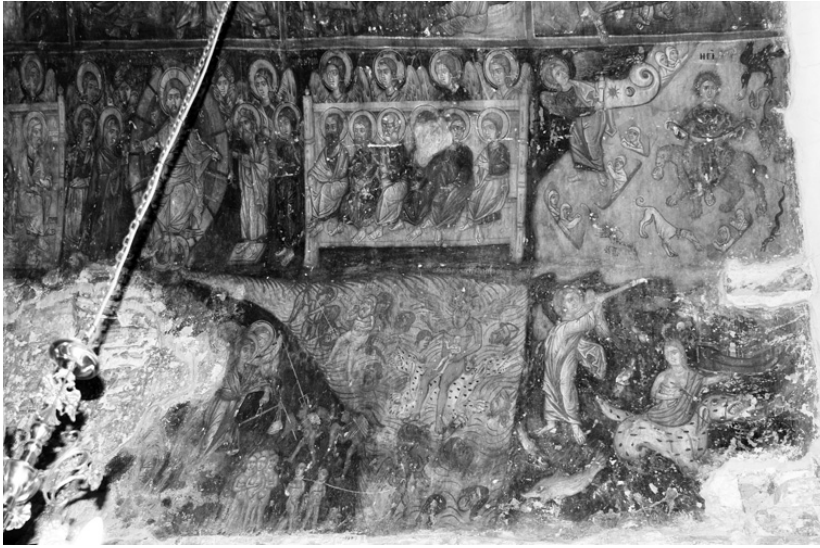


Fig. 8.31 Church of Saint George, Last Judgement: Hell, Sea and Earth, 16th century, wall painting, Monagri, Cyprus

left, seething with severed male and female heads. It constitutes an unequivocal destination for the damned: no nudes twined with snakes, no dangling sinners, no shadowy Communal Punishments compromise its identity as Hell. At its centre sits 'the Ruler of this region, the black Devil',<sup>149</sup> the tiny naked soul of Judas cradled in his arms (Fig. 8.31). Beside him, echoing his pose, sits the Rich Man,<sup>150</sup> his invocation to πάτερ Αβράαμ (*pater Avraam*) inscribed upside down in front of him as if spoken to the judges enthroned above.

Beyond this central zone, at left, are Paradise below, and above it, Heaven. The corresponding fields at the far right, in turn, display Sea below and Earth above.<sup>151</sup> Where Paradise and Heaven blur into bluish monotonous, Earth and Sea are as vigorously detailed as Hell itself. In both, creatures are busy disgorging human parts. The dismembered body parts echo the severed heads in Hell's fiery lake, a kinship underscored by the similarity of Sea's and the Devil's pale, spotted mounts. Partition and consumption in Earth and Sea echo partition and consumption in Hell, one pointing to the other. Their bond is intensified by the way the weighing angels and demons on the left, and Sea and its creatures on the right, close like parentheses around the brilliantly coloured Hell. Judgement on the

<sup>149</sup> Labelled ο αρχων του νομου τουτου ο ζοφερος διαβολο / ο αρχων του νομου τουτου ο ζοφερος διαβολος / ο *archon tou nomou toutou o zoferos diavolos*.

<sup>150</sup> Labelled just ο πλούσιος / ο *plousios*. <sup>151</sup> Labelled η Γῆ / ή Γῆ / *i Gi*.



Fig. 8.32 Church of the Panagia Chryseleousa, Last Judgement: Earth and the River of Fire, 16th century, with over-painting of 1898, wall painting, Emba, Cyprus

one hand, earth and its bodily processes on the other, close around Hell. Its unequivocal centrality might intimate a kinship with western European imagery. In Western images, however, the resurrected dead are shown moving to both Heaven and Hell;<sup>152</sup> here in Monagri there is no path from resurrection to the realms of beatitude. Earth and its processes are coupled with Hell.

The union of earth and Hell may have been stronger in the Last Judgement at the Church of the Chryseleousa in Emba.<sup>153</sup> This again occupies the south side of the barrel vault spanning the naos, but it is still largely veiled in over-painting of 1898. Christ as Just Judge,<sup>154</sup> the Mother of God and six of the twelve Apostles have been cleaned, confirming a date in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>155</sup> Choirs of the Elect stand to their right hand; by contrast, no figures at all can be discerned on their left (Fig. 8.32). Instead, the River of Fire spurts without attendant sinners across a vast, cartographic expanse of land and sea. What appear in the over-painting to be little turreted castles prove to have been shrouded figures

<sup>152</sup> See above, n. 107.

<sup>153</sup> Karageorghis 1987, 24, figs 24–5; Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 409–13; Hadjichristodoulou 2002; Hadjisavvas 2003b, 27, figs 22–3.

<sup>154</sup> Labelled ο δίκαιος κριτής / ὁ Δίκαιος Κρίτης / ο *Dikaios Kritis*.

<sup>155</sup> Hadjichristodoulou 2002, 7.



rising from sarcophagi. Not sinners, but the process of resurrection populated the scene. What must once have been Sea, but was over-painted as 'Great Whore of Babylon' (βαβυλων η πορνη μεγαλ [ . . . ] / Βαβυλών η πόρνη η μεγάλη / *Vavylon i porni i megali*) floats amid vomiting fishes. Below her, the river spills today into a gargantuan snout identified as 'Hades the Omnivorous' (αδης ο παμφαγος / Ἄδης ο παμφάγος / *o Adis o pamfagos*).<sup>156</sup> Today, the scene impresses as portraying process: as earth disgorges, Hades consumes. Restoration may amend this. But it seems clear that resurrection and condemnation dominated the domain at Christ's left.

Emba and Monagri alike align nature with damnation. In the process they omit the imagery of individually specific punishment and reward. The remaining two Last Judgements, at Moutoullas and Galata, reinstate it. Thus, it is in them that the story of Hell on Cyprus finds its fullest formulation. The mural at the tiny Church of the Panagia in Moutoullas is the earlier of the two, in the first third of the 16th century (Fig. 8.33).<sup>157</sup> The Last Judgement occupies the outer north naos wall, facing the roofed



Fig. 8.33 Panagia tou Moutoulla, Last Judgement, first half of the 16th century, wall painting, Moutoullas, Cyprus

<sup>156</sup> Had the name 'Hades' been used for the corresponding form in the original layer, it would have stood out, for the Archon, the 'Lord [of Darkness]', had largely displaced it otherwise.

<sup>157</sup> Nicolaïdès 1990; Emmanuel 1997; Perdakis 2009. Perdakis dates the mural at the beginning of the 16th century, and Emmanuel in the late 15th or early 16th. I find it hard to place it before Theophanis' landscape at Saint Nicholas Anapafsas, Meteora, of 1527; see Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, pl. on p. 271. As indicated above, n. 129, the relation of Cyprus' Last Judgements to those of Theophanis needs study.



Fig. 8.34 Panagia tou Moutoulla, Last Judgement: sinners, first half of the 16th century, wall painting, Moutoullas, Cyprus

aisle. Christ and the Hetoimasia are directly over the entrance to the naos, and the event itself unfolds at eye level to either side. The dexter side proceeds with decorous regularity, six enthroned Apostles above, six cloud-borne Choirs of the Elect in the middle, and Paradise approached by the throng of righteous below. Exceptional is only the figure heading the choirs: Eve here kneels on the side of the blessed; it is Adam who kneels on the side of condemnation (Fig. 8.34). On that side, too, six Apostles sit at the top. A hectic swath of staccato detail carpets the wall below them. There are no registers here. A band of pale green along the door jamb sets off both Adam and the scales of justice,<sup>158</sup> hanging as if knotted to the wall itself. From it straggles the sad little train of rejects, led rightward not into Hell itself, but into what can only be called a vast landscape, stretching from mountain peaks below the Apostles' feet to the bottom of the image. Earth on a scorpion-tailed lion presides at its centre over assorted vomiting beasts; below her, Sea rides her busy domain of seething depths.<sup>159</sup> The compartments of Communal Punishments form a bottom frame.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Labelled *ὁ ζυγὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης* / *ο ζυγός τῆς δικαιοσύνης* / *o zygos tis dikaiosynis*.

<sup>159</sup> Labelled respectively *Γῆ* / *Gi* and *ἡ θάλασσα* / *i Thalassa*.

<sup>160</sup> The Communal Punishments include the dark grey Gnashing of Teeth, *ο βρυγμός των δωντ* [ . . . ] / *ο βρυγμός των οδόντων* / *o vrygmos ton odonton*; red Tartarus, *ο τάρταρος* / *ο Τάρταρος* / *o Tartaros*; pale red Sleepless Worm, *ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκίμητος* / *ο σκώληξ ὁ ακοίμητος* / *o skolix o*





Fig. 8.35 Panagia tou Moutoulla, Last Judgement: the damned, the Sunday sleepers and suspended sinners, first half of the 16th century, wall painting, Moutoullas, Cyprus

Not beneath, but through this landscape runs the River of Fire, gouging at the far right a hollow bigger and darker than that of Sea to accommodate the Lord of Darkness (Fig. 8.33).<sup>161</sup> Winged, hatted and horned, astride a bicephalous beast belching flame as it devours naked figures, he sits like the Devil of Antiphonitis with legs spread wide over a circular basin of souls; a scratched-out protrusion between his thighs may have been – as in Giotto's fresco (see Fig. 4.12 in this volume) – a defecated soul. But in contrast to his counterpart at Kalogrea, he is now fully integrated into the landscape through which the River of Fire flows. The river's waves and banks are well populated. An imposing company of the distinguished and damnable rises over the flames (Fig. 8.35): a hooded monk, a turbaned man, a king, two hierarchs with hefty mitres and one without, a man in a skullcap and several merchants in berets. They gesture in distress or alarm,<sup>162</sup> as an angel with couched trident hurtles towards them under an inscription very like that at Asinou: 'The angel of the Lord putting the sinners into the

*akoimition*, and deep black Outer Darkness, το σκοτός το εξωτερὸν / το σκότος το εξώτερον / *to skotos to exoteron*.

<sup>161</sup> Labelled ο αρχὼν του σκο[τούς] / ο Ἀρχὼν του σκότους / *o Archon tou skotous*.

<sup>162</sup> On the incorporation into the Last Judgement of gestures from funerary laments, see Emmanuel 1997, 118–19.

fire'.<sup>163</sup> Then dotted about the scene, sometimes within but more often outside the river, are identified sins. More fully than in any earlier image, the identified sinners are incorporated into the same, shared setting with both resurrection on the one hand, and the River of Fire on the other. Within the flaming waves themselves are the naked Rich Man, and a deliberately defaced but apparently turbaned unbeliever bent in idolatrous prostration and conspicuously labelled 'the denier of Christ' (*arnisamenos ton Christon*; Fig. 8.34).<sup>164</sup> Above him, demons torture a man strapped with spread limbs to a table: he is the murderer (ὁ φονεύς / *o phoneus*). Like the sinners of Psimolofo, he is not merely exposed, but visibly wounded.<sup>165</sup> A further sinner dangles naked with bound hands above the heads of the eminent damned, his inscription now lost. Behind the damned sits the tented bed of the Sunday sleepers,<sup>166</sup> depicted as an embracing couple. A demon plucks at their bedclothes as another brings fire. As Stylianos Perdikis has noted, popular legend says that if one sleeps through the Sunday liturgy, one's bed will catch fire.<sup>167</sup> Above their tent dangle three pairs of naked legs entwined with snakes, their upper bodies and identifying labels now lost.

Barren landscapes had served since the earliest apocalypses to harbour the punishment of souls awaiting the Last Judgement, and expansive meadows accommodated the rising dead in most 16th-century Last Judgements.<sup>168</sup> What stands out in Moutoullas is the embedding of the River of Fire in the landscape of resurrection itself. Earth here is not merely a background for end-time events; it embraces the full range of bodily experiences: burial, resurrection, punishment and the fire of Hell itself.

Earth is yet more emphatically inclusive in the significantly later Last Judgement on the outer south wall of the Church of Saint Sozomenos, Galata, facing the village (Fig. 8.36).<sup>169</sup> As at Moutoullas, this adorns the entrance wall. It is set to the left of the door, balanced to the right by a Tree

<sup>163</sup> ὁ ἄγγελος κ[υρί]ου εισάγων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐν τῷ πυρὶ / ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου εισάγων τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐν τῷ πυρὶ / *o angelos tou kyriou eisagon tous amartolous en to pyri*.

<sup>164</sup> The Rich Man is labelled just ὁ πλούσιος / *o plousios*, without the name Lazarus; the denier is labelled ὁ ἀρνίσάμενος τὸν Χ(ριστό)ν / ὁ ἀρνισάμενος τὸν Χριστόν / *o arnisamenos ton Christon*.

<sup>165</sup> Seen clearly in Perdikis 2009, fig. on p. 69.

<sup>166</sup> Though shown as a couple, they are labelled ὁ κημομένος τη κυριακῇ / ὁ κοιμώμενος την Κυριακὴν / *o koimomenos tin kyriakin*.

<sup>167</sup> Perdikis 2009, 70.

<sup>168</sup> A staple of Theophanis' wall paintings in Meteora and Mount Athos (n. 109 above), meadows are more fully elaborated at Saint Nicholas tou Diliou near Ioannina; see Liva-Xanthake 1980, 175.

<sup>169</sup> Stylianos and Stylianos 1996, 1357; Stylianos and Stylianos 1997, 84–9.



Fig. 8.36 Church of Saint Sozomenos, Last Judgement, 16th century, wall painting, Galata, Cyprus

of Jesse and a series of church councils.<sup>170</sup> As a public face, this is a bracing one, pairing divine judgement on the one hand with dogmatic judgement on the other. That it may well have been painted at much the time when Marco Zaccaria was being tried by the Inquisition in Venice,<sup>171</sup> casts a sharp light upon its almost inquisitorial emphasis on prescribed belief. Within the Last Judgement itself, in turn, heretics are accorded exceptional prominence. We are in the era of the Council of Trent and its tensions.<sup>172</sup>

The side to Christ's right, arranged in three registers, is very like that at Moutoullas, though Eve is back on his left. The mural's sinister side is once again a landscape, rising to mountaintops that ripple under the toes of the Apostles before cascading to a dado-like band of coloured rectangles containing the Communal Punishments at the bottom. Both Earth astride a lion,<sup>173</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Walter 1970, 87–8. As indicated in n. 92 above, the Jesse Tree had been associated with the Last Judgement in both Cyprus and Crete.

<sup>171</sup> Chayes 2012, 232, n. 2, in discussing the Zaccaria affair, shows that Marco Zaccaria was surely not the child portrayed in the Theotokos Church just outside Galata itself, as suggested by Kitromilides 2002.

<sup>172</sup> Walter 1970, 87–8, points out the emphasis on pentarchy in the imagery of the Councils here, as if demanding that Roman Uniacy respect the sees it had allegedly united with. On Cyprus in the era of the Council of Trent: Kitromilides 2002, 263–75; Skoufari 2012.

<sup>173</sup> Labelled ἡ Γῆ / i Gi.

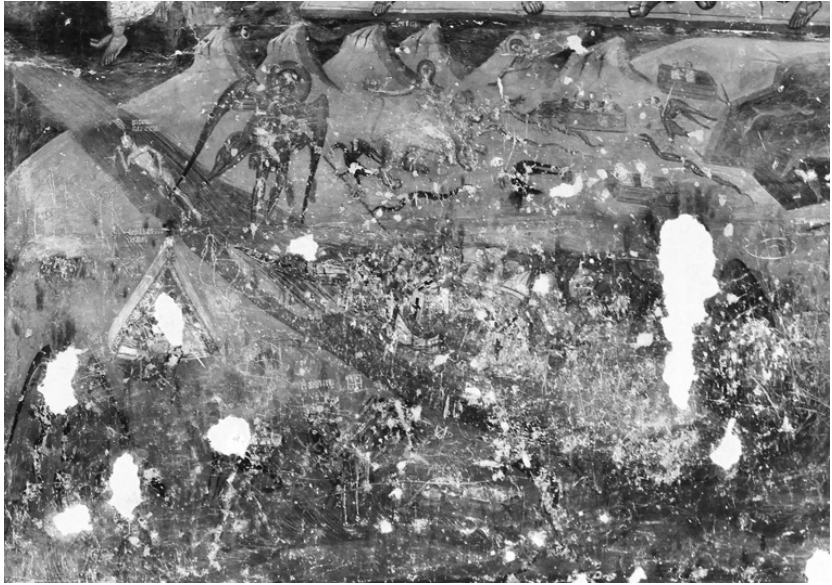


Fig. 8.37 Church of Saint Sozomenos, Last Judgement: Earth and River of Fire, 16th century, wall painting, Galata, Cyprus

and Sea in an enclosed lake occupy the top reaches of the scene, surrounded by belching beasts and sarcophagi yielding their dead (Figs 8.37, 8.39). The River of Fire gushes in a steep diagonal from the upper left corner, then puddles in the middle of the landscape to form a bluntly rounded lake. A secondary tributary ripples in from bottom left to join the lake. The paint surface is extensively abraded, but determined scrutiny yields a panorama of ferocity.

The inventory of transgression is most trenchant in the main River of Fire. High at its beginning, the 'rich and uncharitable' Rich Man (ο πλούσιος και ανελεημον / ο πλούσιος και ανελεήμων / *o plousios kai aneleemon*) lies full-length in its flames. At his feet strides the fiery angel, his trident spearing a fully vested hierarch, also fallen, and identified on his shoulder as Arius (Ἀρείος / *Areios*; Fig. 8.37),<sup>174</sup> most damnable of heretics. Others gather where the river swells into the pool of flame. Along with kings, hierarchs and a helmeted (or turbaned?) figure are two more with names (Fig. 8.38): the foremost king is Julian the Apostate (ηουλιανος ο παραβ[άτης] / ο ιουλιανός ο παραβάτης / *o Ioulianos o paravatis*), and a hierarch in a huge mitre is called 'the fornicator' (ὁ πόρνος / *o pornos*).<sup>175</sup>

<sup>174</sup> On Arius and other 'arch-heretics', see Lymberopoulou in this volume, 131–3.

<sup>175</sup> On the translation of this word, see Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this volume, 98–9 and 157–8 respectively.





Fig. 8.38 Church of Saint Sozomenos, Last Judgement: Julian the Apostate and the Fornicator, 16th century, wall painting, Galata, Cyprus

Heavily bearded, he may refer to Uniate clergy and, with the images of the Councils, reflect the frustrations unleashed by Trent.<sup>176</sup> The emphasis on sexual transgression seen in his epithet recurs throughout the wall painting. Behind these arch-sinners sat the demonic Archon,<sup>177</sup> the great majority of his body now deliberately hacked away. Around his realm of fire, transgressions proliferate.

Along the lower tributary to his realm march the familiar naked rejects garnered from the scales of justice. Under the words 'fornicating women' (γυνέκες πόρνες / γυναίκες πόρνες / *gynaikes pornes*), a huddled pair of figures cringes before a demon, a third figure is marshalled forward by a demon on its back, while a fourth dangles over the shoulders of a demon who lugs it towards a flaming grille. Whether all or only some of these were female is hard to tell. A naked form is already roasting on the grille. It once had a two-line inscription, now illegible but plausibly beginning with the word 'adulterer' (μοιχός / *moichos*). A further pair of barely visible forms – emaciated bodies or skeletons – can be discerned just

<sup>176</sup> See n. 170. Chotzakoglou 2009, 435 also links this image with anti-Unionist sentiment. As indicated in n. 34 above, individual members of the Latin clergy had worn facial hair already in the 14th century on Cyprus, but it remained a feature that drew attention and invited comment.

<sup>177</sup> Labelled ὁ Α [ . . . ] / ο Ἀρχων / *o Archon*.



Fig. 8.39 Church of Saint Sozomenos, Last Judgement: Sea and three sinners hanging from stakes driven into the wall, 16th century, wall painting, Galata, Cyprus

beyond the tributary's upward curve, one of them also once identified with a label. Then between the tributary and the River of Fire, like a pup tent perched in a meadow, sits the bed of the Sunday sleepers,<sup>178</sup> flames roiling beneath it as a now effaced demon flits above. At least five further identified sinners dangled from stakes painted as if driven into the very surface of the painting. Three, aligned one after another below the domain of Sea (Fig. 8.39), remain discernible with attentive scrutiny; two or three more hung in the dark region below. Their labels are only partially intelligible.<sup>179</sup> The inscription of the first, who hangs upside down with his head in flame like the man who cheats at the scales at Asinou and the murderer at Agiasmati, may read 'the vainglorious man who possesses nothing'.<sup>180</sup> The second, dangling by his waist with a snake between his legs, is 'the man who couples with men' (ο αρσενοκιτης / ο αρσενοκοίτης / ο *arsenokoitis*); the third, who hangs by an arm, in some way disrespected the church.<sup>181</sup> Of the two or three below them the first,

<sup>178</sup> Again labelled in the singular, ο κοιμωμενος τη κρηνη / ο κοιμωμενος την Κυριακήν / ο *koimomenos tin kyriakin*.

<sup>179</sup> I owe thanks to Vasiliki Tsamakda for confirming my transcriptions and the inscrutability of several.

<sup>180</sup> Labelled ο πτωχος και καινοδοξος / ξος – perhaps ο πτωχός και κενόδοξος / ο *ptochos kai kenodoxos*. No other instance of this label is known.

<sup>181</sup> Labelled ο ακουρητητης / σας εις την εκλησιαν.



bent double with bound arms, hangs beside a word of uncertain but negative meaning.<sup>182</sup> The fifth vanishes entirely into the engulfing darkness of the ground. As at Moutoullas, the entire range of bodily conditions, from resurrection through punishment to damnation, belongs together to earth. Where beatitude resides on clouds, both sin and mortality belong to nature.

## 8.5 Conclusions

In radical contrast to the Last Judgement at Asinou two centuries earlier, those in Galata and Moutoullas gather the fullness of post-mortem experience – the compartments of de-individualised communal punishments, bodily resurrection, personally tailored castigation, categorical condemnation – in a unified, even natural place. We can no longer say that Kolasi is not a place. Assembling Byzantium's variegated imagery of punishment into one place was a long process. It did not follow a monolinear path, and the solution found at Moutoullas and Galata is just one of many outcomes. As seen above, other changes were unfolding at the same time. The clean duality of Kakopetria's two, mirror-image groups of the saved and the damned had been quickly complicated as the ambiguous group of identified sinners emerged. Women infiltrated the ranks of both sinners and saved. The damned were increasingly variegated by the addition of both the locally despised, especially commercial predators, and the alien Other: first the Latin or Latinising cleric, and then the Jew, the heretic, the Muslim. The sinners themselves shifted. Robust and varied still in the early Lusignan decades, they dwindled in the later ones, only to return in force under Venetian rule, but with a new and haunting vulnerability. Public and strongly civic at the beginning, their transgressions shifted, as well, to include personal flaws, from the indulgence of the Sunday sleepers through gluttony and vainglory to a range of sexual sins. The age-old compartments of Communal Punishments never lost their ambiguity, or their force. Nonetheless, throughout the Last Judgements of the 16th century one sees the will to assemble this inherited plethora of threatening components into a unified, if disturbing, natural whole.

If the view back to Asinou brings out the consolidation of the Last Judgement's elements in something approaching a coherent place of punishment in the 16th-century images, it brings out equally clearly the

<sup>182</sup> The letters themselves are legible: ο παρακηκίτης ο παρακρηκίτης. It is not clear what they mean.

chronological concentration of examples in this late period. A firm chronology of the paintings, and thus a clear grasp of their iconographic evolution, still lies in the future, as cleaning and physical and stylistic analysis advance. Nonetheless, as emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, fully two thirds of the surviving Last Judgements on Cyprus belong to the Venetian period: indeed, to the later Venetian period and perhaps even to some extent thereafter. This chronology unquestionably has relevance for the Cretan wall paintings that constitute the core theme of this book, for they, too, belong to a world dominated by Venice.

The convergence in Cyprus of Venetian hegemony with a more consolidated conception of Hell invites the conclusion that this is one more example of Latin 'influence.' And it is true that a concern with giving coherent place to the assorted forms of pain imposed by divine judgement differentiates the Venetian from the Byzantine and medieval versions of the Last Judgement in Cyprus. Place had claimed far greater significance in Latin than in Orthodox theology of the soul after death; knowing the place of divine punishment had emerged already as a concern in Pope Innocent IV's letter commending the doctrine of Purgatory to the faithful of Cyprus. But if place assumes new importance in them, the images themselves resist this alignment with Latin sensibility, for place had not in any sense served to separate the domain of purgation from that of irremediable damnation. It had if anything melded them more closely together. It is revealing in this regard to compare the versions especially of Moutoullas and Galata with western European images of the Last Judgement from the later 15th century, for in the West, too, the Renaissance mandate to conceive paintings as framed vistas had lured painters to compose the Last Judgement as a landscape. Often – as at Moutoullas and Galata – it was a horizontal one, that embraced resurrection as well as salvation and damnation. Initiated perhaps by the panel of c. 1330 by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, showing the history of salvation in three, successive phases in a vast, bird's-eye landscape,<sup>183</sup> this template was then developed by artists like Giovanni di Paolo,<sup>184</sup> Fra Angelico,<sup>185</sup> and Stefan Lochner,<sup>186</sup> and brought to a culmination in Signorelli's frescoes in San Brixio, Orvieto, in 1499.<sup>187</sup> In these, however, resurrection occurs at the centre of the scene, and it leads equally to salvation on the one hand, damnation on the other. Nature itself accommodates both conditions, as the earth depicted in the

<sup>183</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 11, fig. 1.      <sup>184</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 200, pl. on pp. 192–3.

<sup>185</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 198–9 on Fra Angelico's four Last Judgements, all of this type.

<sup>186</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 209, in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

<sup>187</sup> Pace and Angheben 2006, 201, pl. on pp. 232–7.

landscape sweeps upward on one side to the lush verdure of Paradise, and breaks on the other side into rocky escarpments enclosing the forge of Hell. In Moutoullas and Galata, by contrast, all bodily processes – resurrection, sin, punishment – are confined with Earth itself on the composition's sinister side at Christ's left. There is no bridge from resurrection to beatitude. Thus, though Earth as a place of end-time judgement is adopted in both, it assumes a fundamentally different role in Cyprus than in the West. In Cyprus, death and sin lie together at Christ's left, and both belong to nature; salvation, a gift of grace, is supernatural. Jacques Le Goff in discussing Purgatory had emphasised how emphatically European conceptions had given both Purgatory and Hell the character of a place. The purgatorial process of satisfaction by punishment gained no place in Greek theology.<sup>188</sup> There, post-mortem pain was the product not of punishment but of sin, and resolved only by grace.<sup>189</sup> In the murals on Cyprus, the place given to this process is earth itself. The full wages of corporeality – burial, resurrection, punishment and condemnation – were bound to earth, and it lay at Christ's left side. The paintings visualise with compelling potency the dark bond of death, punishment and Hell with consuming earth itself that Margaret Alexiou and Ioannis Anagnostopoulos have found in the poetry and song of post-Byzantine Greek communities.<sup>190</sup> Their texts give the terrors of a Christian afterlife a place, and it is earth.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>188</sup> As remains the case; see Marinis 2017a, 133.

<sup>189</sup> See Bathrellos 2014, 116, quoting Ware 1981, 185: 'Someone who dies in a state of genuine repentance, but who is in other respects ill-prepared to come face to face with God, may well require to undergo purification after his death, and this purification may cause him suffering; but it makes no sense to say that he is undergoing punishment for the sins that God in his mercy has already forgiven.'

<sup>190</sup> Alexiou 2002, 44–50; Anagnostopoulos 1984, 269–340.

<sup>191</sup> See Introduction in this volume, 1.

Beauty is but a painted Hell

Thomas Campion, 1576–1620

The purpose of this catalogue is to present as complete an overview as possible of the representation of Hell in monumental art during the Venetian period on Crete (1211–1669). The catalogue comprises 107 churches with wall paintings showing or recorded to have once shown representations of Hell, datable for the most part to the 14th and early 15th centuries. Together, these 107 churches form about one eighth of the known body of churches from the Venetian era on Crete.<sup>1</sup> They form a valuable cross section that allows us to study, through the lens of Hell, this particular insular tradition of church building and decoration, with its local peculiarities and its accommodation of the needs of a mixed Eastern Orthodox and Western Roman Catholic population.

The catalogue also forms the second largest iconographic survey of the representation of Hell. By comparison, Jérôme Baschet's 1993 study of the representation of Hell in late medieval art in France and Italy lists 123 monumental works from both countries, produced over the four centuries between 1100 and 1500, including both painting and sculpture.<sup>2</sup> The catalogue thus serves to demonstrate the exceptional richness of the heritage of Crete (with 107 wall paintings showing Hell from an island just over one third the size of Tuscany). It also virtually doubles the accessible corpus of representations of Hell, meaning that students of the subject will now have twice the amount of data at their fingertips. Moreover, while Baschet has incorporated many lesser-known representations in his overview, his study inevitably focuses more on those images and scenes that are conventionally considered to be part of major monuments. By contrast, this catalogue unlocks a set of representations that are exclusively derived from regional and village churches – including material that the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the existing catalogues of Cretan churches: Gerola 1905–32; Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983; Bissinger 1995; Spatharakis 1999; Spatharakis 2001; Spatharakis 2010; Spatharakis and van Essenbergen 2012; Spatharakis 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Baschet 1993, 592–3.

traditionally minded art historian may not always rate highly, but that is of great importance in a broader cultural, historical and anthropological perspective.

## 1 Scope

The foundation of the catalogue was laid during the Leverhulme International Networks Project ‘Damned in Hell in the Frescoes in Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)’, which generously funded four years of research on Crete between 2010 and 2014;<sup>3</sup> the catalogue forms the public record of this extensive investigation.<sup>4</sup> The research phase of the project allowed a total of 102 churches across the whole of Crete to be documented and photographed. A further five churches on Crete were revealed to contain (remnants of) representations of Hell at a very late stage during the research phase, or after the research phase had finished.<sup>5</sup> For the completeness of the corpus, rudimentary entries for these five churches have been included, based on publications or on private communications with scholars in possession of the relevant data.

Of the 102 churches covered during the research phase of the project, one is part of an active convent,<sup>6</sup> while a second has been converted into a museum.<sup>7</sup> In both cases, access for photography and documentation was restricted, but entries for both buildings have been provided, based on the data that could be gathered locally, supplemented by information from existing publications. The remaining 100 churches were found to exist in variable states of conservation, from recently restored and exquisitely appointed down to virtual ruins. Ten of the churches had no remnants of surviving wall paintings at all, or were heavily damaged or even completely

<sup>3</sup> The original application to the Leverhulme Trust included seventy-seven churches; a further thirty were added during the research phase of the project and the preparation for the publication of the catalogue.

<sup>4</sup> This public record is accompanied by an online database that offers further photographs of the church buildings and (details of) the representations of Hell inside them, and by a set of architectural plans of the churches, which can be accessed via the Cambridge University Press website. For the online database see <http://ledaproject.org.uk>. For the architectural plans see [www.cambridge.org/9781108690706](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108690706).

<sup>5</sup> **Rethymnon:** Fourfouras, Virgin (cat. no. 54); Melambes, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 63); **Herakleion:** Mpentenaki (Bentenaki), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 89); **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint Eirini (cat. no. 97); Skopi, Virgin (cat. no. 106).

<sup>6</sup> **Herakleion:** Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86).

<sup>7</sup> **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100).

destroyed.<sup>8</sup> Rudimentary entries for these last ten churches have been provided for the completeness of the corpus and to document changes in the record compared to previous inventories.

## 2 Order

An iconographic catalogue of this size could have four potential arrangements, each with its own advantages and shortcomings:

- An **alphabetical** arrangement creates an easily accessible work of reference;
- A **geographical** arrangement reveals patterns of dispersion of the representations of Hell and possible local clusters of related material;
- A **chronological** arrangement may present the contours of broader stylistic and iconographic developments;
- An **iconographic** arrangement clarifies the existence of themes and variations among the representations.

The catalogue, together with its supplementary materials and the analytical chapter by Angeliki Lymberopoulou in volume 1 of this publication, seeks to combine the advantages of all of these approaches.

The catalogue is divided into four large units according to the four prefectures of Crete, administrative entities that have existed since the Venetian era: Chania, Rethymnon, Herakleion and Lassithi.<sup>9</sup> This division demonstrates the unequal dispersion of churches throughout the island, with the prefecture of Chania alone providing more than 40 per cent of the entries. It also shows patterns in the dispersion of iconography, such as a preference for the 'full' representation of Hell, including all the major iconographic components, in Rethymnon prefecture.<sup>10</sup>

Within each prefecture, the churches have been arranged alphabetically by place name and the dedication of the church. The only small deviations from the strict alphabetical order occur in cases where there are several churches in a single town or village: precedence has been given to those

<sup>8</sup> **Chania:** Anydroi, Saint George and Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 3); Kandanos, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 17); Kandanos, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18); Mertes, Saint Theodore (cat. no. 25); Palaia Roumata, Saint Spyridon and Saint John (cat. no. 29); Stratoi, Saint Marina (cat. no. 37); Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45); **Rethymnon:** Kissos, Virgin (cat. no. 60); **Herakleion:** Larani, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 87); **Lassithi:** Neapoli, All Saints (cat. no. 105).

<sup>9</sup> See Maltezou 1988, 110–15.

<sup>10</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 118–28 (sections 3.2 and 3.3), for a further discussion.



churches located within the main built-up area over those in dependent minor communities or in the rural outskirts, as in the case of Kandanos, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 17) and Kandanos (Ellinika), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18). For those requiring a further geographical breakdown per prefecture, Maps 2–5 indicate the location of each town or village.

The dating of the majority of the wall paintings is too insecure to allow for a detailed chronological arrangement of the catalogue. The value of a purely chronological arrangement would be debatable. There is, for instance, no clear correlation between chronology and geography, meaning that a chronological arrangement would jump haphazardly across the map of Crete.<sup>11</sup> However, for those interested in potential temporal developments, a table with a broad-brush chronological order has been provided on pages 828–34. A division of the paintings according to their iconography, finally, can be found in the analytical chapter by Angeliki Lymberopoulou in volume 1 of this publication.

### 3 Structure of Entries

The individual entries for each church in the catalogue focus on the representation of Hell, but also aim to embed each representation in a context involving the structure of the building and the further programme of its painted decoration. For this purpose, the majority (92) of the entries are structured as follows:

- **Top Matter:** Catalogue number; location; dedication of the church; (approximate) date;
- **Structure and Condition:** A brief description of the architecture of the church, its current state of preservation, and the state of preservation of the wall paintings;
- **Iconographic Programme:** A summary description of the iconography of the wall paintings that do *not* represent Hell, with a focus on the direct iconographic context of the representation of Hell, e.g. the Last Judgement;
- **Hell:** A detailed description of the iconography of the surviving representations of Hell;
- **Measurements:** a table with the dimensions of the church building and the surviving representations of Hell;
- **Bibliography:** an elementary list of relevant secondary literature on the church, its painted decoration, and/or the representation of Hell.

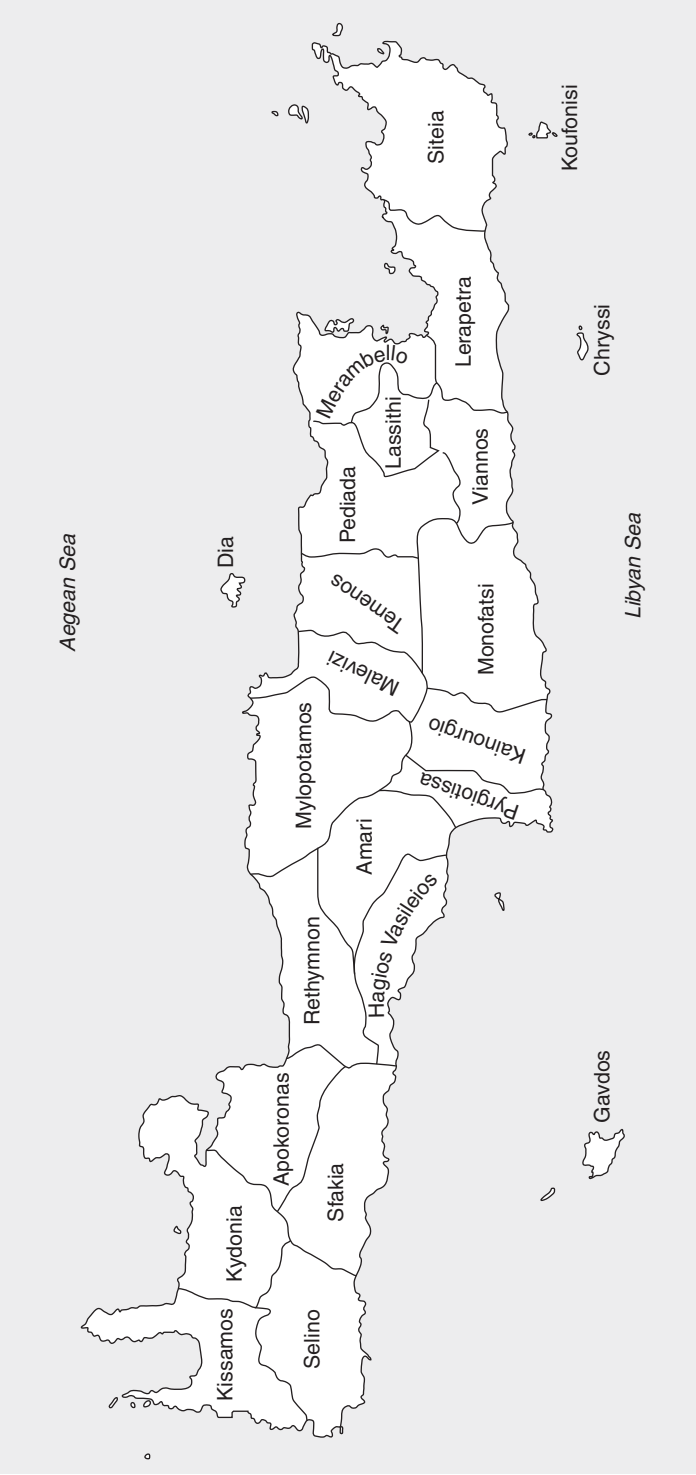
<sup>11</sup> As demonstrated by Spatharakis 2001.

(a)



Map 1a and 1b Crete

(b)



Map 1a and 1b (cont.)



Map 2 Chania Prefecture, west Crete

In a number of cases (15), part of the above structure has been substituted with a short **note**, because the particular church or the representation of Hell in it no longer survives, or is in a ruinous state, or was not visited and documented by the authors.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4 Top Matter

The top matter of each catalogue entry indicates:

- the **catalogue number** of the church;
- the geographical **location** of the church;

<sup>12</sup> See above, nn. 5 and 8.



Map 3 Rethymnon Prefecture, central-west Crete

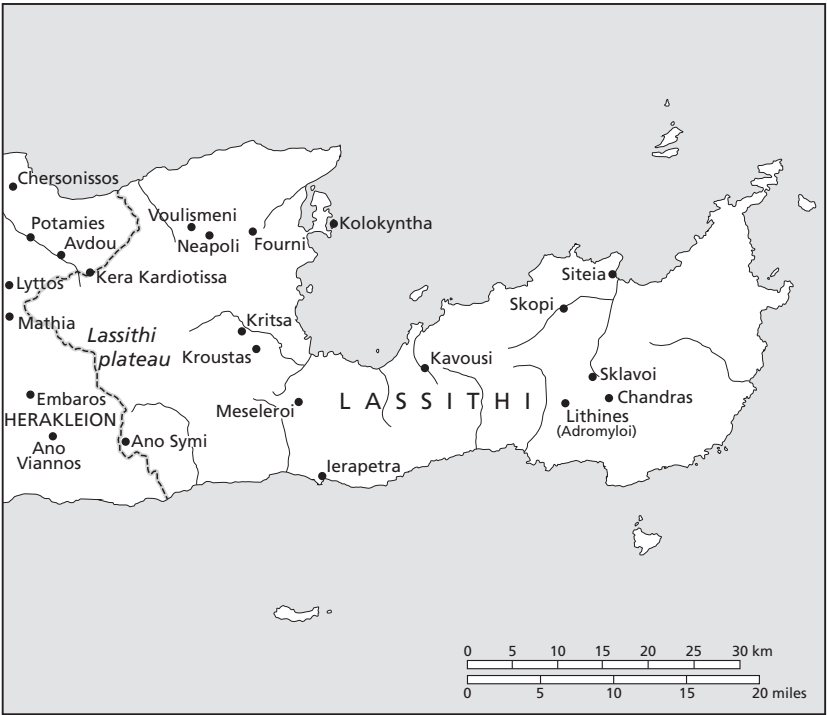
- the **dedication** of the church, to Christ, the Virgin or (a) particular saint(s);
- the approximate **date** of the wall paintings within the church.

The **catalogue numbers** are sequential from 1 to 107 throughout the catalogue. A continuous sequence (rather than a sequence per prefecture) has been opted for to provide the greatest ease of reference. The four prefectures correspond to the numerical sequence as follows:

- Chania: 1–47;
- Rethymnon: 48–73;
- Herakleion: 74–92;
- Lassithi: 93–107.



Map 4 Herakleion Prefecture, central-east Crete



Map 5 Lassithi Prefecture, east Crete





Map 6 The eastern Mediterranean

The **geographical location** of each church is indicated by means of the nearest town or village.<sup>13</sup> Churches can be situated:

- within the principal built-up area of a town or village, e.g. Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 62);
- in a named secondary built-up area, e.g. Kandanos (Ellinika), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18);
- on the outskirts of a village, e.g. Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100);
- in the wider rural environment of a town or village, e.g. Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51).

The nearest town or village, however, is taken as the basic geographical unit of the catalogue, and the position of the church in relation to it is not

<sup>13</sup> The place names given do not coincide with the modern municipalities of Crete – administrative units that can encompass multiple smaller and larger villages; see Lymberopoulou 2013, 92.

indicated, in part because there does not seem to be a particular relevance for the representation of Hell (which is found in churches in all sorts of locations), and in part because the current position of the church in relation to the nearest town or village is not necessarily historical.

As an addendum to the name of each town or village, the name of the former province to which the town or village belongs is indicated in brackets, e.g. Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (Selino) (cat. no. 1). These provinces have been abolished as official administrative units, but functioned as such until recently, and have been referenced in many past catalogues of Cretan churches.<sup>14</sup> They are given here to link the catalogue to these past publications, and to provide a further geographical unit by which churches can be grouped together in between those of town or village and prefecture.

In indicating the **dedication** of each church, the names of saints are given in the prevalent English form, e.g. Saint Basil rather than Hagios Vasileios, except where the name has no English equivalent, e.g. Saint George Methystis. In a few cases, the transliteration of a particular Greek name by which the church is known has been added in brackets, e.g. Chandras, Transfiguration (Christos Afentis) (cat. no. 93). For most churches, the dedication is unambiguous and well established by tradition. Only in two instances, the dedication to a church had to be inferred from the wall paintings and/or the modern icons placed in the building.<sup>15</sup>

The **date** indicated is that of the layer of wall paintings that contains the representation of Hell. In some cases, the wall paintings are of a later date than the architecture of the church, e.g. Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82), which is thought to have been built during the 12th century, but contains wall paintings dated 1303/4. In other cases, there is evidence of an older layer of wall paintings underneath the present top layer, e.g. Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28). For a number of entries (27), the date of the wall paintings can be given as a precise year, based on the date recorded in a dedicatory inscription in the church.<sup>16</sup> For the majority of the

<sup>14</sup> The four catalogues of churches in Rethymnon Prefecture by Spatharakis, for example, take the four former provinces of Rethymnon Prefecture as their point of departure: Spatharakis 1999 (Rethymnon); Spatharakis 2010 (Mylopotamos); Spatharakis and van Essenberg 2012 (Amari); Spatharakis 2015 (Hagios Vasileios).

<sup>15</sup> **Chania:** Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); Garipas, Saint George and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 8).

<sup>16</sup> The dated wall paintings in the catalogue are: **Chania:** Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 9) (1357/8); Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16) (1439/40); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21) (1372/3); Mertes, Saint Theodore (cat. no. 25) (1344); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26) (1303); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27) (1315); Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32) (1409/10); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33) (1367); Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39) (1362); **Rethymnon:** Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49) (1401); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51)

wall paintings (71), only an approximate date can be provided, ranging from about a decade to an entire century. Where possible, the estimated dating presented in the existing secondary literature has been followed.<sup>17</sup> For a small minority (9), the date cannot be determined at all, due to the poor state of the building and/or the murals.<sup>18</sup>

**Figures** have been provided wherever possible. If no photographs accompany a catalogue entry, this indicates that the wall paintings were too poorly preserved to make useful reproductions possible, or that they were inaccessible.

## 5 Structure and Condition

The aim of the section on Structure and Condition is to provide a summary description of the architectural shell that contains a representation of Hell, its state of preservation and the general state of conservation of the paintings within it. A number of the churches in the catalogue have been described before in the secondary literature; in those cases, the section may document changes in the building or its state of preservation since the last published description.

In a broad sense, in the description of each church, a distinction is made between features that are ‘historical’, i.e. dating to the medieval phase of construction of the building, and features that are ‘modern’, i.e. 19th- and 20th-century additions to or interventions in the original structure.

(1417); Kastri, Saint Stephen (cat. no. 57) (1396); Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 57) (1383); Roustika, Virgin and Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 68) (1391); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70) (1411); Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73) (1313); **Herakleion**: Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74) (1315/16); Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75) (1453); Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76) (1360); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78) (1455); Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80) (1436/7); Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82) (1303/4); Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83) (1291); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91) (1431); **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99) (1389/90); Kroustas, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 101) (1347/8); Lithines, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 103) (1415).

<sup>17</sup> It is beyond the scope of this publication to engage in stylistic analysis and/or comparisons regarding the approximate dating of undated murals.

<sup>18</sup> **Chania**: Garipas, Saint George and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 8); Kakopetros, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 14); Kandalos (Ellinika), Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18); Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); Palaia Roumata, Saint Spyridon and Saint John (cat. no. 29); Stratoi, Saint Marina (cat. no. 37); Vouvas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 45); **Herakleion**: Larani, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 87); **Lassithi**: Neapoli, All Saints (cat. no. 105).

For each entry, the Structure and Condition section breaks down as follows:

- An indication of the **architectural type** of the church, e.g. 'single nave', or 'cross-in-square', and, where appropriate, of the degree of survival of the original structure and the extent of major modern interventions;
- A short paragraph describing the **exterior** features of the building;
- A short paragraph describing the **interior** features of the building;
- An indication of the **state of survival of the wall paintings**.

In indicating the **architectural type** of each church, the standard architectural vocabulary has been applied.<sup>19</sup> The majority of the churches in the catalogue, as indeed the majority of the churches on Crete, are of the same basic type: a single nave of varying proportions, with a slightly raised sanctuary with an apse at the east end, occupying between 20 and 30 per cent of the length of the building. It is worth noting, however, that even within the sample of 107 buildings documented in the catalogue, there are numerous deviations from the norm, and the presence of Hell scenes is not limited to churches of one type only. In some cases (6), the nave is extended by a narthex at the west end, sometimes added and/or decorated at a later date.<sup>20</sup> Two churches have a transverse narthex larger than the actual nave and sanctuary.<sup>21</sup> In a few cases (5), the nave is intersected by a higher transept;<sup>22</sup> one church has a side chapel,<sup>23</sup> another, two side chapels.<sup>24</sup> There are double churches (8), in which two single-nave churches share a dividing wall, usually with one or more open arches that allow the two buildings to communicate internally.<sup>25</sup> The five most exceptional buildings in the catalogue are: one square, domed church with a sanctuary in a

<sup>19</sup> On Cretan architecture in general: Lassithiotakis 1961–2; Gallas 1983; Gratziou 2010; for architectural terms: Kalopissi-Verti and Panayotidi-Kesisoglou 2017.

<sup>20</sup> **Chania:** Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 9); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); **Rethymnon:** Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); **Herakleion:** Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77); **Lassithi:** Fourni, Saint George (cat. no. 94).

<sup>21</sup> **Rethymnon:** Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); **Herakleion:** Ano Symi (cat. no. 75).

<sup>22</sup> **Chania:** Anydroi, Saint George and Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 3); Spaniakos, Saint George (cat. no. 36); **Rethymnon:** Hagios Vasileios, Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil (cat. no. 56); **Herakleion:** Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77); **Lassithi:** Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>23</sup> **Lassithi:** Lithines, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 103).

<sup>24</sup> **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96).

<sup>25</sup> **Chania:** Anydroi, Saint George and Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 3); Kalathaines, Virgin and Holy Trinity (cat. no. 15); **Rethymnon:** Hagios Vasileios, Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil (cat. no. 56); Meronas, Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 64); Roustika, Virgin and Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 68); **Herakleion:** Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88); Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); **Lassithi:** Neapoli, All Saints (cat. no. 105).

separate domed chapel;<sup>26</sup> one triple church with a central dome;<sup>27</sup> one triple convent church with a transverse narthex;<sup>28</sup> one double monastery church with an added transverse chapel and narthex;<sup>29</sup> and one cross-in-square church with a central dome.<sup>30</sup>

The description of the **exterior** focuses on a number of standard features. In the first place, there is the construction material of the building, if visible: the majority of Cretan churches are constructed out of irregular stonework (cemented rubble), sometimes with the corners of the building reinforced with masonry (regular carved blocks of stone); a few buildings were raised in proper masonry (regular carved blocks of stone). Often, the building materials are hidden under a modern coat of plaster, whitewashed or painted in a shade of yellow. The majority of the exteriors have also been modernised in other respects. They are covered by a modern tiled gable roof and have frequently been fitted with a modern belfry. There is usually at least one entrance in the centre of the west wall (invariably fitted with a modern wooden or metal door and door frame). A standard feature is the single, small apse window (not recorded in the catalogue); many churches have also been fitted with one or more modern windows to provide extra light in the interior, most often inserted into the north and/or south walls (often at the price of the destruction of part of the wall paintings).

Two features of the exterior have been highlighted as these have drawn attention in recent secondary literature. It has been recorded if the western entrance has a (framed) niche above the entrance, and particularly whether that niche has the shape of a pointed arch; the shape of the pointed arch is not traditional to Byzantine architecture, and is considered a western architectural element.<sup>31</sup> It has also been recorded if there are glazed ceramic bowls embedded in the cement of the wall or the plaster – a

<sup>26</sup> **Herakleion:** Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82).

<sup>27</sup> **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100).

<sup>28</sup> **Herakleion:** Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86).

<sup>29</sup> **Herakleion:** Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91).

<sup>30</sup> **Rethymnon:** Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61).

<sup>31</sup> Gratziou 2010, 41–6. There are forty-three churches with a niche above the lintel of the principal entrance; of these, thirty-seven have the shape of a pointed arch: **Chania:** Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 9); Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Kopetoi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 22); Strovles, Saint George (cat. no. 38); Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43); Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47); **Rethymnon:** Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59); Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 62); Meronas, Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 64); Petrochori, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 67); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70);

folkloristic tradition of anthropological interest.<sup>32</sup> Neither feature has a direct relevance for the representation of Hell, but it seemed worth including them in the catalogue as they have not been documented systematically before.

The description of the **interior**, too, concentrates on a number of standard features. In the first place, there is the construction of the vault. The average single-nave church on Crete as described above has a stone vault. In a few cases (9), this is a proper barrel vault,<sup>33</sup> adhering to Byzantine tradition; these are likely older buildings. It is worth noting that proper barrel vaults are also found in the majority of the more complex architectural types, including three of the five churches with a transept,<sup>34</sup> the triple church with a central dome,<sup>35</sup> the triple convent church with a transverse narthex,<sup>36</sup> and the cross-in-square church with central dome.<sup>37</sup> The great majority of the single nave churches, however, as well as a few of the more complex architectural types, have pointed barrel vaults, in the shape of a pointed arch, a western architectural element.<sup>38</sup>

**Herakleion:** Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75); Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78); Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82); Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83); Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84); Kassanoi, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 85); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91); Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); **Lassithi:** Chandras, Transfiguration (cat. no. 93); Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95); Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102).

<sup>32</sup> On the subject of glazed ceramic bowls inserted into the facades of Cretan churches, usually in the shape of a cross: Yangaki 2010; Yangaki 2013. The bowls (or remnants of them) can be found in eighteen churches included in the catalogue: **Chania:** Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 9); Kadros, Saint John Chrysostom (cat. no. 11); Kadros, Virgin (cat. no. 12); Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); Pemonia, Saint George (cat. no. 30); Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39); Vouvas, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 46); **Rethymnon:** Apostoli, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); Kastri, Saint Stephen (cat. no. 57); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); **Herakleion:** Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78); Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); **Lassithi:** Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102); Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>33</sup> **Chania:** Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1); Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); Kandanos, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 17); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kopetoi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 22); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); Skalvopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Rethymnon:** Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70).

<sup>34</sup> **Chania:** Spaniakos, Saint George (cat. no. 36); **Rethymnon:** Hagios Vasileios, Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil (cat. no. 56); **Lassithi:** Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>35</sup> **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100).

<sup>36</sup> **Herakleion:** Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86); note that the transverse narthex, a later addition to the building, has a pointed barrel vault.

<sup>37</sup> **Rethymnon:** Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61). <sup>38</sup> Gratziou 2010, 41–6.



The vault of the average single-nave Cretan church is supported by one or more transverse arches constructed out of masonry. The number of transverse arches for each church is recorded in the catalogue as they create a natural division of the interior space and tend to be the bearers of specific painted decoration, occasionally including elements of the Last Judgement, the principal context for the representation of Hell. In some churches, blind arches have been set into the lateral (north and/or south) walls; the presence of such blind arches is recorded in the catalogue as, again, they create a natural division of the space and often include specific painted decoration, occasionally involving elements of the Last Judgement.

A final standard feature of the interior to be documented in the catalogue is the presence of a physical separation between nave and sanctuary. In one single case, the church has its original stone templon, onto which the painted decoration extends.<sup>39</sup> In one other case, nave and sanctuary are separated by an original stone wall, onto which the painted decoration extends.<sup>40</sup> One church has what appears to be a reconstructed stone templon without painted decoration.<sup>41</sup> In the great majority of churches, the physical barrier between nave and sanctuary is a modern wooden iconostasis with modern icons set into it. The presence of such an iconostasis (or any other type of modern wooden partition) has no direct relevance for the representation of Hell in the church, but forms an element demonstrating the function of the church as a living building rather than a mere architectural relic of the past.

The brief remarks regarding the **state of survival of the wall paintings** are based solely on a superficial inspection. No technical research on the condition or stability of the paintings has been carried out.<sup>42</sup> As the catalogue is primarily a record of iconography, the remarks are limited to the degree of *legibility* of the painted scenes, which may be reduced by damage, abrasion, darkening, fading, staining, the deposit of moisture sediments or whitewashing. The term ‘destroyed’ usually implies the large-scale loss of the coat of plaster that forms the support of the paintings; ‘damaged’ refers to partial, local loss of the plaster coat (holes); ‘abraded’ means partial loss of the paint layer, but not the plaster coat.

<sup>39</sup> **Chania:** Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1).

<sup>40</sup> **Lassithi:** Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101).

<sup>41</sup> **Rethymnon:** Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 62).

<sup>42</sup> One aspect of the paintings that is currently unclear is whether they were executed in the proper *fresco* technique, in a variant of *fresco*, or *a secco* on the dried plaster. It is for this reason that the phrase ‘wall paintings’ is used in the catalogue rather than ‘frescoes’. The proven durability of the paintings, many of which are still clearly legible after seven centuries, suggests a variant of *fresco*. In the representations of Hell, however, many inscriptions have been erased while the scenes themselves remain intact, suggesting that the inscriptions were added *a secco*.

## 6 Iconographic Programme

The section on the Iconographic Programme presents a summary description of the iconographic context in which a representation of Hell appears. The focus of the section is on the immediate iconographic environment of Hell, e.g. the Last Judgement, supplemented with notes on standard and unusual elements in the iconography of nave and sanctuary, including elements with a possible eschatological significance, e.g. the Deesis, and a few subjects that enjoyed particular popularity on Crete. Throughout the section, a number of recurring standard phrases have been capitalised: they denote iconographic themes, e.g. the Weighing of the Souls, or units in the decoration programmes of churches, e.g. the Gallery of Saints; the capitalisation is not intended to suggest that these are official titles, but is merely intended as a form of emphasis providing an aid to the reader.

For each entry, the Iconographic Programme section breaks down as follows:

- Note on the presence of a **dedicatory inscription** and/or donor portrait;
- Short paragraph on the immediate iconographic **environment of the representation of Hell**;
- Short paragraph on the iconography found in the remainder of the **nave**;
- Short paragraph on the iconography of the **sanctuary**.

The note recording the presence of a **dedicatory inscription** and/or donor portrait appears, where relevant, at the top of the section. In Cretan churches, dedicatory inscriptions and/or donor portraits are frequently positioned in the vicinity of the Last Judgement and the representation of Hell, suggesting a potential eschatological concern on the part of the donor(s), with the building and/or decoration of the church a possible act of atonement. Based on their topology, inscriptions and/or donor portraits can certainly be considered to be part of the immediate environment of a representation of Hell. On the other hand, it should be noted that just over half of the churches in the catalogue (55) contain either a dedicatory inscription (42),<sup>43</sup> a dedicatory

<sup>43</sup> **Chania:** Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1); Anisarak, Virgin (cat. no. 2); Kadros, Virgin (cat. no. 12); Kakopetros, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 14); Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16); Kandanos, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 17); Kandanos, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 18); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Mertes, Saint Theodore (cat. no. 25) (lost); Meskla, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 26); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); Platania, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31); Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33); Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34); Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39); Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40); Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); Voukolies, Saint

inscription and a donor portrait (7)<sup>44</sup> or a donor portrait without inscription (6).<sup>45</sup> Moreover, none of the dedicatory inscriptions refers explicitly to Hell. Thus, while the presence of an inscription is documented in the catalogue, the inscriptions themselves have not been transcribed; the great majority of them can be found in the secondary literature cited in the bibliography section of each entry, and a catalogue specifically about inscriptions in Cretan churches is forthcoming.<sup>46</sup>

The short paragraph on the immediate iconographic **environment of the representation of Hell** focuses on the narrative scenes directly above or around a representation of Hell.<sup>47</sup> In general, the most common context in which Hell is represented is the Last Judgement, and indeed, in the great majority of the churches documented in the catalogue (71), Hell is embedded within, or appears to have been once embedded within, a representation of the Last Judgement.<sup>48</sup> In one particular case, there is no

Athanasios (cat. no. 42); Voutas, Virgin (cat. no. 44); **Rethymnon**: Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Fourfouras, Virgin (cat. no. 54); Kastri, Saint Stephen (cat. no. 57); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Roustika, Virgin and Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 68); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70); **Herakleion**: Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75); Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78); Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80); Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82); Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 82); Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 81); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint Eirini (cat. no. 97); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Lithines, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 103).

<sup>44</sup> **Chania**: Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28); **Rethymnon**: Apostoli, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 52); Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66); Veni, Virgin(?) (cat. no. 73); **Herakleion**: Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86); **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100). Note that Anydroi, Saint George and Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 3) is not included, as the inscription and donor portrait here form part of the decoration of the north church, and not of the later decoration of the south church where the representation of Hell was located.

<sup>45</sup> **Chania**: Fres, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 7); Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Pemonia, Saint George (cat. no. 30); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Herakleion**: Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74); **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Christ the Lord (cat. no. 99). Note that Kavousi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 95) is not included, because the donor portrait is part of a different paint layer from the representation of Hell.

<sup>46</sup> Vasiliki Tsamakda is currently leading a project in the University of Mainz, Germany aiming at recording and transcribing all surviving inscriptions in Cretan churches.

<sup>47</sup> For a discussion, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, Chapter 3.

<sup>48</sup> The list of churches in which Hell is shown as part of the Last Judgement is too long for it to be practical to cite all the churches individually, but it concerns the following catalogue numbers: **Chania**: 2; 3; 4; 6; 8; 13; 15; 18; 22; 23; 24; 26; 27; 32; 35; 36; 38; 39; 41; 42; 43; 44; 46; 47; **Rethymnon**: 48; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 58; 59; 61; 62; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; **Herakleion**: 74; 75; 79; 80; 81; 82; 84; 86; 89; 90; 91; 92; **Lassithi**: 93; 94; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99; 102; 103; 104; 105; 106.

full Last Judgement, but Hell is accompanied by the Weighing of the Souls, which could be a summary version of the Last Judgement.<sup>49</sup>

It should be noted, however, that there are also twenty-four churches in which Hell is represented in a different iconographic environment. In the great majority of these (twenty-one), Hell is shown underneath a painting of the Crucifixion;<sup>50</sup> in two cases, it appears underneath the Dormition of the Virgin;<sup>51</sup> and, in one case, underneath the Fall of Jericho.<sup>52</sup> In one instance, no immediate context for Hell can be determined at all; the paintings surrounding Hell are intact, but appear to have no relevance for the representation of Hell.<sup>53</sup> No context is given for those churches (9) in which the wall paintings are whitewashed or destroyed, or the building itself has been demolished.<sup>54</sup>

In those cases where there is a Last Judgement, this paragraph will also give a short description of the (surviving) components of the Last Judgement, their layout (a single scene or multiple separate scenes arranged in registers), and their position on the walls of the church (generally, but not exclusively the west wall, often extending onto the north and south walls). The principal components of the Last Judgement, outside of Hell, include: the Adventus;<sup>55</sup> the Deesis; the Hetoimasia of the Throne; the

<sup>49</sup> **Chania:** Hagia Eirini, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 9).

<sup>50</sup> **Chania:** Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1); Fres, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 7); Hagia Eirini, Virgin (cat. no. 10); Kadros, Saint John Chrysostom (cat. no. 11); Kadros, Virgin (cat. no. 12); Kakopetros, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 14); Karydi, Virgin (cat. no. 19); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33); Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34); Tsiskiana, Saint Eutychios (cat. no. 40); **Herakleion:** Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77); Hagios Vasileios, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 83); Kassanoi, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 85); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88) (Crucifixion combined with Dormition of the Virgin); **Lassithi:** Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>51</sup> **Chania:** Pemonia, Saint George (cat. no. 30); **Herakleion:** Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78).

<sup>52</sup> **Chania:** Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16).

<sup>53</sup> **Rethymnon:** Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73).

<sup>54</sup> **Chania:** Chora Sfakion (cat. no. 5); Kandalos, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 17); Mertes, Saint Theodore (cat. no. 25); Palaia Roumata, Saints Spyridon and John (cat. no. 29); Platania, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31); Stratoi, Saint Marina (cat. no. 37); **Rethymnon:** Kissos, Virgin (cat. no. 60); Melambes, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 63); **Herakleion:** Larani, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 87).

<sup>55</sup> Iconographically, Adventus is the opposite to the scene of the Ascension, since Christ is descending to earth in clouds, inspired by Rev. 1:7 ('Behold, he cometh with clouds . . .'), see Tsamakda 2012, 192–7 (with earlier bibliography provided on 192, n. 542). The Adventus is a relatively rare scene, which appears only eight times on Crete: **Chania:** Anisaraki, Virgin (cat. no. 2); Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Spaniakos, Saint George (cat. no. 36); Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43); **Rethymnon:** Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53);

Apostle Tribunal;<sup>56</sup> Choirs of the Elect (saints, prophets and secular figures deserving of a place in Paradise); the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead; the Weighing of the Souls; and Paradise. In some instances, a representation of the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins (reflecting souls preparing for Heaven versus souls neglecting their own future well-being) has been added to the Last Judgement composition.<sup>57</sup>

The paragraph outlining the iconography found in the remainder of the **nave** indicates the presence of standard elements and highlights the inclusion of unusual figures, scenes or aspects of ornamentation. The decoration of the nave of a Cretan church tends to have a number of basic components, which appear in different arrangements. The upper part of the walls and the vault are generally taken up by scenes from the Christological cycle (the life and the Passion of Christ) and scenes related to the patron saint of the church. Among the elements highlighted here are unusual scenes, e.g. Christ and the Samaritan Woman, rare in Byzantine iconography,<sup>58</sup> and scenes that contain unusual details, e.g. the depiction of poor people in Saint Pelagia Distributing her Wealth.<sup>59</sup> Also highlighted are any scenes with a possible eschatological connotation, e.g. the Fall of Jericho.<sup>60</sup>

When the vault of a church has a single transverse arch, it is usually decorated with Prophets.<sup>61</sup> If there is more than one transverse arch, the

**Herakleion:** Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84); Kavousi, Saint Eirini (cat. no. 97).

<sup>56</sup> The Apostle Tribunal is inspired by Matt. 19:28: 'And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (also reflected in Luke 22:30). See Wortley 2001, 61 and n. 43.

<sup>57</sup> The Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins can be found in six churches: **Rethymnon:** Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); Kastri, Saint Stephen (cat. no. 57); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 57); **Herakleion:** Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91). For the relation of this scene to the Last Judgement, see Tsamakda 2012, 208–10.

<sup>58</sup> **Lassithi:** Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>59</sup> **Herakleion:** Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76).

<sup>60</sup> Apart from Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16), where the Fall of Jericho is the principal scene with which the representation of Hell is combined, the Fall of Jericho appears in: **Chania:** Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); **Herakleion:** Ano Archanes, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 74); Arkalochori, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 77). In all these churches, the Fall of Jericho is shown as a scene associated with the patron saint. Nonetheless, its combination with Hell at Kamiliana makes it clear it is also a prefiguration of the Last Judgement. See Réau 1956, 219–20, 223. See also Lymberopoulou 2006, 95 and n. 435.

<sup>61</sup> The choice of Prophets depicted varies; among the most popular are David, Solomon and Daniel. See Lymberopoulou 2006, 121–2. How much Prophets were conceived as an element located on the transverse arch in the overall decoration scheme of a church is clear from Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34), where there is no actual transverse arch, but a faux arch containing prophets has been incorporated in the painted programme.

decoration on one of them is frequently the cycle of the Ten Saints of Crete, popular on the island.<sup>62</sup> The lower part of the walls, in most churches, is occupied by the Gallery of Saints, which regularly includes at least one image of the patron saint of the church. Among the elements highlighted here are the presence of the shepherd saint Mamas, popular on Crete,<sup>63</sup> and, once again, images with a possible eschatological connotation, e.g. the Archangel Michael<sup>64</sup> and the Deesis (Christ flanked by the intercessors, the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, the latter sometimes substituted with the patron saint of the church).<sup>65</sup>

Two ornamental features have been highlighted wherever they occur. The first of these is the relatively rare motif of a painted imitation of a white

<sup>62</sup> The Ten Saints of Crete are: Theodoulos, Satornilos, Euporos, Gelasios, Eunikianos, Zotikos, Pombios, Agathopoulos, Vasileidis and Euarestos; see Detorakis 1970, 53–94. The Ten Saints of Crete can be found in: **Chania**: Anisaraki, Virgin (cat. no. 2); Kalathaines, Virgin and Holy Trinity (cat. no. 15); Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28); Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47); **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70); Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71); **Herakleion**: Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); **Lassithi**: Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102).

<sup>63</sup> On Saint Mamas: Marava-Chatzinikolaou 1995. Mamas appears in: **Chania**: Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28); Spaniakos, Saint George (cat. no. 36); **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>64</sup> There are six churches in which Michael is represented as the patron saint of the church: **Chania**: cat. nos 13; 14; 16; **Herakleion**: cat. nos 74; 77; 84. There are also twenty-four churches with a different dedication in which an image of Michael appears: **Chania**: Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4); Fres, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 7); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Kopetoi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 22); Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33); Prines, Saints Peter and Paul (cat. no. 34); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); Strovles, Saint George (cat. no. 38); Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39); Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43); Vouvas, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 46); Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47); **Rethymnon**: Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59); Saitoures, Virgin (cat. no. 69); **Herakleion**: Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Meseleroi, Saint George (cat. no. 104); Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>65</sup> The Deesis appears in the nave or sanctuary, outside of the context of the Last Judgement, in nineteen churches: **Chania**: Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1); Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Kato Prines, Virgin (cat. no. 20); Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21); Kopetoi, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 22); Moni, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 27); Prines, Saint George (cat. no. 33); Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); Voutas, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 43); **Rethymnon**: Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); Margarites, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 62); Mourne, Saint George (cat. no. 65); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99); Kroustas, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 101); Lithines, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 103).



patterned wall hanging, usually found along the bottom of the walls of the nave and/or the sanctuary.<sup>66</sup> The second is the slightly more common motif of an ornamental band along the apex of the vault, separating the scenes on the north and south sides of the vault.<sup>67</sup> Neither feature has a relevance for the representation of Hell, but they are both characteristic decorative motifs that have not been catalogued systematically before.

The paragraph on the iconography of the **sanctuary** similarly indicates the presence of standard elements and highlights the inclusion of unusual figures, scenes or aspects of ornamentation. The paragraph lists the sanctuary decoration in a regular order, starting with the conch of the apse (the part of the sanctuary most visible from the nave) and the apse wall, followed by the upper part of the triumphal arch (again visible from the nave), the lower sections of the triumphal arch, the vault and the lateral walls. The conch of the apse most commonly features Christ or the Virgin, the apse wall Officiating Bishops. The upper part of the triumphal arch most commonly has the Hospitality of Abraham or the Mandylion, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. By far the most common iconography found on the sanctuary vault is the Ascension.

## 7 Hell

The section on Hell forms the core of each entry. It presents a detailed description of the representation of Hell. It contains summary remarks on the style of each representation, but focuses primarily on the identification of the iconography. It is important to note that, as discussed in greater detail in the analytical chapter by Angeliki Lymberopoulou in volume 1, virtually no two representations of Hell on Crete are the same, and while they have elements in common, there are many different combinations of

<sup>66</sup> This motif occurs in six churches: **Rethymnon**: Apostoli, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73); **Herakleion**: Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75); Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91).

<sup>67</sup> This motif occurs in fifteen churches: **Chania**: Niochorio, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 28); Platanias, Saint George Methystis (cat. no. 31); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); Zymvrageou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47); **Rethymnon**: Artos, Saint George (cat. no. 49); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Diblochori, Virgin (cat. no. 51); Erfoi, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 53); Hagios Vasileios, Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil (cat. no. 56); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Kissos, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 59); Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70); Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71); **Herakleion**: Kera Kardiotissa, Virgin (cat. no. 86); **Lassithi**: Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102).

these elements, as well as variations in the number of elements used, their relative layout, and the style of their representation.

For each entry, the Hell section breaks down as follows:

- Short paragraph(s) on the **topography** of the representation of Hell, indicating its position within the church, the principal components of the representation and their layout relative to one another;
- (if relevant) Short paragraph(s) on principal component no. 1: the **Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire** (the end section of the River of Fire in the Last Judgement, containing vengeful angels, sinners and Satan);
- (if relevant) Short paragraph(s) on principal component no. 2: frames with **Individual Sinners** (particular figures undergoing particular punishments against a neutral background), including, where appropriate, a list of the specific sinners shown;
- (if relevant) Short paragraph(s) on principal component no. 3: compartments of **Communal Punishments** (collective punishments of unspecified groups based on biblical references to Hell).

The order in which the principal iconographic components are discussed is determined by the vertical iconographic arrangement found most often (but far from exclusively) in Cretan churches, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register, frames with Individual Sinners in the middle register(s), and compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower register(s).

The short paragraph on the **topography** of the representation of Hell starts with an indication of the position of the representation within the church, e.g. ‘on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance, extending onto the adjacent north wall’; a reminder of the immediate iconographic environment of the representation as outlined above is included, e.g. ‘as part of the Last Judgement’, or ‘underneath the Crucifixion’.

This broad topographical indication is followed by a list of the principal components of the representation. In the most extensive variants, defined as a ‘full’ Hell for the purposes of this publication, the representation will comprise all three principal components: the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>68</sup> There are, however, many reduced variants, with just one or two of the components. In the case of principal

<sup>68</sup> For the definition of the ‘full’ Hell and the different combinations of the principal components that occur, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 118–28 (sections 3.2 and 3.3).

components nos 2 and 3, the list will include the number of frames and compartments found within the representation, e.g. Hell consists of 'four frames with Individual Sinners and two compartments of Communal Punishments'.

The paragraph concludes by indicating the arrangement of the principal components relative to one another. Often, this will be in vertically stacked registers, e.g. the representation 'is arranged in four registers. The upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, the second and third registers each have two frames with Individual Sinners, and the fourth register has two compartments of Communal Punishments.' Different arrangements are frequent, however, e.g. the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appearing to the right of the entrance on the west wall, and frames with Individual Sinners to the left of the entrance.

In those entries where it is relevant, the next paragraph(s) of the Hell section will be devoted to the **Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire**. For the purposes of this publication, this phrase denotes an iconography that is at once firmly tied to the theme of the Last Judgement and functioning as a self-contained scene. It has its origin in the River of Fire that, in Byzantine representations of the Last Judgement, flows from the throne of Christ; indeed, in the few churches on Crete where the Last Judgement is rendered as a single, integrated composition, it corresponds to the final, widening stretch of the River of Fire, where sinners are shown being washed down to Satan.<sup>69</sup> In the more frequent case of a Last Judgement that is divided into registers and separate frames, it is conceived as an independent scene in its own frame, but unlike the other principal components of Hell, it did not develop a life of its own and rarely appears outside of the context of the Last Judgement.<sup>70</sup> When it is labelled by an inscription, it is referred to almost invariably as the River of Fire.<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, in some Last Judgement cycles, it has been placed opposite Paradise as its main antithesis, with the other components of Hell absent or

<sup>69</sup> For example, in **Herakleion**: Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91); **Lassithi**: Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102). Other churches may have had the Last Judgement as a single, integrated composition, but have suffered such a degree of damage to the paint layer that this can no longer be established.

<sup>70</sup> The single exception being **Lassithi**: Voulismeni, Virgin (cat. no. 107).

<sup>71</sup> See **Chania**: Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); Plemeniana, Saint George (cat. no. 32); Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41); **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Roustika, Virgin and Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 68); **Lassithi**: Lithines, Virgin (cat. no. 102). In one instance, the scene is identified generically as 'Hell' (Η Κ'ΟΛΛΙC): Voukolies, Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42). This last church is of a relatively late date (15th century). It is unclear whether this is an isolated variant or whether it represents a shift in the interpretation of the scene.

relegated to an inferior position.<sup>72</sup> In one later, 15th-century church, the scene is actually labelled 'Hell', assuming the role of the main representation of Hell.<sup>73</sup>

The paragraph(s) provide a detailed description of each scene, highlighting its essential ingredients and giving a transcription of any inscriptions as found, including spelling variations and the use of majuscule and minuscule. The scene generally has a red background, sometimes with flames or waves indicated upon it, and is inhabited by a regular cast of characters, which includes vengeful angels, sinners and Satan.<sup>74</sup> The vengeful angels are shown pushing the sinners into the fire with spears, tridents or pitchforks. The sinners here appear to be largely confined to heretics, including the traditional arch-heretics Arius, Sabellius and Nestorius and their followers;<sup>75</sup> occasionally, their ranks are expanded by Jews,<sup>76</sup> Muslims<sup>77</sup> and/or members of the Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>78</sup> Satan, often a large figure dominating the scene, is generally represented holding Judas in his lap, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths<sup>79</sup> – the latter

<sup>72</sup> For example, in **Rethymnon**: Hagios Vasileios, Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil (cat. no. 56); **Herakleion**: Ano Symi, Saint George (cat. no. 75).

<sup>73</sup> **Chania**: Voukolies, Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42); see above, n. 71.

<sup>74</sup> For an in-depth discussion, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 128–40 (section 3.4).

<sup>75</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 131–5.

<sup>76</sup> Jews, possibly identified by the type of pointed hats that Jewish characters were given to wear in late medieval Western art, may be shown in **Chania**: Koufalotos, Holy Apostles (cat. no. 23); **Rethymnon**: Drymiskos, Saint Constantine (cat. no. 52). Compare, for instance, the hats of the Jews shown in Hell in the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, vol. 1, Fig. 4.7. It is interesting to note that the Jewish hat in medieval images may have been a purely iconographic device, which had no direct relation with contemporary reality; if the hat shown in the Cretan representations is intended to indicate a Jewish person, the artist is therefore more likely to have copied a Western image than an aspect of reality. See Lipton 1999, 15–17. On the presence of Jewish communities in Venetian Crete, see Georgopoulou 2001, 192–210.

<sup>77</sup> Muslims, identified as 'Ishmaelites', are found in **Rethymnon**: Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70). The Muslims here wear helmets fitted with a long, thin plume or ornament, reminiscent of Ottoman military headgear. Similar helmets can be found in **Herakleion**: Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); and Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90).

<sup>78</sup> Roman Catholic clergy, recognisable by their tonsured heads and attributes such as bishops' mitres, can be found in **Chania**: Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 3); Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6); L(e)ivada, Saint Prokopios (cat. no. 24); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Rethymnon**: Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 55); **Herakleion**: Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81); Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90); Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91); Voroi, Virgin Kardiotissa (cat. no. 92); **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99). See Lymberopoulou and Duts in this publication, vol. 1, 133–4 and 200–10 (section 4.2) respectively. Also: Lymberopoulou 2013, 81–90 (the list on 84 is incomplete, because at the time of publication, the research phase for the present catalogue was still in progress).

<sup>79</sup> Satan himself is identified as 'the great dragon' in Rev. 12:9: 'And the great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the world.' See

creature shown as a dragon with either a fish tail or a long, coiling, serpentine tail, or sometimes with two heads, placed symmetrically on either side of Satan.

One sinner who sometimes appears in the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, but can also be rendered in his own frame, is the Rich Man – the only sinner shown in Cretan churches who is of biblical derivation, being taken from the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus in the Gospel of Luke.<sup>80</sup> The narrative describes the Rich Man refusing the Poor Lazarus scraps from his dinner table, and ending up in Hell, tormented by unquenchable thirst and hunger, while Lazarus sits in the bosom of Abraham in Paradise. The Rich Man is usually shown sitting amongst flames, looking in the general direction of Paradise, and pointing at his parched mouth. He tends to be accompanied by (a variant of) an inscription from Luke 16:24: ‘Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue.’ Given the length of this inscription, it is the only inscription identifying a sinner that has not been transcribed in its entirety in each catalogue entry where the Rich Man is described.

In those entries where it is relevant, the next paragraph(s) of the Hell section will deal with frames with **Individual Sinners**. For the purposes of the present publication, this phrase refers to clearly delineated painted panels in which particular figures are shown undergoing particular punishments against a neutral background.<sup>81</sup> These figures are (usually) not named individuals, but stand for transgressors of a recurring type found in various professional and social contexts, e.g. the Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line,<sup>82</sup> the (cheating) Tailor, the Woman Who Refuses to Nurse Babies, or the Gossiper. The sinners can be either male or female and, more than once, equal numbers of both genders are shown. The sinners can generally be identified by accompanying inscriptions within the frame or on the border, and by attributes related to the sins committed.<sup>83</sup>

Marinis 2017a, 20. Also Smith 1995, 41; Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 137–40 (section 3.4.4).

<sup>80</sup> See Lymberopoulou and Semoglou in this publication, vol. 1, 155 and Chapter 6, respectively.

<sup>81</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 140–60 (section 3.5) for an in-depth discussion.

<sup>82</sup> In Byzantium, stones and other fixtures were used to demarcate divisions between areas of land. This particular sin represents an attempt to encroach on the property of another by ignoring or altering these boundary demarcations. See Gerstel 2015, 27.

<sup>83</sup> It is common for sinners to be accompanied by objects indicative of the sin they have committed, often shown hanging from a cord around their necks. This reflects a practice from criminal law attested since the 9th century, according to which criminals had plaques (*pittakia*) hung around their necks on which their particular transgression was recorded: Mouriki 1975–6, 162; Albani 2016, 379. Such attributes appear for the first time in a representation of Hell in the Church of the Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria, dated to the 11th–12th century; see Mouriki

The first, general paragraph(s) will indicate the number of frames (varying from one to twelve<sup>84</sup>) and the number of sinners per frame (varying from one to twelve,<sup>85</sup> the largest total number of sinners shown in one church being twenty<sup>86</sup>). For frames with more than two sinners, it will give the general layout of the sinners inside the frame and their poses (e.g. 'a straight row of standing sinners', or 'a jumble of irregularly arranged figures in different poses'<sup>87</sup>). It will highlight shared features of all the sinners (e.g. 'all the sinners have snakes coiling around their bodies'<sup>88</sup>) and it will give a summary description of the style of representation (e.g. 'the sinners are outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions').

Where relevant, the initial paragraph(s) will be followed by a list of all the sinners shown. If possible, the list will identify each sinner (in cases where only a few sinners out of a larger group can be identified, the list is sometimes confined to the identifiable sinners). It will give a transcription of the accompanying inscriptions as found, including spelling variations and the use of majuscule and minuscule, and describe the pose of each sinner, the presence of attributes, and the way the sinner is tormented. A full list of all the different Individual Sinners encountered in Cretan churches is presented in the chapter by Angeliki Lymberopoulou in volume 1 of this publication. A number of sinners require a general annotation:

- The female **Fornicator**: in analogy with the male Fornicator, the term has not been translated as 'whore'; both the male and the female sinners

1975–6. All inscriptions are provided as recorded from the wall paintings. For correct Greek spelling and transliteration see Lymberopoulou, vol. 1, 187–90 (Appendix 3).

<sup>84</sup> The largest number of frames (12) is found in **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50).

<sup>85</sup> The largest number of sinners in one frame (12) is found in **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99).

<sup>86</sup> The largest number of sinners (20) is found in two different churches: **Chania**: Karydaki, Virgin (cat. no. 19) (divided over 2 frames); and **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50) (divided over 12 frames).

<sup>87</sup> For example, the twenty sinners in **Chania**: Karydaki, Virgin (cat. no. 19) appear by and large in two straight rows of standing figures, while the twelve sinners in a single frame in **Lassithi**: Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99) are arranged irregularly in a variety of poses. On 'chaotic' layouts, see also Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 224–5.

<sup>88</sup> Next to exposure to flames and fire, snakes coiling around the bodies of the sinners, often biting them in places significant for the sin they have committed, are the most common form of torment found in representations of Hell on Crete. It is possible that such punishing snakes in Byzantine art have their roots in ancient Greek mythology: when Theseus and Perithous decided to go to Hades and abduct his wife, Persephone, the offended god of the underworld made them sit on a throne where they were bound by snakes in eternity. See Kakridis 1986, vol. 2, 218. On snakes and sinners, see also Warland in this publication, vol. 1, 241–52 (section 5.2).



seem to represent those indulging in extramarital sex rather than those who engage in sex for payment;<sup>89</sup>

- The **Man Who Cheats at the Scales**: the translation of his Greek name (ο παραζυγιστής/παρακαμπανιστής) is based on Niketas Choniates;<sup>90</sup>
- The (cheating) **Miller**: he is regularly shown with a millstone around his neck; although this probably refers to the professional capacity in which he deceived his customers, there may also be an echo of Mark 9:42, ‘And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea’;
- The **Murderer**: he often has a sword for an attribute; this is obviously the weapon of his sin, but could also be related to the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, where it is stated that ‘the murderers who use swords’ are placed in the ‘outer fire’;<sup>91</sup>
- The **Tavern Keeper**: he (or, in the female variant, she) may be in Hell for cheating his (her) customers, or because taverns were considered sinful places, where large quantities of alcohol were consumed and immoral acts such as gambling and fornication took place;<sup>92</sup>
- The **Thief**: most often, he is portrayed specifically as a thief of livestock, predominantly goats; the theft of goats may have been a typically Cretan problem, as, in other regions, thieves in Hell are shown with other farm animals, e.g. pigs in Trikala in the north of mainland Greece, where pig-farming was common.<sup>93</sup>
- The **Usurer**: he is often identified not by the proper Greek term (ο τόκων λαβών or a variant), but by the Greek transliteration of the Latin phrase *usurarius* (ο ζουράρης).<sup>94</sup>
- The female **Weaver**: she could be in Hell because she cheated her customers (in analogy with the Tailor); it has also been suggested that female Weavers may have been gossiping while at work (which would

<sup>89</sup> See Gasparis and Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 98–9 and 157–8, respectively. See also Maderakis 1980–1, 112 and n. 286; Weir and Jerman 1986, 63; Meyer 2009.

<sup>90</sup> Magoulas 1984, 39. <sup>91</sup> Baun 2007, 54 and 88. <sup>92</sup> Gasparis in this publication, vol. 1, 97.

<sup>93</sup> Tsiodoulos 2012, 89–90, fig. 55 (on 90).

<sup>94</sup> Duits 2018, 90–91. See also Lymberopoulou and Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 147 (no. 28), 151–2 and 226–7, respectively. The Usurer appears as ο ζουράρης in **Chania**: Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1); Karydaki Vamou, Virgin (cat. no. 19); Sklavopoula, Virgin (cat. no. 35); **Rethymnon**: Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50); Kato Valsamonero, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 58); Spili, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 71); **Herakleion**: Ano Viannos, Saint Pelagia (cat. no. 76); Avdou, Saint George (cat. no. 79); Mathia, Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 88); **Lassithi**: Kavousi, Saint George (cat. no. 96); Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99). Only **Chania**: Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6) and **Rethymnon**: Veni, Virgin (cat. no. 73) have the proper Greek form.

presume a workshop in which more than one weaver was active at the same time),<sup>95</sup> or that unmarried female weavers complained while working on the dowries of others,<sup>96</sup> or that these women worked on taboo days for such activity,<sup>97</sup> or that some weavers may have been unduly proud of their products – in a reference to the classical myth of Arachni, as inferred by Angeliki Lymberopoulou.<sup>98</sup>

- The **Woman Who Rejects Babies**: this sinner may be identical to the Woman Who Refuses to Nurse Infants; it was customary for women who were lactating to nurse other babies besides their own in a community; it is also possible that this sinner represents women who practise contraception (or, perhaps, terminate a pregnancy).

In entries where this is relevant, the final paragraph of the Hell section will discuss compartments of **Communal Punishments**. For the purposes of this publication, this phrase refers to clearly delineated painted panels, the contents of which illustrate up to six different references to the nature of Hell – five biblical and one classical: Everlasting Fire (Matt. 25:41; Mark 9:44–8); the Gnashing of Teeth (Matt. 8:12; 13:50); Outer Darkness (Matt. 8:12); the Sleepless Worm (Isa. 66:24; Mark 9:44, 46 and 48); Tar (Isa. 34:9); and Tartarus.<sup>99</sup> The iconography of the six compartments is fairly standardised and they are regularly identified by inscriptions within each compartment or on the borders. The paragraph will indicate the number of compartments, offer a brief description of their iconography, and give the text of any surviving inscriptions as found, including spelling variations and the use of majuscule and minuscule.

## 8 Measurements

The section on measurements presents a table with the principal dimensions of the church and the different parts of the representation of Hell. All measurements are given in metres and fractions of metres, rather than in centimetres. Centimetres would give a false impression of precision for

<sup>95</sup> Vassilaki 1986, 44.

<sup>96</sup> Kalogerakis 2005, 94–7. Kalogerakis bases his interpretation on oral communications from female Cretan villagers of the present day.

<sup>97</sup> Gerstel 2015, 95–6.

<sup>98</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 150, n. 193. Maderakis 1984, 82–4, also suggests possible echoes from ancient Greek mythology in the image of this sinner, via Cretan demotic songs, known as *rizitika*. See also Lymberopoulou 2019 for a further discussion of ancient Greek elements in Byzantine art.

<sup>99</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 160–71 (section 3.6) for an in-depth discussion.

buildings and paintings in which, owing to the working methods of medieval builders and painters and the subsequent deformation of buildings over time, there are very few perfectly straight lines. Throughout the section, numerals given in brackets denote incompleteness, e.g. the width of a Hell scene given as (0.47) indicates that only a fragment of the scene survives and the original width must have been larger, and the number of Individual Sinners in a frame given as (4) indicates that part of the frame is lost and the original number of sinners in it must have been larger.

For each entry, the table breaks down into two parts:

- The principal dimensions of the **church**;
- The principal dimensions of each part of the representation of **Hell**.

The first part of the table lists the length, height and width of the **church**. The measurements given are of the interior rather than the exterior; interior measurements give an indication of the size and proportions of the original building, whereas external walls have often been reinforced and create a distorted picture.<sup>100</sup> For each church, two measurements of length are given: one excluding and one including the depth of the sanctuary apse. Apse depths vary significantly relative to the overall dimensions of buildings, and the standard practice of giving the length including the depth of the sanctuary apse is misleading.<sup>101</sup> Occasionally, in the case of a double church or a compound building, only the dimensions of the church or the part of the building that contains the representation of Hell are listed.

Part two of the table lists the height and width of all the (surviving) parts of the representation of Hell. The table gives a brief indication of the location of each part within the church (e.g. 'west wall, right of door') and relative to the other parts of the representation (e.g. 'top register'). It presents a summary description of the iconography of the part (e.g. 'Hell Formed by the River of Fire'), occasionally using abbreviations:

- **HFRF** = Hell Formed by the River of Fire;
- **IS** = Individual Sinners;
- **CP** = Communal Punishment.

<sup>100</sup> For example, Spatharakis 2001, 116, measuring the exterior of Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi, gives the proportions of the building as 4.50 x 6.50 m (1:1.44) due to the fact that the lateral walls have been buttressed. The proportions of the interior are, by contrast, 2.73 x 5.87 m (1:2.1) (see cat. no. 21).

<sup>101</sup> For example, **Chania**: Chora Sfakion, All Saints (cat. no. 5) has a nave that is 7.08 m long and an apse that is less than 0.50 m deep, whereas **Chania**: Zymvragou, Saint Panteleimon (cat. no. 47) has a nave that is 7.00 m long and an apse that is more than 1.00 m deep; the main bodies of the two churches are practically equal in length, but adding the apse length suggests buildings of significantly different size.

It gives the measurements of the part and a rough indication of its shape (e.g. 'rectangle, landscape') – the latter based on a pragmatic reading rather than precise mathematics (e.g. 0.51 x 0.49 m is indicated as 'square').

## 9 Bibliography

Each entry concludes with an elementary bibliography of the church and its painted decoration. Its aim is not to give a comprehensive bibliography, but to cover the main existing catalogues in which the church has been published previously, which can be consulted for further literature. Where appropriate, selected specialist publications relevant to the painted programme of the church and/or the representation of Hell are included.

## 10 Conclusion

We have strived, in the catalogue, to offer as complete a record as possible of the representation of Hell in the monumental art of Venetian Crete in as concise a form as possible. We have attempted to be consistent in the format of presentation while doing justice to the individuality of each building, iconographic programme and representation of Hell. We have sought to be exhaustive in the documentation of data while not losing sight of relevance. We have tried to be comprehensive regarding the context in which Hell is shown while keeping digressions to a minimum. We have aimed to combine the maximum of accessibility for the general interested reader with providing intellectual stimulation and insight to experts. Undoubtedly, we have frequently erred on one or the other side of each of these equations. We hope, nonetheless, that the present catalogue will prove to be a useful instrument of scholarship for students of the iconography of Hell, of Cretan art and of the art of Byzantium and its aftermath; for historians of art, of social practice and of religion; and for all those working to preserve the great cultural heritage of Cretan churches and their decoration.

## 1. Achladiakes (Selino), Saint Zosimas

Early 14th century (sanctuary) and 1360s (nave)



Fig. 1 Church of Saint Zosimas, Individual Sinners, early 14th century (sanctuary) and 1360s (nave), wall painting (west wall), Achladiakes (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church; one of two churches dedicated to Saint Zosimas on Crete, and the only one to contain Hell scenes.<sup>1</sup>

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a small modern window in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by the original stone templon.<sup>2</sup> The north and south walls have two blind arches each.

The surviving wall paintings are badly affected by damp and are in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.

The upper part of the west wall has the Crucifixion, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave includes scenes from the Christological cycle and from the life of Saint Zosimas, including, at the west end of the north wall, Saint Mary of Egypt receiving the Holy Communion from Saint Zosimas.<sup>3</sup> The Gallery of Saints includes the military Saints George and Demetrios on horseback, and Saints Constantine and Helena. The transverse arch has Prophets. The decoration programme continues on the stone templon, which has the Virgin and Child (in bust form, with an angel) on the left, and the Deesis on the right.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension and the Pentecost.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion (Fig. 1). It is divided into two registers, and consists of two frames with Individual Sinners, one per register.<sup>4</sup>

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners naked, in a variety of positions, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The frame in the upper register contains five male sinners; they are, from left to right:

<sup>1</sup> The other church dedicated to Saint Zosimas is in Moustakos (Selino), also in the prefecture of Chania; see Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 143.

<sup>2</sup> On the stone templon on Crete, see Mailis 2015. See also Maderakis 2003, 31–4.

<sup>3</sup> One of the best-known scenes from the life of Saint Zosimas, and a reminder to the congregation of the importance of last rites. On the Life of Saint Mary of Egypt: Talbot 1996, 65–93.

<sup>4</sup> These sinners are stylistically comparable to cat. nos 35, 43, 49 and 55.



- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (no inscription survives); he is shown in profile, standing, slightly bent over towards the left, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο κλέπτης); he is shown in profile, kneeling and bent double towards the left, with a black goat perched on his back;
- Unidentifiable (no inscription survives); a man shown frontally, suspended upside down from the upper edge of the frame by ropes attached to his ankles, his limbs spreadeagled, with snakes coiling around his legs;
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο παρακαμπανυστίς); the figure is badly preserved, but he appears to be shown in profile, suspended horizontally from the upper edge of the frame, with his head pointing left and his right leg bent at the knee and raised behind him;
- Unidentifiable (‘λα . . . ων’); the figure, shown underneath the Man Who Cheats at the Scales, is virtually destroyed.

The frame in the lower register contains six sinners, three male and three female, all shown in three-quarters facing left, standing, chained together by the neck, apparently pulled along by a black devil on the far left. The three female sinners have long, loose hair; snakes are coiling around their bodies. The sinners are, from left to right:

- The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΥΣ); he has a large sword hanging from a cord around his neck;
- The (cheating) Tailor (Ο ΠΑΤΤΙC); he has a large pair of scissors hanging from a cord around his neck;
- The Usurer (Ο ζουράρις), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ);
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (partially surviving inscription, α[ποστρε]φου[σα], and a snake is biting her left breast);
- The female Tavern Keeper (Η ταβερνάρισα).

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.85 m |
| length with apse    | 5.51 m |
| width               | 2.85 m |
| height              | 3.57 m |

(*cont.*)

| Hell                        |                                   |               |                      |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>Position</i>             | <i>Iconography</i>                | <i>Shape</i>  |                      |
| west wall, right<br>of door |                                   |               |                      |
| top register                | 5 <i>Individual Sinners (m)</i>   | 0.42 × 1.03 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register                | 6 <i>Individual Sinners (m/f)</i> | 0.52 × 1.03 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 21); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 36 (no. 132); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 181–3 (no. 79); Bissinger 1995, 107 (no. 72) and 169 (no. 143).

## 2. Anisaraki (Selino), Virgin

Late 14th century (1380s)



Fig. 2 Church of the Virgin, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, end of the 14th century (c. 1380s), wall painting (west wall), Anisaraki (Selino), Chania, Crete



Fig. 3 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners (detail), end of the 14th century (c. 1380s), wall painting (west wall), Anisaraki (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, and covered by a tiled gable roof; the north and south wall each have three supporting buttresses. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are darkened and faded, but in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance. The Adventus appears at the apex of the wall, the Apostle Tribunal underneath. The adjacent north side of the vault has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The remainder of the nave includes scenes from the Christological cycle, among them the Massacre of the Innocents, and scenes from the life of the Virgin. The western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete, the eastern transverse arch Prophets and the Mandylion at the apex.





Fig. 4 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, end of the 14th century (c. 1380s), wall painting (west wall), Anisaraki (Selino), Chania, Crete

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Blachernitissa. The sanctuary iconography further includes Saint John Kalochtenis, the first bishop of Thebes, unusual on Crete.<sup>5</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is shown as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the left and right of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed

<sup>5</sup> This saint has no direct connection to Crete. He is mostly painted by the artist Frangos Katellanos, a native of Thebes. See Semoglou 1998a; Semoglou 1998b.

by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners. To the right of the entrance, there are three registers, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, in the top register, and four frames of Individual Sinners in the lower two registers, with two frames per register. To the left of the entrance, there are a further three registers with frames with Individual Sinners, with two frames per register.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is badly preserved; only some of the red background can be discerned (Fig. 2).

Of the four frames with Individual Sinners in the two registers underneath the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire to the right of the entrance, only the two in the top register are still legible. They show (Fig. 3):

- (left) The Rich Man, rendered in brown on a white background, shown in three-quarters facing left, seated amongst red flames, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand; he is accompanied by the usual inscription from Luke 16:24;
- (right) Those Who Sleep on Sunday ( . . . KOIMO'YN]TECTHN [ΑΓΙΑΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚ'ΗΝ); little survives of the actual representation.

The six frames with Individual Sinners in the three registers to the left of the entrance appear to contain one or two sinners per frame (Fig. 4). The sinners are shown naked, standing in red fire, painted in brown, on a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The top register is badly damaged and no longer legible. The lower two registers include:

Second register, left frame

- (left) The Perjurer (Ο ΕΠΙΟΡΚΟΣ); shown in three-quarters, facing right; he has a black snake coiling around his body, biting his mouth;
- (right) The female Weaver (Η ΑΝΗΦΑΝΤΟ'Υ); little survives of the actual representation, but it is visible that she carries a loom;

Second register, right frame

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΥ[ΛΑΚ-ΙCΤ'ΗC[?]); little survives of the actual representation;

Third register, left frame

- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛ'ΕΠΤΗC); shown in profile, crouching on all fours with his head pointing left; a black snake coils around his body and a black goat is perched on his back;

Third register, right frame

- (left) The Woman Who Rejects Babies, on the left (Η ΑΠΟΣΤΡ'ΕΦΟΥCΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ); shown frontally, standing, with two snakes biting her breasts;



- (right) The (cheating) Miller (O MH<sup>Λ</sup>ON[AC]); shown frontally, standing, with a millstone around his neck.

## Measurements

| <b>Church</b> (irregular shape) |  |                 |                      |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| length without apse             |  | 6.49 m          |                      |
| length with apse                |  | 7.54 m          |                      |
| width                           |  | 2.97 m          |                      |
| height                          |  | 4.46 m          |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>                     |  |                 |                      |
| <i>Position</i>                 | <i>Iconography</i>   |                 | <i>Shape</i>         |
| west wall, left of door         |  |                 |                      |
| top register:                   |  |                 |                      |
| left                            | <i>Illegible</i>   | 0.40 × 0.35 m   | rectangle, portrait  |
| right                           | <i>Illegible</i>   | 0.40 × ? m      | fragment             |
| 2nd register:                   |  |                 |                      |
| left                            | 2 IS: <i>Perjurer;</i><br><i>Weaver</i>                                  | 0.35 × 0.35 m   | square               |
| right                           | IS: <i>Farmer Who</i><br><i>Ploughs over the</i><br><i>Boundary Line</i> | 0.35 × (0.30) m | fragment             |
| 3rd register:                   |  |                 |                      |
| left                            | IS: <i>Thief</i>   | 0.35 × 0.35 m   | square               |
| right                           | 2 IS: <i>Woman Who</i><br><i>Rejects Babies;</i><br><i>Miller</i>        | 0.35 × ? m      | fragment             |
| west wall, right of door        |  |                 |                      |
| top register                    | <i>Hell Formed by the</i><br><i>River of Fire;</i><br><i>damaged</i>     |                 |                      |
| 2nd register:                   |  |                 |                      |
| left                            | IS: <i>Rich Man</i>  | 0.35 × (0.29) m | fragment             |
| right                           | IS: <i>Those Who Sleep</i><br><i>on Sunday</i>                           | 0.35 × 0.44 m   | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register:                   |  |                 |                      |
| left                            | <i>Illegible</i>   | ? × (0.29) m    | fragment             |
| right                           | <i>Illegible</i>   | ? × (0.44) m    | fragment             |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 11); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 39 (no. 148); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 191–7 (no. 90); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 222–5; Bissinger 1995, 198–9 (no. 172).

3. Anydroi (Selino), Saint George and Saint Nicholas

1323 and first half of the 14th century

**Note:** A double-nave church, the result of two historical building phases. The older north church is dedicated to Saint George. It has a single entrance on the west side and is intersected by a higher transept. The south church, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, is a later addition. The two churches communicate internally through two open arches; these were originally blind arches in the south wall of the Church of Saint George. An inscription survives on the south wall of the north church, containing the date 1323 and referring to the painter Ioannis Pagomenos and a large number of donors. Both churches contain wall paintings, which are restored and in a clearly legible condition. Among the scenes in the south church are remnants of a Last Judgement: the Apostle Tribunal, Choirs of the Elect and Paradise. The representation of Hell recorded by Gerola, which would have formed part of this composition, does not survive.<sup>6</sup>

Measurements

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| <b>Church of Saint George</b>   |        |
| length without apse             | 8.27 m |
| width                           | 4.00 m |
| <b>Church of Saint Nicholas</b> |        |
| length without apse             | 7.68 m |
| width                           | 4.17 m |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 20); Lassithiotakis 1959; Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 35 (nos 124, 125); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 176 (no 75); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 232–4; Spatharakis 2001, 63–6 (no. 21; with earlier bibliography); Lymberopoulou 2006, 131, 141–3, 152–4, 165–6, 174–5 (for the church dedicated to Saint George, with earlier bibliography).

<sup>6</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 20).

#### 4. Asfentiles (Selino), Saint John the Evangelist

Second quarter of the 14th century (c. 1330?)

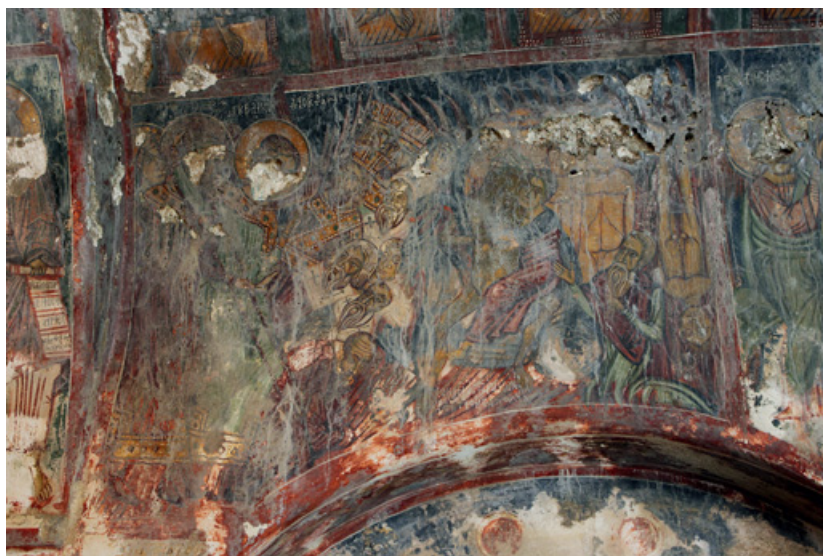


Fig. 5 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, second quarter of the 14th century (c. 1330?), wall painting (south wall), Asfentiles (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. The north and south walls have two blind arches each.

The surviving wall paintings have sustained moisture damage and are only partially legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The decoration of the nave includes the Last Judgement, which, exceptionally, appears to be divided over all four walls.<sup>7</sup> Unusually, the Hetoimasia of the Throne is shown on the upper part of the triumphal arch, above the apse. The upper part of the west wall, above the

<sup>7</sup> The prominence of the Last Judgement here would seem to be related to the dedication of the church to Saint John the Evangelist.

entrance, has Paradise. The Apostle Tribunal appears on the north and south walls, accompanied by Choirs of the Elect on the north wall. The south wall features the personifications of the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The nave also contains scenes from the Christological cycle, some of which extend into the current sanctuary area (Presentation of Christ in the Temple; Baptism; Entry into Jerusalem; Anastasis). The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena (on the west wall, to the right of the entrance); Saint George on horseback, killing the dragon; the Archangel Michael; and the patron saint, Saint John the Evangelist (in the eastern blind arch of the north wall). The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Eleousa, the apse wall Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Annunciation, in the register underneath the Hetoimasia of the Throne, on either side of the apse.<sup>8</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, in the centre of the south wall of the nave, to the right of the transverse arch (Fig. 5). It consists of a single, separate scene showing the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire. Exceptionally, the scene includes an Individual Sinner (the Murderer), thus conflating the more extensive representations of Hell found in other churches. At the same time, the representation of Hell here follows closely Revelation 21:8, 'But the fearful, and unbelieving and the abominable and murderers and whoremongers and sorcerers and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone . . .'.<sup>9</sup>

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire has three angels standing on the far left, pushing sinners into the fire with their spears. They are accompanied by an inscription referring to the 'Angels of the Lord chasing away the Sinners' (ΑΓΓΕΛΙ ΚΥ[ΡΙΟΥ] ΔΕΙ'ΟΚΟΥΝ ΤΟ'ΥC αμαρτολους), followed by initials and half-surviving words that probably identify sinners ('δ', 'δ'; '[Νέ]ρον'; 'Α'; 'Ο σα'; the two letters δ may refer to Diocletian and Decius, 'ρον' to Nero: three Roman Emperors who persecuted Christians; the initial 'Α' may indicate the arch-heretic Arius, 'Ο σα' another heretic, Sabellius).<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the sinners pushed into the fire include at least three emperors wearing bejewelled crowns, and four church officials wearing liturgical attire decorated with crosses.

<sup>8</sup> The sanctuary iconography is notable for the absence of the customary Ascension on the vault. See Lassithiotakis 1970a, 179.

<sup>9</sup> The close association between the wall painting and the passage may reflect the dedication of the church to the author of the Revelation, Saint John the Evangelist.

<sup>10</sup> Maderakis 1978, 205.

The right half of the scene is dominated by Satan, shown as a bearded figure wearing a turban, holding Judas in his arms, the latter identified by the capital ‘Ι’ (Ι[ούδας]); Satan is enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths, as specified by an inscription referring to ‘the dragon of the depths holding the son of destruction’ (Ο Β’ΗΘΗΟC ΔΡΑΚΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΙ’ΟΝ ΤΗC ΑΠΟΛΕΪΑΣ).<sup>11</sup> Two figures appear to be venerating Satan on their knees. The one, on the left, kneeling towards the right, appears below the group of emperors and heretics; he is wearing a red mantle. The second, on the left, kneeling towards the right, in the bottom right corner of the scene, is wearing a red mantle over a green tunic; an inscription identifies him as the Abbot Who Invokes the Name of the Devil (ο ηγούμενος ο λέγων ο διάβολος).

To the right of Satan, there is a group of standing, naked sinners, at least two of whom have tonsured heads, referring to Western clergy. Next to them, at the right edge of the scene, there is a single Individual Sinner: the Murderer (Ο φονιάς), shown frontally, suspended upside down by his feet, with his hair and his clearly visible genitals adhering to the laws of gravity.<sup>12</sup>

## Measurements

|                                 |   |               |   |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------|---|
| <b>Church</b> (irregular shape) |   |               |   |
| length without apse             |   | 6.38 m        |   |
| length with apse                |   | 7.28 m        |   |
| width                           |   | 2.89 m        |   |
| height                          |   | 3.98 m        |   |
| <b>Hell</b>                     |   |               |   |
| <i>Position</i>                 | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>                                |
| south wall, centre              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 1.07 × 1.52 m | rectangle, landscape, indented bottom right |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 35–6 (no. 126); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 177–9 (no. 76); Maderakis 1978, 204–12; Bissinger 1995, 101 (no. 62).

<sup>11</sup> Satan wearing a turban may be a deliberate reference to the ‘infidels’ (Muslims). On the headgear worn by infidels in Hell, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 135.

<sup>12</sup> The representation of this sinner contrasts with the lack of effect of the laws of gravity in other scenes of punishment (see Himmelfarb 1983, 82, quote on 85, discussed by Stathakopoulos in this publication, vol.1, Chapter 1). The apparent absence of the laws of nature acting on divine figures in Paradise may well have appealed to the Orthodox faithful; however, it is likely that practitioners of ‘village Christianity’ (Baun 2007, 323–5) would have enjoyed a degree of vindication in the knowledge that those who sinned in this life were shown to be punished in the other in a manner to which they could directly relate.



## 5. Chora Sfakion, Kastelli (Sfakia), All Saints

15th century (1420/30s?)



**Fig. 6** Church of All Saints, Individual Sinners, 15th century (1420/30s?), wall painting (west wall), Chora Sfakion, Kastelli (Sfakia), Chania, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary. The north wall has a blind arch.

The wall paintings are largely destroyed, with only small fragments remaining, in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The level of destruction of the wall paintings makes it impossible to determine the context of the Hell scenes.

The blind arch in the north wall includes the Dormition of the Virgin, with an arcosolium (a Byzantine niche tomb) depicted underneath; it is possible that a female donor was buried here. Among the surviving fragments on the north wall are the Flood and Noah's Ark (Gen. 6–9) and scenes from the Christological cycle (Deposition from the Cross, Lamentation etc.). Uniquely, the inscriptions that accompany the scenes are rendered in the characteristic Cretan dialect, still in use on the island.<sup>13</sup>

**Hell:** What remains of the representation of Hell consists of (fragments of) nine tiny frames with Individual Sinners, on the far right edge of the west wall (Fig. 6). The frames are divided over four registers, with (fragments of) two frames surviving in the top register, two frames in the second register, three in the third register, and again two in the fourth register.

Each of the frames contains a single sinner, shown naked, rendered in brown on a black background, accompanied by (only partially surviving) inscriptions. The majority of the sinners are unidentifiable. The sinners with surviving inscriptions are:

- (second register, right frame) Unidentifiable (‘ΟΓ ΚΑΙΟC ΟΥCΑ ΤΗCΑ ΟC’);
- (third register, second frame) Unidentifiable (‘K’, ‘P’, and ‘E’);
- (third register, third frame) The Woman Who Rejects Babies (‘Η ΠΙC ΠΙA’; probably to be reconstructed as η αποστρέφουσα τὰ νήπια).

<sup>13</sup> Dalidakis 2008, 23–8; Patedakis 2011, 212.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.08 m |
| length with apse    | 7.54 m |
| width               | 3.17 m |
| height              | 4.42 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>      | <i>Iconography</i>                         |               | <i>Shape</i>        |
|----------------------|--|---------------|---------------------|
| west wall, far right |  |               |                     |
| top register:        |  |               |                     |
| left                 | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | ? × ? m       | fragment            |
| right                | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.28 × 0.16 m | rectangle, portrait |
| 2nd register:        |  |               |                     |
| left                 | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.24 × ? m    | fragment            |
| right                | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.24 × 0.16 m | rectangle, portrait |
| 3rd register         |  |               |                     |
| left                 | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.31 × ? m    | fragment            |
| 2nd                  | <i>IS: Woman Who<br/>Rejects Babies(?)</i> | 0.31 × 0.10 m | rectangle, portrait |
| 3rd                  | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.31 × 0.09 m | rectangle, portrait |
| 4th register:        |  |               |                     |
| left                 | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.23 × 0.10 m | fragment            |
| right                | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                   | 0.23 × 0.09 m | rectangle, portrait |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 22); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 48 (no. 217); Lassithiotakis 1971, 108–11 (no. 133); Bissinger 1995, 228–9 (no. 205); Dalidakis 2008, 23–8.

## 6. Deliana (Kissamos), Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner)

c. 1300(?)



Fig. 7 Church of Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1300? wall painting (south wall), Deliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, considerably more elongated than the average Cretan village church.<sup>14</sup> It may be the result of more than one historical building phase, with extensive modern modifications.

The exterior has exposed masonry and lacks an external roof cover. A large modern belfry is mounted on the centre of the south wall, above the principal entrance, which has sculptural decoration in a niche above the lintel. There are four entrances in total: the principal one, with double-leaf doors, in the centre of the north wall; prominent ones with double-leaf doors in the centre of the west wall and the centre of the south wall, and a smaller, single door in the south wall of the sanctuary. Modern windows have been inserted in the east half of the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with three remaining transverse arches. The floor level of the western part of the church, to the west of the south wall entrance, is slightly raised. This part has a single surviving

<sup>14</sup> Lassithiotakis 1969a, 232, conjectures that this must have been a prominent church.



Fig. 8 Church of Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1300? wall painting (south wall), Deliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete.

transverse arch in the vault; it has two blind arches each in the north and south walls. The eastern section of the church, with the lower floor level, has two transverse arches in the vault; the remains of two blind arches can be seen in the north wall, which have been broken through to make room for a modern door and window. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The impressive iconographic programme of the church was revealed, from under a thick coat of whitewash, by the Chania Ephorate of Antiquities in the late 20th century.<sup>15</sup> The now exposed surviving wall paintings of the raised west part of the church are in a clearly legible condition; the ones in the east part are severely abraded and faded.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west part of the church includes the Last Judgement, distributed across the north, west and south walls. The Apostle Tribunal has been split between the north and south walls. Paradise

<sup>15</sup> Lymberopoulou 2013, 84 and note 75.





Fig. 9 Church of Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), Individual Sinners, c. 1300? wall painting (south wall), Deliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

appears on the north wall, opposite Hell. The two blind arches in the south wall contain the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The west part of the nave further includes scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist, among them Herod's Feast, with Salome dancing,



Fig. 10 Church of Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), Communal Punishments, c. 1300? wall painting (west wall), Deliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

carrying on her head a dish with the Baptist's severed head.<sup>16</sup> The right blind arch in the north wall features the Dormition of the Virgin.

<sup>16</sup> The presence of scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist supports a dedication to the Forerunner rather than to Saint John the Evangelist as mentioned in the bibliography. See Gerola-Lassithiotakis 1961, 109 (no. 818); Lassithiotakis 1969a, 231–2 (no. 33).





Fig. 11 Church of Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), Communal Punishments and Individual Sinners, c. 1300? wall painting (north wall), Deliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

The barely legible wall paintings in the east section of the nave include scenes from the Old Testament (including the rarely depicted Dream of Joseph) and scenes from the Christological cycle (including the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents).

The conch of the sanctuary apse has what seems like a remnant of the Deesis, with a bust of Christ at the centre and a bust of the Virgin on the

left; Saint John the Baptist must have been shown in the now destroyed right part of the wall painting. The apse wall has the Communion of the Apostles in the upper register and the Melismos flanked by Officiating Bishops in the lower.<sup>17</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement in the west part of the church. It is a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is represented in an elongated scene above the two blind arches in the south wall (Figs 7 and 8); it is possibly the single largest Hell scene that survives on Crete. One frame with Individual Sinners appears below the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the space between the two blind arches in the south wall (Fig. 9). A second (fragment of a) frame with Individual Sinners can be found in the lower right corner of the west wall (Fig. 11), extending onto the west reveal of the western blind arch in the north wall. There are remnants of three compartments of Communal Punishments on the west wall (Fig. 10): two compartments in two registers at the south end of the wall, to the left of the entrance, and one compartment at the north end of the wall, to the right of the entrance.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire shows a procession of figures moving from left to right, walking on a bed of red fire, against a black background (Fig. 7). The scene begins, on the far left, with a group of eight vengeful angels, who are pushing sinners into the flames with spears. They are accompanied by an inscription from Matthew 25:41: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, [prepared for the devil and his angels]' (ΠΟΡΕΒΕΘΟC ΑΤΕΜΟY ΟΙ ΚΑΤΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΗC ΤΟ ΠΗΡ ΤΟ Ε'ΟΝΙΟΝ).

At the feet of the vengeful angels, there are two figures in imperial attire, on their knees, facing right, looking back over their shoulder at the angels. To their right appears a group of sinners who are being prodded by the angels' spears, including ecclesiastical figures wearing liturgical garments completely stripped of insignia, signifying their betrayal of Christ and His Church. Two further members of the group are naked. The first of these is situated among a sub-group labelled as the followers of Arius (ΟΙ ΑΡΕΙΑΝ'Η); he must represent the arch-heretic Arius.<sup>18</sup> He is pulling his split, white beard; the strategically placed left hand of one of his followers

<sup>17</sup> The combined presence of the prominent Last Judgement, two of the main intercessors with Christ for the salvation of mankind, the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, and the Holy Communion, which is received just before death, seems to place an emphasis on the hope for salvation in the afterlife.

<sup>18</sup> For the heretics depicted in Hell, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 131–5 (section 3.4.2).

covers his genitals. The second naked figure must be one of the other arch-heretics, either Sabellius or Macedonius, who are often found in Cretan Hell.

To the right of this group stand three Western monks, with tonsures and (poorly) shaven faces, shown in three-quarters, facing right (Fig. 8).<sup>19</sup> They have been identified as Franciscan monks, but it should be noted that their habits are inaccurate for Franciscans: they are composed of two different coloured parts, as opposed to the single brown habit of the Franciscan Order; they lack the customary cord with three knots around the waist; and they feature *epimanikia*, associated with Orthodox ecclesiastical vestments. They do, however, have cowls ending in a pointed tip, which form a standard part of the Franciscan habit. It is conceivable that the artist intended to depict Franciscan monks and either misunderstood or misremembered the Order's habit, perhaps embellishing the product of his memory with details of Orthodox vestments with which he was more familiar.

To the right of the Western clerics, the scene concludes with Satan, here labelled as the 'the Antichrist calling upon my race' (Ο ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕ Η ΦΗΛ'Η ΜΟΥ ἮC ΤΟC), holding Judas in his arms (Ο ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟC); he is enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths, rendered here as a scaly dragon with two heads, shown symmetrically facing left and right, each devouring a sinner. The dragon throne is surrounded by heads floating in a sea of fire.

The frame with Individual Sinners between the blind arches in the south wall combines eight naked sinners, outlined in black, shaded in brown, irregularly distributed across a black background, each accompanied by an inscription (Fig. 9). They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

- (top left) The Rich Man, shown in profile, seated, facing left, pointing to his parched tongue with the index finger of his right hand; he is accompanied by the usual inscription based on Luke 16:24 (πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέμψον Λάζαρον ἵνα βᾶψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου, ὅτι ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ);<sup>20</sup>
- (top, middle) An abbot; his sins remain shrouded in mystery, as only fragments of his inscription survive ('τῇ . . . ηγούμενος ο λεγον ουδ . . . βον το . . . ον εκ του . . . ον τρα . . . ο ετ');

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed discussion of these figures, see Lymberopoulou 2013, 87–8.

<sup>20</sup> This figure is conceived in clear antithesis to the souls of the righteous, who are depicted in the lap of the three Patriarchs seated to the right of the enthroned Virgin in Paradise, on the opposite side of the nave on the north wall.

- (top right) The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (ο παρακαμπανιστής), shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated, with raised arms, with a pair of scales attached by a cord around his neck;
- (second row, left) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (ο παραυλακιστής), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck, with his arms raised and the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;
- (second row, right) The Usurer (Ο τοκον ηπερπιρον);<sup>21</sup> he is shown frontally, standing with his arms bound behind his back and a snake coiling around his body;
- (third row/centre) The male Fornicator (ὁ πόρνος), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck, his arms bound behind his back; a snake is coiling around his legs and biting his genitals;
- (bottom left) The female Fornicator(?) (no identifying inscription survives); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck, arms bound behind her back, with a snake biting her genitals;
- (bottom right) The Thief (ὁ κλέπτης), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, with his arms bound behind his back.<sup>22</sup>

The frame with Individual Sinners in the bottom right (north) corner of the west wall contains only one sinner who can be identified, rendered naked, outlined in black and shaded in brown (Fig. 11):

- The Woman Rejecting Babies (Ήρα ... ρμα ... ρ'); she is shown frontally, with her arms bound behind her back, and snakes biting her breasts.

Of the two compartments of Communal Punishments at the south end of the west wall (Fig. 10), the one in the upper register shows Tar (Η ΠΗΧΑ), of which only a small section of black background can still be seen. The compartment in the lower register is also uniformly black, but lacks an identifying inscription. The compartment at the north end of the west wall has the Gnashing of Teeth (ΒΡΙΓμός τον οδόντο), represented as five rows of skulls on a black background (Fig. 11).

<sup>21</sup> The Usurer is labelled here not with the Greek transliteration of the Latin term (*zouraris*), as in other cases, but with the correct (albeit wrongly spelt) Greek phrase denoting his activity.

<sup>22</sup> The thief here is not accompanied by a goat or sheep, suggesting that he may not be a thief of livestock as in other Cretan churches.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 12.45 m |
| length with apse    | 13.34 m |
| width               | 3.63 m  |
| height              | 4.37 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>   |                 | <i>Shape</i>                |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| west part, south wall |  |                 |                             |
| above blind arches    | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i>                        | 0.95 × 4.52 m   | rectangle, landscape        |
| between blind arches  | <i>8 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>                              | 1.83 × 0.70 m   | funnel, 1.90 m wide at top  |
| west wall, left       |  |                 |                             |
| top register          | <i>CP: Tar</i>   | 0.66 × (0.51) m | 2 fragments                 |
| 2nd register          | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                                     | 0.83 × (0.68) m | fragment                    |
| west wall, right      | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth; IS: incl. Woman Rejecting Babies</i> | 1.56 × (0.69) m | fragment of irregular shape |

**Bibliography:** This church remains unpublished since its restoration. For a commentary on Hell: Lymberopoulou 2013, 87–8.



## 7. Fres (Tzitzifies, <sup>23</sup> Apokoronas), Saint George Methystis<sup>24</sup>

14th century



Fig. 12 Church of Saint George Methystis, Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Fres (Tzitzifies, Apokoronas), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, small even by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is completely whitewashed and covered by a gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. In the sanctuary, behind the modern iconostasis, a modern open arch has

<sup>23</sup> The toponym is recorded as 'Tsiskos' in Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 28 (no. 65), Lassithiotakis 1969b, 471–2 (no. 50) and Bissinger 1995, 131.

<sup>24</sup> A number of churches on Crete are dedicated to Saint George Methystis (lit. 'who makes you drunk'). This is because the main liturgy in honour of the saint takes place on 3 November (rather than 23 April, the saint's regular feast day) to coincide with opening the wine barrels and tasting the new wine. Lymberopoulou 2006, 130 and n. 9.



been inserted to support the construction; it appears the north wall has become distorted owing to natural forces, weakening the vault.

The wall paintings are damaged, but in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** Donor portraits survive on the lower part of the west wall, including a female donor wearing conspicuous earrings.

The north side of the vault has the Crucifixion, adjacent to the Hell scene on the west wall.

The remainder of the nave has further scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The Dormition of the Virgin appears on the south wall. The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena, Saint George and the Archangel Michael. The transverse arch has prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Blachernitissa, the apse wall Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Annunciation, on either side of the apse; the sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the upper part of the west wall, above the entrance, adjacent to the Crucifixion on the north wall. It consists of a single frame with Individual Sinners (Fig. 12).

The frame in its present state contains (remnants of) eleven sinners; it is likely there were originally twelve, but one has been obliterated by the damage. The sinners are shown naked, outlined in black and shaded in brown, against a black background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are all shown standing, with their arms bound behind their back and their legs tied together at the ankles; the sinners in the left half of the frame are rendered in three-quarters, facing right, the ones in the right half of the frame, in three-quarters, facing left. They are organised in two rows: four male sinners in the upper row, five female and two male sinners in the lower one. The sinners in the bottom row all have scaly snakes coiling around their bodies. The sinners are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Upper row

- Unidentifiable; only the crown of his head survives, with a fragment of inscription ('ΑΛΗ');
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales(?) (Ο ΠΑΡΑ[ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙCΤΗC]); only the head of this figure survives;
- Unidentifiable; almost completely destroyed; a large unidentifiable bag appears to the right of the sinner;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΙCΤΗC), with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;

Lower row

- The female Weaver (Η ΑΝΗΦΑΝΤΟΎ), with two snakes biting her shoulders;
- The Procuress (Bawd; Madam) (Η ΜΑΒΛ'Η[ΣΤΡΑ]), partly destroyed;
- Unidentifiable; only part of the legs are still visible;
- The female Fornicator(?); the figure survives only in part, and without an inscription; the snake coiling around her legs is biting her genitals;
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΣΤΡ'ΕΦΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ), with two snakes biting her breasts;
- The male Slanderer (Ο ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΟ'Ν), with two snakes biting his mouth;
- The male Fornicator (Ο Π'ΟΡΝΟC), with two snakes biting his genitals.

Measurements

|                       |                         |                  |              |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Church</b>         |                         |                  |              |
| (irregular shape)     |                         |                  |              |
| length without apse   |                         | 5.15 m           |              |
| length with apse      |                         | 5.87 m           |              |
| width                 |                         | 2.76 m           |              |
| height                |                         | 3.45 m           |              |
| <b>Hell</b>           |                         |                  |              |
| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>      |                  | <i>Shape</i> |
| west wall, upper part | (11) Individual Sinners | 1.16 × c. 2.50 m | lunette      |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 28 (no. 65); Lassithiotakis 1969b, 471–2 (no. 50); Bissinger 1995, 131–2 (no. 97).

## 8. Garipas (Kydonia), Saints George and Saint John the Baptist

Date unclear<sup>25</sup>



Fig. 13 Church of Saints George and John the Baptist, Last Judgement, date unclear, wall painting (north wall), Garipas (Kydonia), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A double-nave church, now in a ruinous state: only the east wall with the two apses and the eastern sections of the three lateral walls survive. The north church is considerably wider than the south church.

Internally, the churches communicated via two open arches, the western one of which has collapsed.

Of the wall paintings, only fragments survive, in a poorly legible condition; they suggest a dedication to Saint George for the north church, but do not confirm the supposed dedication to Saint Nicholas of the south church.

**Iconographic Programme:** The south church has the Last Judgement, on the north wall, above and between the open arches connecting the south to the north church.

<sup>25</sup> The church currently survives in a ruinous state and therefore it is impossible to determine its date.

What survives of the wall paintings in the north church includes scenes from the martyrdom of Saint George, suggesting, as mentioned above, a dedication to this saint (some modern icons of the saint were placed in this part of the church as well).

The remains of the south church appear to include scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist, suggesting a dedication to this saint (modern icons devoted to Saint John the Baptist were placed in this part of the church as well).

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the north wall of the south church. It consists of (remnants of) the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and a frame with Individual Sinners (Fig. 13). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appears in the lower right corner of the Last Judgement composition, above the eastern open arch between the south and north churches. The frame with Individual Sinners can be found in the space between the open arches between the south and north churches.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire includes, on the far right of the scene, a vengeful angel pushing at the floating heads of sinners in the fire. It appears that there is another group of naked sinners standing to the left of him.

The long, rectangular frame with Individual Sinners is too damaged for it to be possible to identify the sinners.

Measurements

| Church                   |   |               |                                |
|--------------------------|---|---------------|--------------------------------|
| (ruin)                   |   |               |                                |
| length                   |   | ? m           |                                |
| width of north nave      |   | 3.28 m        |                                |
| width of south nave      |   | 1.83 m        |                                |
| height                   |   | ? m           |                                |
| Hell                     |   |               |                                |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>  |                                |
| north wall of south nave |   |               |                                |
| top centre of wall       | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | ? × ? m       | irregular fragment             |
| centre, between arches   | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | 0.33 × 1.79 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 27 (no. 56, recorded as dedicated to Saint George and Saint Nicholas).

## 9. Hagia Eirini (Selino), Christ the Saviour

1357/8



Fig. 14 Church of Christ the Saviour, Those Who Sleep on a Sunday, the Weighing of the Souls and Individual Sinners, 1357/8, wall painting (west wall), Hagia Eirini (Selino), Chania, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with a narthex, the result of two historical building phases: the original church, dedicated to Christ the Saviour, was supplemented with a narthex, dedicated to Saint George, which is roughly the same size as the nave of the original church. The building is in a semi-ruinous condition. At the time of our visit on 8 September 2011, it was home to a colony of bats, which limited our access to the interior.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a gable roof constructed of cemented rubble. The west facade of the narthex has five glazed bowls inserted in a cross-shaped formation. There is a single entrance in the centre of the south wall of the narthex; it has a painting of Christ Pantokrator in a niche in the exterior wall, above the lintel. There is a window opening in the centre of the west wall of the narthex.

The interior of the narthex is covered by pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Church and narthex communicate internally via an open arch in the dividing wall (the east wall of the narthex, the west wall of the church, probably in the location of the original entrance to the church). The interior of the church is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are in a legible state.

**Iconographic Programme:** Although the church lacks a Last Judgement, the Weighing of the Souls is represented on the west wall, to the left of the open arch leading to the narthex, with one Hell scene each in the registers above and below.<sup>26</sup>

The nave also has scenes from the Christological cycle and a Gallery of Saints. The scenes of Christ Anapason on the south wall are worthy of note.<sup>27</sup>

The triumphal arch has the Transfiguration on the upper part, above the apse, reflecting the dedication of the church to Christ.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the left of the open arch leading to the narthex. It consists of two frames with Individual

<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the Weighing of the Souls functions as an abridged Last Judgement.

<sup>27</sup> The iconography of Christ Anapason shows the Christ Child reclining asleep with crossed legs, on a pillow. It forms a symbolic allusion to His future Passion, and it is rooted in Genesis 49:9. See Kazhdan 1991, vol. 1, 439; Spatharakis 2015, 116–17 and nn. 13 and 14.



Sinners, placed in the registers above and below the Weighing of the Souls (Fig. 14).<sup>28</sup>

The frame in the register above the Weighing of the Souls shows Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of going to church, identified by a partially surviving inscription (Ε ΚΟΥ (ΚΥΡΪΟΥ ?) ΤΟ ... ΟΠΟΥ ΚΙΜΟΎΝΤΑΙ ... (?)). The sinners are shown as a bearded man and a woman lying in bed, covered by a red blanket, their heads resting on a pillow. A large, black devil hovers above them and flames leap up at the foot of the bed.<sup>29</sup>

The (damaged) frame below the Weighing of the Souls contains four naked male sinners, shaded in a light sepia tone on an ivory background, accompanied by inscriptions. The bodies of all four sinners are covered in what appear to be white, wriggly worms, of the type that is often found in the compartment of Communal Punishment identified as the Sleepless Worm.<sup>30</sup>

The sinners are, from left to right:

- The male Fornicator (ὁ πόρνος); shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with his arms bound behind his back;
- The (cheating) Miller (ὁ μίλον[άς]); shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with his arms bound behind his back; a bowl and a flask are hanging from a cord around his neck (instead of the customary millstone);
- The Thief (ὁ ΚΛΕΠΤΗΣ); shown in profile, suspended from the upper edge of the frame in a horizontal position, with his head pointing to the left; his arms are bound behind his back and his legs are dangling free;<sup>31</sup>
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (ὁ ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΗΤΗΣ); shown in three-quarters facing right, standing or kneeling; he is accompanied by a plough (the damage to the paint surface makes it impossible to see whether the blade of the plough is inserted in his rectum as in other Cretan churches).

<sup>28</sup> It could be argued that the Weighing of the Souls in the middle acts as a bridge between the two Hell scenes, with the Sunday Sleepers at the top representing people committing sins, and the punished sinners in the frame below their fate after their soul has been weighed.

<sup>29</sup> On this iconography, see Weyl Carr in vol. 1 of this publication, 404.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible that this frame is in fact a conflation of the customary depiction of individual sinners and the Communal Punishment of the Sleepless Worm, perhaps serving as a reminder that sinners will be deprived of a full body in the afterlife. See Maderakis 1979, 29 (on the conflation) and Shrimplin 2000, 31 (on sinners in the afterlife being deprived of a full body).

<sup>31</sup> Possibly, this pose is intended to evoke an animal, suggesting that the sinner may be a livestock thief as in other Cretan churches.

## Measurements

### Church (nave)

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.75 m |
| length with apse    | 5.60 m |
| width               | 3.10 m |
| height              | 3.98 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>         | <i>Iconography</i>                   |               | <i>Shape</i>          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| west wall, left of door |                                      |               |                       |
| top register            | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i> | 0.48 × 0.76 m | rectangle, landscape  |
| (2nd register           | <i>Weighing of the Souls</i>         | 0.52 × 0.76 m | rectangle, landscape) |
| 3rd register            | <i>4 Individual Sinners (m)</i>      | 0.56 × 0.76 m | rectangle, landscape  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342–3 (nos 17 and 18); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 43 (no. 176); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 359 (no. 107); Maderakis 1979, 24–9; Bissinger 1995, 161–2 (no. 132); Spatharakis 2001, 103–5 (no. 36; with earlier bibliography).

## 10. Hagia Eirini (Selino), Virgin

End of 14th century



Fig. 15 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, detail: rightmost frame of three, end of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Hagia Eirini (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, tiny even by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered, but the plaster is degraded, leaving the stonework exposed in places. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A small modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance, located off-centre (south) in the west wall, and a small modern window, off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. The original stone altar, with painted decoration, survives in the sanctuary. The sanctuary lacks an apse.

The wall paintings are damaged and poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle.

The east wall has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, with the Annunciation in the register below.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion. It consists of three frames with Individual Sinners: two registers with one small frame each on the left, and a single large frame on the right.

The frame in the upper register on the left is so damaged that the sinners can no longer be identified.

The frame in the lower register on the left is also damaged, but the surviving inscriptions show that it used to contain the (cheating) Tailor (ο ράπτης) on the left, and the (cheating) Miller (ο μυλονάσ) on the right.

The large frame on the right includes a total of eleven naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, irregularly distributed across the black background, accompanied by inscriptions (Fig. 15). Each sinner has a scaly snake coiling around their body. The sinners are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Top row

- Unidentifiable (‘Ο φ ... στης’); a male sinner, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with his arms bound behind his back;

- The Man Who Does Not Make an Effort to Rise on Sunday and Go to Church (οπου (ο μη ?) εγειρεν(?)) εις την εκκλησίαν την αγιαν κυριακήν), shown in three-quarters, lying on his back, with his arms bound behind him and his legs raised in the air;
- The Thief (ὁ κλέπτης), shown in three-quarters, lying on his back, with his arms bound behind him, his left leg dangling and his right leg raised in the air;
- The male Fornicator (ὁ πόρνος), poorly preserved;
- The female Fornicator (η πόρνη), also badly preserved;

#### Second row

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (ὁ παρακαμπανηστής), shown frontally, standing in a crucified pose, with his arms tied to the bar of a large pair of scales;
- The Woman Refusing to Nurse Another's Infant (ἡ μή θηλάζουσα ξένω βρέφος), shown in three-quarters, standing bent over towards the left, her arms bound behind her back, with a snake coiling around her and biting her left breast;
- The Man Who Shows Disrespect (towards the Church?) (ο ατιμάζων τον ...), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing on his right leg, with his left leg pulled up behind him, his arms bound behind his back;
- Unidentifiable (ο μη τι ... βων τον σων τέκνο αυτού), a man shown in three-quarters, suspended upside down at an angle, with his head pointing towards the left;

#### Third row

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (ὁ παραυλακησ[τής]); shown in profile, facing right, suspended upside down, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;
- The Eavesdropper(?) (η παρακρ ... άστρα); a woman, lying on her left side, with her hands bound in front of her and her lower legs pulled up behind her.

### Measurements

#### Church

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 3.74 m |
| width  | 2.92 m |
| height | 3.79 m |

(cont.)

**Hell**

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>           | <i>Shape</i>  |                       |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| west wall, right of door |                              |               |                       |
| left, top register       | <i>Individual Sinners</i>    | 0.53 × 0.53 m | 2 fragments of square |
| left, 2nd register       | <i>IS: Tailor; Miller</i>    | 0.50 × 0.53 m | 2 fragments of square |
| right                    | <i>11 Individual Sinners</i> | 1.22 × 1.19 m | square                |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 19); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 43 (no. 174); Maderakis 1979, 36.



## 11. Kadros (Selino), Saint John Chrysostom

c. 1430



**Fig. 16** Church of Saint John Chrysostom, Individual Sinners, c. 1430, wall painting (west wall), Kadros (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed; indentations in the plaster suggest seven glazed bowls were once inserted in the plaster on the west facade. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and darkened, but survive in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Crucifixion, on the upper part, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, two Officiating Bishops, the left of whom is Saint John Chrysostom.<sup>32</sup> The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham, on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower part of the west wall, on either side of the entrance, below the Crucifixion. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners. To the left of the entrance, the paint surface has been largely whitewashed and only the left outlines of two registers with possible frames with Individual Sinners remain. To the right of the entrance, remnants of five frames with Individual Sinners survive, divided over three registers (Fig. 16): fragments of two frames in each of the top two registers, and a small fragment of a single frame in the third register.

Each frame contains either one or two naked sinners, outlined in black, in a crude hand, and shaded in dark brown (possibly darkened), against an off-white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The remaining sinners are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Top register, left frame

- Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, lying on her back with her arms raised above her, tied at the wrists;

<sup>32</sup> As the author of one of the two main liturgies in the Orthodox Church, he is regularly depicted in this location in the apse. Here, his presence may additionally reflect the dedication of the church.

## Top register, right frame

- The male Fornicator (ΠΟΡΝ'ΟC), shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing;
- The female Fornicator (Π'ΟΡΝΙ), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing;

## Second register, left frame

- The Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΤΤΙC), shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing(?);

## Second register, right frame

- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΣΤΡΕΦΟΥΨΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ), identifiable solely by the inscription.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.08 m |
| length with apse    | 6.68 m |
| width               | 3.28 m |
| height              | 3.63 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                  | <i>Shape</i>                       |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |                                     |                                    |
| top register             |                                     |                                    |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner (f)</i>        | 0.26 × (0.22) m fragment           |
| right                    | <i>IS: Fornicators (m/f)</i>        | 0.26 × 0.34 m rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register             |                                     |                                    |
| left                     | <i>IS: Thief</i>                    | 0.33 × (0.22) m fragment           |
| right                    | <i>IS: Woman Who Rejects Babies</i> | 0.33 × 0.34 m square               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 7); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 43 (no. 172); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 351–2 (no. 104); Bissinger 1995, 246 (no. 231).

## 12. Kadros (Selino), Virgin

First half of the 14th century<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 17 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, first half of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Kadros (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered yellow, with partially exposed stonework; indentations suggest eight glazed bowls were at one point inserted in the plaster along the roofline on the west facade. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. The north and south walls have two blind arches each.

The wall paintings are damaged but clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.

<sup>33</sup> Lassithiotakis 1970b, 358, proposes that the church was decorated at the end of the 13th or in the first decade of the 14th century; Bissinger 1995, 101, dates it to around 1325; Maderakis 1978, 188–91, suggests after 1340.

The north side of the vault has the Crucifixion at the west end, directly above the Hell scenes.

The west wall has the Dormition of the Virgin, on the upper part, above the entrance. The remainder of the nave includes scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the Virgin, e.g. the Annunciation to Saint Anne (south wall), the Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate (north wall), and the Annunciation to Joachim (north wall). The eastern blind arch in the north wall has an image of the Virgin and Child enthroned. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Blachernitissa, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse, and the deacons Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Transfiguration.

**Hell:** Hell is represented at the west end of the north wall, underneath the Crucifixion.<sup>34</sup> It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners, stacked in two registers (Fig. 17).

Each frame contains a row of four naked sinners, outlined in black on an ochre background, without inscriptions. The frame in the upper register includes, from left to right:

- The female Eavesdropper(?); shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her head pulled back and her arms bound behind her back; a snake coiling around her body appears to bite her right ear;
- Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her back; a snake coiling around her body appears to bite her right ear;<sup>35</sup>
- Unidentifiable; a man, shown in three-quarters, facing left, suspended upside down by chains around his ankles from the upper edge of the frame, with his bound arms hanging down in front of him;

<sup>34</sup> To the right of the Crucifixion, the Holy Women at the Tomb are represented, a scene that, in Byzantine art, refers to the Anastasis. In other words, the two scenes that accompany the punished sinners signify the essential message of the Christian afterlife, salvation and redemption; see Lymberopoulou 2006, 89–93.

<sup>35</sup> It is unlikely that she is also an Eavesdropper. The only sin sometimes represented twice in one church is fornication, but always in the form of one male and one female Fornicator.



- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales, shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs from the upper edge of the frame, wrists and ankles tied together, in a horizontal position with his head pointing to the left; a large pair of scales are hanging from a cord around his neck.

The frame in the lower register contains, from left to right:

- Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with her arms bound behind her back and a snake coiling around her body;
- The (livestock) Thief(?); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with his arms bound behind his back and a snake coiling around his body; a white goat(?) may be draped across his shoulders;
- Unidentifiable; a man, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with his arms bound behind his back and a snake coiling around his body;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line, shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs from the upper edge of the frame, wrists and ankles tied together, in a horizontal position with his head pointing to the left; he has the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.76 m |
| length with apse    | 6.62 m |
| width               | 3.12 m |
| height at west wall | 3.80 m |

Hell

| <i>Position</i>                  | <i>Iconography</i>            | <i>Shape</i>  |   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---|
| north side of vault,<br>west end |                               |               |   |
| top register                     | 4 Individual Sinners<br>(m/f) | 0.61 × 1.39 m | rectangle, landscape                              |
| 2nd register                     | 4 Individual Sinners<br>(m/f) | 0.66 × 1.39 m | rectangle, landscape,<br>indented bottom<br>right |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 8); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 43 (no. 173); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 352–8 (no. 105); Maderakis 1978, 188–91; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 215–16; Bissinger 1995, 100–1 (no. 60), 110 (no. 78).



### 13. Kakodiki (Selino), Archangel Michael

1387 (graffito – *terminus ante quem*)<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 18 Church of Archangel Michael, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1387, wall painting (west wall), Kakodiki (Selino), Chania, Crete

<sup>36</sup> Maderakis 2005, 146, suggests a date before 1373.



Fig. 19 Church of Archangel Michael, Individual Sinners, 1387, wall painting (west wall), Kakodiki (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, larger than the average Cretan village church.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There are two entrances: the main entrance, in the

centre of the west wall, and a secondary entrance, off-centre (west) in the south wall. The west entrance and the apse window have carved-stone ornamental frames, the west entrance with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel roof with three transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are in a variable condition; it appears that there are two layers of painting, and the Hell scenes that are visible are part of the older layer.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the church has the Last Judgement, with the Adventus depicted on the vault, the Apostle Tribunal on the upper part of the west wall, and Choirs of the Elect on the west, north and south walls; Paradise appears on the south wall and the personifications of the Earth and the bare-breasted Sea Giving Up their Dead on the north wall.<sup>37</sup>

The remainder of the nave has an extensive Christological cycle (including the Massacre of the Innocents), as well as scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, the Archangel Michael, e.g. the Miracle at Chonais on the north wall, and the Fall of Jericho (a prefiguration of the Last Judgement<sup>38</sup>) on the south wall. The Gallery of Saints includes three images of the patron saint: one on the north wall and two on the south. On the north wall, close to the sanctuary, the Archangel Michael is shown on horseback, with a halo in relief and a portrait of a donor nearby. In the centre of the south wall, he is depicted as part of the Deesis, standing to the right of Christ in the place of Saint John the Baptist.<sup>39</sup> At the west end of the south wall, he appears once more, underneath the Paradise of the Last Judgement, likely reflecting his role in the Weighing of the Souls.<sup>40</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, the Holy Communion, with Christ represented twice, delivering His body and His blood, respectively, to two symmetrically arranged groups of Apostles. The triumphal arch has the Mandyliion on the upper part, above

<sup>37</sup> Maderakis 1978, 192, claims this is the most 'complete' Last Judgement on Crete.

<sup>38</sup> Réau 1956, 219–20, 223. See also Lymberopoulou 2006, 95 and n. 435.

<sup>39</sup> The wall here has been broken through in the place where Christ was depicted, to create the modern secondary entrance in the south wall. To the left of the entrance, the Virgin is still visible.

<sup>40</sup> See Semoglou in this publication, vol. 1, 301 and n. 12.



the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, on either side of the main entrance. It is a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments.<sup>41</sup>

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, is shown in the upper register to the right of the entrance (Fig. 18). There are nine frames with Individual Sinners in total. Three can be found in the second register to the right of the entrance, below the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 18). A further six appear in three registers of two frames each, to the left of the entrance (it is possible that there were once additional registers above the three that are surviving on this side (Fig. 18)). There are three compartments of Communal Punishments, located in the third register to the right of the entrance (Fig. 18).

Not much survives of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire. It includes, among red flames, heretics: the followers of Arius, of Sabellius and of Macedonius, identified by partially surviving inscriptions ('ριανι κε αβελιανι'; 'A' for Arius; 'Κα ...'; 'μ' for Macedonius).

The frames with Individual Sinners contain one or two sinners per frame. They show the sinners sketched in ochre on a white background, with black snakes coiling around their bodies; they are not identified by inscriptions.

The three frames in the second register to the right of the entrance (underneath the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire) contain, from left to right (Fig. 18):

- (left frame, heavily damaged) Those Who Sleep on Sunday, represented in the form of two sinners lying in bed;
- (second frame) The Rich Man, shown in profile facing left (towards Paradise on the south wall), seated in flames and pointing to his mouth with his right hand;
- (third frame) The male Fornicator(?); he is shown frontally, suspended upside down over a fire, with his legs and arms spreadeagled, and with a snake coiling around his body and biting his genitals.

<sup>41</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol.1, Chapter 1.

Of the six frames to the left of the entrance, the two frames in the top register are too damaged to be legible (Fig. 19). Only a few of the sinners in the frames in the lower two registers can be identified:

Second register, left frame

- (right) The male Slanderer, Gossiper, Perjurer or Blasphemer; he is shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs from the upper edge of the frame, wrists and ankles tied together, in a horizontal position with his head pointing towards the left, over a fire; the snake coiling around him is biting his mouth;

Second register, right frame

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; he is shown in profile with his head pointing towards the left, crouching over a fire and with a plough inserted in his rectum;

Third register, left frame

- (right) The (cheating) Miller; he is shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs from the upper edge of the frame, in a horizontal position with his head pointing towards the left, over a fire; he has a black millstone around his neck;

Third register, right frame

- (left) The Woman Who Rejects Babies; she is shown frontally, standing in a fire, with her arms bound behind her back and two snakes coiling around her, biting her breasts;
- (right) The (livestock) Thief; he is shown in profile, bound in a strappado position,<sup>42</sup> bent over towards the right, standing amidst flames, with a black goat perched on his back.

The three compartments of Communal Punishments in the third register to the right of the entrance each show two rows of three heads or skulls, painted in ochre on a white background (Fig. 18). In the left compartment, the heads or skulls have prominent bared teeth; it can be assumed they represent the Gnashing of Teeth. In the central compartment, the heads or skulls are surrounded by little, white, wriggly worms, indicating the Sleepless Worm. The subject of the right compartment, which is heavily damaged, cannot be identified.

<sup>42</sup> The term 'strappado' refers to a form of torture in which the victim's bound arms are pulled up behind their back, forcing them to bend over, resulting in dislocated shoulders in the more extreme variations.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 9.38 m  |
| length without apse | 10.18 m |
| width               | 3.29 m  |
| height              | 4.70 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                           |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|---------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall, left of door   |  |               |                      |
| top register (left–right) | 2 <i>Individual Sinners</i>                  | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
|                           | 2 <i>Individual Sinners</i>                  | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register (left–right) | 2 <i>IS: incl. Slanderer(?)</i>              | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
|                           | 2 <i>Individual Sinners</i>                  | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register (left–right) | 2 <i>IS: incl. Miller</i>                    | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
|                           | 2 <i>IS: Woman Who Rejects Babies; Thief</i> | 0.35 × 0.50 m | rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, right of door  |  |               |                      |
| top register              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i>      | 0.88 × 1.06 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register:             |  |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>IS: Sunday Sleepers</i>                   | 0.39 × 0.40 m | square               |
| 2nd                       | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>                          | 0.39 × 0.30 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                       | <i>IS: Fornicator (m)(?)</i>                 | 0.39 × 0.30 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd register:             |  |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth(?)</i>              | 0.30 × 0.40 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd                       | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>                    | 0.30 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 3rd                       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                   | 0.30 × 0.30 m | square               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 6); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 42 (no. 167); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 347–8 (no. 101); Maderakis 1978, 192–9; Bissinger 1995, 199 (no. 173); Tsamakda 2012, 133–241.



## 14. Kakopetros (Papadiana, Selino), Archangel Michael

Date unclear<sup>43</sup>



**Fig. 20** Church of Archangel Michael, Individual Sinners, date unclear, wall painting (west wall), Kakopetros (Papadiana, Selino), Chania, Crete

<sup>43</sup> The wall paintings survive in a very poor condition and therefore it is impossible to determine their date.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted off-centre (west) on the south wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are in a very poor condition, barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.

The west wall also has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, as well as scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, the Archangel Michael (e.g. the Miracle at Chonais). As in Kakodiki (cat. no. 13), the patron saint is also depicted on horseback on the north wall. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion (Fig. 20). It consists of eight frames with Individual Sinners, divided over four registers of two frames each.

The state of preservation of this section of the wall paintings is so poor that it is difficult to distinguish how many sinners are depicted per frame, let alone to identify them. The sinners appear to be painted in ochre on a white background, with red flames underneath, in a style similar to that found in the Church of the Archangel Michael at Kakodiki (cat. no. 13). The left frame in the second register may include the Miller, since the punished figure appears to carry a millstone around his neck.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.45 m |
| length with apse    | 5.20 m |
| width               | 2.65 m |
| height              | 3.55 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>         | <i>Iconography</i>         |                 | <i>Shape</i>                           |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|--|
| west wall, left of door |                            |                 |  |
| top register:           |                            |                 |  |
| left                    | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | 0.32 × 0.41 m   | rectangle, landscape, left side curved |
| right                   | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | 0.32 × (0.28) m | fragment                               |
| 2nd register:           |                            |                 |  |
| left                    | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | 0.32 × 0.41 m   | rectangle, landscape                   |
| right                   | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | 0.32 × ? m      | fragment                               |
| 3rd register:           |                            |                 |  |
| left                    | <i>IS: incl. Miller(?)</i> | 0.30 × 0.41 m   | rectangle, landscape                   |
| right                   | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | 0.30 × ? m      | fragment                               |
| 4th register:           |                            |                 |  |
| left                    | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | (0.24) × 0.41 m | fragment                               |
| right                   | <i>Individual Sinners</i>  | ? × ? m         | fragment                               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 24 (no. 34).

## 15. Kalathaines (Kissamos), Virgin and Holy Trinity

Late 14th century (1390s?)<sup>44</sup>

**Structure and Condition:** A double church; the north church is dedicated to the Virgin, the south church, which is likely a later addition, to the Holy Trinity.<sup>45</sup>

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a double tiled gable roof. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the north wall of the north church and one in the centre of the south wall of the south church. A modern window has been inserted in the east half of the north wall of the north church.

The interior of each church is covered by a pointed barrel vault, with two transverse arches in the north church. The north and south churches communicate internally via an open arch in the dividing wall. In each church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern iconostasis.

The south church does not have a programme of decoration. The walls of the north church are whitewashed, with remnants of wall paintings exposed only on the vault, darkened and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The little that survives of the wall paintings in the north church suggests it had a Last Judgement at the west end, with the Hetoimasia of the Throne and the Great Deesis on the upper part of the west wall, Choirs of the Elect on the vault of the north wall, and Paradise on the vault of the south wall.

The remainder of the nave appears to have had scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the Life of the Virgin, e.g. the Virgin with her Parents, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, and the Dormition of the Virgin on the north wall. The western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete, the eastern transverse arch, Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Holy Communion. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The north and south walls of the sanctuary have a Resurrection theme, with the Holy Women at the Tomb and Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers) on the north wall, and the Incredulity of Thomas and Noli me Tangere (Touch Me Not) on the south wall. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

<sup>44</sup> Maderakis 2005, 246, dates it around 1360.

<sup>45</sup> Modern icons placed in the south church support a dedication to the Holy Trinity.

**Hell:** Hell appears to have been represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, including at a minimum the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire. Currently, only a small fragment of red background survives on the lower right part of the wall, revealing the inscription ο δ[ι]άβολ[ος] (devil).<sup>46</sup>

Measurements

North Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.63 m |
| length with apse    | 8.48 m |
| Width               | 3.17 m |
| Height              | 4.70 m |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 23 (no. 20); Lassithiotakis 1969a, 193–7 (no. 11); Bissinger 1995, 204–5 (no. 182).

<sup>46</sup> The Greek verb from which the term ‘devil’ derives, διαβάλλω (*diavalo*), lit. means ‘to corrupt’: Nérét 2003, 5.

## 16. Kamiliana (Kissamos), Archangel Michael

1439/40



Fig. 21 Church of Archangel Michael, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1439/40, wall painting (west wall), Kamiliana (Kissamos), Chania, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted light ochre, leaving the carved-stone door frame of the western entrance exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings have sustained damage, but otherwise survive in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.<sup>47</sup>

The west wall also has the Fall of Jericho (one of the scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, the Archangel Michael, and equally a prefiguration of the Last Judgement<sup>48</sup>) on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and further scenes from the cycle of the Archangel Michael, e.g. the Miracle at Chonais on the north wall. The Gallery of Saints includes the Synaxis of the Asomatoi (the Incorporeals), another part of the cycle of the Archangel Michael, on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse, and the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower west wall, to the right of the door, underneath the Fall of Jericho and the dedicatory inscription. It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners and four compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers (Fig. 21). The upper register has two frames with Individual Sinners, while the lower two registers each have two compartments of Communal Punishments.

In the upper register, the left frame with Individual Sinners is damaged. It contains only remnants of an inscription, indicating that it once showed the Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΑC).

The right frame includes three naked sinners, outlined in black, in an unaccomplished hand; two are shaded in ochre, one in brown. They are

<sup>47</sup> Spatharakis 2001, 191.    <sup>48</sup> See above, n. 38.

shown in standing positions, chained to or suspended from the upper edge of the frame, with their arms bound behind their backs, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right:

- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΤΤΗΣ); he is shown frontally, with a black goat draped across his shoulders;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ); she is shown frontally;
- The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘΙΣΤΡΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left.

Of the four compartments of Communal Punishments in the two lower registers, three can be identified. The left compartment in the upper register, according to its partially surviving inscription, shows Tar ([Π]ΥCA); it has remnants of a black background. The right frame in the upper register shows a crowd of heads against a red background but lacks further identifying characteristics.

The left compartment in the lower register represents the Sleepless Worm, in the form of a crowd of heads on a brown background, with white, wriggly worms crawling over them. The right compartment in the lower register, according to its partially surviving inscription, shows Outer Darkness ([ΣΚ]ΟΤΟ[Σ]); it has a black background.

Measurements

| Church                   |   |               |                     |
|--------------------------|---|---------------|---------------------|
| length without apse      |   | 5.21 m        |                     |
| length with apse         |   | 6.04 m        |                     |
| width                    |   | 2.89 m        |                     |
| height                   |   | 3.66 m        |                     |
| Hell                     |   |               |                     |
| Position                 | Iconography                               | Shape         |                     |
| west wall, right of door |   |               |                     |
| top register:            |   |               |                     |
| left                     | IS: incl. Murderer                        | 0.40 × 0.39 m | fragments of square |
| right                    | 3 IS: Thief; Fornicator (f); Gossiper (f) | 0.40 × 0.40 m | square              |
| 2nd register:            |   |               |                     |
| left                     | CP: Tar                                   | ? × 0.39 m    | fragment of square  |

(cont.)

|               |                                |               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| right         | <i>Communal<br/>Punishment</i> | 0.37 × 0.40 m | Square             |
| 3rd register: |                                |               |                    |
| left          | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>      | 0.37 × 0.39 m | fragment of square |
| right         | <i>CP: Outer Darkness</i>      | 0.37 × 0.40 m | square             |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 23 (no. 17); Lassithiotakis 1969a, 189–92 (no. 9); Bissinger 1995, 243–4 (no. 226); Spatharakis 2001, 190–2 (no. 62; with earlier bibliography).

## 17. Kandanos (Selino), Saint Nicholas

First half of the 14th century



Fig. 22 Church of Saint Nicholas, Individual Sinners, first half of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Kandanos (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, large by the standards of Cretan regional churches. The building has undergone extensive renovations, which have left little of its original architectural features and decoration intact.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, with sections painted light blue. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There are two entrances: the main entrance, in the centre of the west wall, and a secondary entrance, in the centre of the north wall. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The interior is largely whitewashed, with the vault painted light blue. Conservation work by the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Crete<sup>49</sup> prior to 2010 has exposed fragments of wall painting. Potentially, there are two layers of wall painting hidden under the whitewash.

<sup>49</sup> The 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Crete was responsible for the Cretan churches in the prefectures of Chania and Rethymnon; following a recent reorganisation of the Ephorates of Antiquities in Greece (post-2017), there are now two separate Ephorates for the two prefectures.

**Iconographic Programme:** The conservation work has revealed, among other things: a double dedicatory inscription on the west wall, above the entrance, along with some decorative patterns; a small section of the Gallery of Saints on the west wall, to the right of the door; and part of an image of the patron saint, Saint Nicholas, on the north wall, close to the sanctuary.

**Hell:** Conservation work has exposed part of a frame with Individual Sinners on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, above a section of the Gallery of Saints on the lower part of the wall (Fig. 22). The visible part of the frame contains remnants of two sinners, probably male, judging by their short hair. The one on the left appears to be shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs, wrists and ankles tied together, in a horizontal position with his head pointing towards the left. Neither sinner has identifying characteristics or is accompanied by an inscription.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 8.58 m |
| length with apse    | 9.70 m |
| Width               | 3.66 m |
| Height              | 5.20 m |

Hell

| Position                 | Iconography        |                 | Shape                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door | Individual Sinners | 0.39 × (0.50) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Kandanos 1999, 227–32; Andrianakis and Giapitsoglou 2012, 387.

## 18. Kandanos (Ellinika, Selino), Saint Catherine

### Date unclear

**Note:** The church as it stands today is restored from a ruin. Little of its decoration survives, including a dedicatory inscription. The west wall must have had a Last Judgement; the Deesis and the Apostle Tribunal are still visible on the upper part. Hell (as recorded by Lassithiotakis in 1961) must have been depicted as part of the Last Judgement. There are still fragments of red to the right of the west wall entrance, suggesting the erstwhile presence of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire.

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 41 (no. 158); Kandanos 1999, 203–13.



## 19. Karydi (Karydaki), Vamos (Apokoronas), Virgin

1270–90



Fig. 23 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners (female), 1270–90, wall painting (north wall), Karydi (Karydaki), Vamos (Apokoronas), Chania, Crete



Fig. 24 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners (male), 1270–90, wall painting (south wall), Karydi (Karydaki), Vamos (Apokoronas), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed masonry and is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, and a modern window has been inserted in the centre of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are damaged and affected by moisture; they are poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the north side of the vault has the Crucifixion, above the Hell scene on this side of the vault; it includes the notable figure of Mary Magdalene, standing on the right, behind the Virgin, pulling at her own long hair in a visual representation of grief and despair. The west end of the south side of the vault has the Raising of Lazarus, above the Hell scene on this side of the vault.

The paint surface of the upper part of the west wall is largely destroyed, leaving the scene represented there impossible to determine.<sup>50</sup> The remainder of the nave has further scenes from the Christological cycle. There are remnants of a Gallery of Saints, including, on the north wall, Saint Demetrios on horseback, killing Skylogiannis.<sup>51</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented at the west end of the church, placed symmetrically on the north and south sides of the vault, with the representation on the north side of the vault underneath the Crucifixion, and the one on the south side of the vault underneath the Raising of Lazarus. It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners. The frame on the south side of the vault includes an inset in the lower left corner, which has the Weighing of the Souls.

In both frames, the sinners are shown naked, standing, with their arms bound behind their backs, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a red background, accompanied by inscriptions. The frame on the north side of the vault contains eleven female sinners, depicted frontally, divided

<sup>50</sup> Possibilities include the Dormition of the Virgin, common for churches dedicated to the Virgin.

<sup>51</sup> Walter 2003, 87–8.

into two rows: six in the top and five in the bottom row (Fig. 23). In total, there are twenty sinners depicted in this church, the joint largest number recorded on the island.<sup>52</sup> They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

#### Top row

- The Woman Who Cheats at the Scales (Η ΠΑΡΑΖΙΓΙΑΤΡΕΑ); she has a large pair of scales attached by a cord around her neck;
- The female Weaver (Η ΑΝΥΦΑΝΤΟΥ); she has a loom hung around her neck and loom weights attached to her wrists;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ); she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her genitals;
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΤΡΕΦΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ); she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her right breast;
- The Troublemaker(?) (Η ΜΑΧΙ . . . ΠΕΑ); she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her mouth;
- The Eavesdropper(?) (Η ΠΑΡΑ . . . ); she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her left ear;

#### Bottom row

- Unclear (Η ΜΑΓΓΙΠΙΤΡΕΑ); only the legs of this sinner survive;
- Unidentifiable; the figure is largely obliterated, and the inscription is lost;
- The Procuress (Bawd; Madam) (Η ΜΑΒΛΗΤΡΕΑ); she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her face;
- Unidentifiable; the inscription is lost; she has a snake coiling around her body, biting her right eye, which would suggest a sin of a visual nature;
- Unidentifiable; the inscription is lost, and the figure largely obliterated.

The companion frame on the south side of the vault includes, in the top left corner, above the inset with the Weighing of the Souls, the Rich Man, shown in profile, seated, facing right, pointing to his mouth with the index finger of his left hand (Fig. 24). He is accompanied by the customary inscription from Luke 16:24 (ΠΑΤΕΡ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΠΕΨΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ ΒΨΗ ΤΟ ΑΚΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΚΤΗΛΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΥ ΙΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΨΙΞΗ ΜΟΥ ΤΗ ΓΛΩΤΤΗ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ Δ΄ΙΝΟΜΕ ΤΗ ΦΛΟΓΙ ΤΑΎΤΙ).

The remainder of the frame contains eight naked male sinners, shown in three-quarters, facing right, divided into two rows. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

<sup>52</sup> The number is matched by Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50).

Top row

- The Notary Who Falsified Documents (Ο ΦΑΛΛΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ);<sup>53</sup> the instruments of his trade, which he used to commit his sin, are dangling from a cord around his neck: a stylus and an ink bottle; a meat hook on a chain pierces his lower jaw;
- The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΥΣ); a large sword hangs from a cord around his neck, a meathook on a chain pierces his upper lip;
- The Farmer Who Reaps over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΘΕΡΙΚΤΗΣ); a scythe hangs from a cord around his neck;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΥΛΑΚΙΣΤΗΣ); he has the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;

Bottom row

- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡΝΟΣ); he has a snake coiling around his body; a meathook on a chain pierces his upper lip;
- The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΥΠΑΡΙΣ), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; a meathook on a chain pierces his upper lip;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΤΤΗΣ); he has a small goat draped around his neck;
- The (cheating) Miller (Ο ΜΗΛΟΝΑΣ); he has a large round stone used for grinding wheat hanging from a cord around his neck.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.78 m |
| length with apse    | 6.74 m |
| width               | 2.79 m |
| height              | 3.57 m |

Hell

| <i>Position</i>      | <i>Iconography</i>                        |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|----------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| north wall, west end | <i>11 Individual Sinners (f)</i>          | 1.02 × 1.57 m | rectangle, landscape |
| south wall, west end | <i>Rich Man; 8 Individual sinners (m)</i> | 1.03 × 1.66 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 28 (no. 61); Lassithiotakis 1969b, 468 (no. 46); Maderakis 2005, 247.

<sup>53</sup> For this sinner see Gasparis in this publication, vol. 1, 97–8 (section 2.3.3).

## 20. Kato Prines (Selino), Virgin

Early 14th century(?)<sup>54</sup>



Fig. 25 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, early 14th century(?), wall painting (west wall), Kato Prines (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church (positioned next to a modern Church of the Virgin in the same location).

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with one (partially surviving) transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern iconostasis.

The wall paintings are faded and have been affected by moisture; they are in a poorly legible condition, especially towards the east end of the church.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the Life of the Virgin, including the Dormition of the Virgin on the north wall.<sup>55</sup> The north wall also has the Virgin and Child

<sup>54</sup> Angeliki Lymberopoulou here bases the dating of this church on the close similarities the hairstyle of the sinners demonstrates to that seen at Hagios Ioannis, Saint Paul (cat. no. 82, Fig. 107), dated 1303–4, and, to an extent, at Trachiniakos, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 39, Fig. 49), dated 1362.

<sup>55</sup> It is likely that the church was originally dedicated to the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.



enthroned, flanked by two angels, adjacent to the sanctuary. The south wall, adjacent to the sanctuary, has the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. It also has the Archangel Michael, holding a portrait of Christ (an abridged version of the Synaxis of the Asomatoi<sup>56</sup>). The Gallery of Saints includes doctor saints: the twin Saints Cosmas and Damian, and Saint Panteleimon. It also has the shepherd saint Mamas, popular on Crete.<sup>57</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The bottom register of the triumphal arch, to the left of the apse, has an image of a lion. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion.<sup>58</sup> It consists of a single frame with Individual Sinners.

The damaged frame contains remnants of a total of eight sinners. They are depicted naked, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, slightly irregularly dispersed across a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right, top to bottom (Fig. 25):

#### Top row

- The Thief (ο κλεπτης); he is shown in three-quarters, lying on his back or suspended, with his legs raised and his arms bound behind his back; a snake coils around his body;
- The Priest 'who takes care of himself and does not give money to the church' (ο παπάς ο και αύτο φρονον κτ.ωμη πληρονον την εκκλησίαν); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound behind his back, his hair hanging down, following the law of gravity;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (without surviving inscription); he is shown in three-quarters, bent over towards the left, with his knees slightly pulled up; he has the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;

<sup>56</sup> See Kalopissi-Verti 1975, 41–2, 188–95, Plate 22.

<sup>57</sup> On Saint Mamas see Introduction in this volume, 432, n. 63.

<sup>58</sup> The presence, on the south wall, of the Deesis (a reference to the Last Judgement) and of the Archangel Michael (responsible for the Weighing of the Souls) underlines the theme of redemption that forms the context of Hell in this church.



## Bottom row

- Unidentifiable; shown in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling, with a snake coiling around his/her body;
- Unidentifiable; shown in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling, with a snake coiling around his/her body; the long hair of the figure suggests it might be a woman;
- The Murderer (ο φονεας); he is shown suspended upside down, his arms bound behind his back, his hair hanging down, in accordance with the law of gravity;<sup>59</sup>
- Unidentifiable; probably a man, shown in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling, with a snake coiling around him that is biting his mouth, suggesting a sin with an oral connotation, e.g. the Gossiper or the Slanderer;
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (ο παρακαμπανιστής), represented directly underneath the Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line in the top row; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling, with his hands bound behind his back; a pair of scales is placed before him, probably attached to his neck by a cord.

## Measurements

**Church**

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.04 m |
| length with apse    | 6.87 m |
| width               | 2.88 m |
| height              | 3.23 m |

**Hell**

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>            |                 | <i>Shape</i>                                    |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| west wall, right of door | (8) <i>Individual Sinners</i> | (0.90) × 0.46 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape, curved on right |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 44 (no. 180); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 359 (no. 109).

<sup>59</sup> See also the murderer at Asfentiles (cat. no. 4).





Fig. 27 Church of Saint Paraskevi, Those Who Sleep on Sunday, 1372/3, wall painting (west wall), Kitiros (Voutas, Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged, but in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance, above an image of the Archangel Michael.<sup>60</sup>

The west wall also has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological Cycle and from the life of the patron saint, Saint Paraskevi. The south wall has the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint John Kalyvitis and Saint Mamas,

<sup>60</sup> Spatharakis 2001, 117.

patron saint of livestock, popular on Crete.<sup>61</sup> The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Blachernitissa, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The bottom register of the triumphal arch has the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos, again on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion.<sup>62</sup> It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners and two compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers; the upper two registers each contain one frame with Individual Sinners, the lower register, two small compartments of Communal Punishments. The register with the compartments of Communal Punishments is heavily damaged, and has been erased almost completely from the wall; it is possible that there was another register beneath it, which has now completely disappeared.

The frame with Individual Sinners in the top register shows Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of going to church (ή σ(..) η κοιμούνται τ(ην) αγίαν κυριακήν και ουκ ησερχωντε ης την εκκλησίαν του θε(ο)ύ), represented as a naked couple lying in bed, partially covered by a red blanket (leaving the woman's bare breasts exposed),<sup>63</sup> with a black devil standing by the foot of the bed, to the right (Fig. 27).

The larger frame in the second register is one of the most famous and frequently represented Cretan Hell scenes (Fig. 26).<sup>64</sup> It contains seven naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, irregularly distributed across a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

#### Upper half

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line and Reaps over the Boundary Line (ὁ παραυλακηστής καί παραθερηστής);<sup>65</sup> he is shown in

<sup>61</sup> For Saint John Kalyvitis compare cat. nos 95 and 99; on Saint Mamas, see the Introduction in this volume, 432, n. 63.

<sup>62</sup> The presence, on the south wall, of the Deesis (a reference to the Last Judgement) and, on the west wall, of the Archangel Michael (responsible for the Weighing of the Souls) further underlines the theme of redemption that forms the context of Hell in this church.

<sup>63</sup> The nudity of the couple may suggest they are not merely sleeping in, but indulging in carnal pleasures at the time of the church service.

<sup>64</sup> Maderakis 1979, 46 says that this Hell scene is the 'most characteristic and original in the whole of Crete'.

<sup>65</sup> This is the sole example on Crete in which these two sins are conflated in a single figure.



profile, standing bent over to the left, red flames leaping at his feet; he has a scythe hanging from a cord around his neck and looks over his shoulder at a black devil, who is pushing the blade of a plough into his exposed rectum from behind him to the right;<sup>66</sup>

- The Thieving Tailor (ὁ ράπτης ὅπου κλέπτει); he is shown frontally, seated, with his arms and legs spread wide, his wrists tied to his ankles, in an imitation of a opened pair of scissors; there is also an open pair of scissors hanging from a cord around his neck; he wears a fancy tailored headdress of expensive scarlet cloth, possibly a grotesque (or misunderstood) imitation of the type of hat with loose flaps worn by Italian men in the 14th century;<sup>67</sup> interestingly, what appears to be a spare cut of scarlet cloth is depicted next to him, to his right, perhaps referring to his nefarious activity of keeping back cuts of expensive cloth from his customers;<sup>68</sup>
- The Miller Who Cheats at the Scales (ὁ μίλον[ός] ὅπου βαριξαγιάζει);<sup>69</sup> he has a forked black beard and is shown in profile, lying on his back with his arms and legs raised in the air, wrists and ankles tied together; he has a round millstone around his neck, like a collar; he also has a weight and what appear to be the pans from a pair of scales attached to his neck by three cords;

#### Lower half

- The Woman Who Does Not Nurse Babies (ἡ μή βηζάνουσα τὰ νοήτριά); she is shown frontally, standing in red flames, looking to the right, her arms bound behind her back; two black snakes are coiling around her body and biting her breasts;
- The female and the male Fornicator (ἡ πόρνι καὶ ὁ πόρνοσ); a woman and a man (the man is bearded; his hair appears to be raised), depicted

<sup>66</sup> This is one of only two examples on Crete in which the insertion of the blade of the plough is depicted as an act performed by a punishing devil (compare cat. no. 71 and Fig. 91); in other cases, the sinner is shown with the blade already inserted.

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, several hats in Simone Martini's frescoes with scenes from the life of Saint Martin, in the Lower Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi. Also, the posthumous portraits of Taddeo, Gaddo and Agnolo Gaddi in the Uffizi; see Bossanti 2002, 255 (Simone Martini: musician with fashionable headwear); Ladis 1982, page opposite frontispiece (early 15th-century triple portrait of Taddeo, Gaddo and Agnolo Gaddi with fashionable headwear).

<sup>68</sup> This may indicate a ζουπάρης (*zouparis*), a tailor who specialised in making upmarket coats (gowns) for men and women known as *zupae* (ζούπες / *zoupes*) in Venice; see Panopoulou 2019, 209 and n. 6.

<sup>69</sup> This sinner could either be another unique conflation of two sins that are otherwise depicted separately (see above, n. 65), or it could be reinforcing one of the main sins committed by millers (another being withholding water; see Gasparis in this publication, vol. 1, 96).

standing in red flames, in three-quarters, facing left, their arms bound behind their backs; they each have a black snake coiling around their body, biting their genitals;

- The (livestock) Thief and Robber (ὁ κλέπτης καί ληστάρχος); he is bearded and has shaggy hair; he is the sole sinner in the scene who is not entirely naked, but wears a pair of white pants around his loins; he is shown in profile, standing bent over to the left, with his arms bound behind his back; he has a grey goat hanging from a cord around his neck; another black goat or devil is perched on his back.

Of the compartments of Communal Punishments in the third register, the left shows Tartarus (ὁ τάρταρος), with its characteristic black background, and the right, the Sleepless Worm (ὁ σκόλιξ ὁ ακ[οίμητος]), heavily damaged.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.17 m |
| length with apse    | 5.87 m |
| width               | 2.73 m |
| height              | 3.51 m |

Hell

| Position                  | Iconography                          | Shape   |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| west wall, right of door  |                                      |   |
| top register              | IS: <i>Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i> | 0.46 × 0.77 m rectangle, landscape, curved on right |
| 2nd register              | 7 <i>Individual Sinners</i>          | 1.16 × 0.77 m rectangle, portrait                   |
| 3rd register (left–right) | CP: <i>Tartarus</i>                  | c. 0.25 × c. 0.30 m rectangle, landscape            |
|                           | CP: <i>Sleepless Worm</i>            | c. 0.25 × c. 0.37 m rectangle, landscape            |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 340–2 (no. 5); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 33 (no. 102); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 166–70 (no. 66); Maderakis 1978, 231; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 209–11; Koukiaris 1994, 44–5 (no. 4); Bissinger 1995, 178 (no. 146); Spatharakis 2001, 116–18 (no. 41; with earlier bibliography).



## 22. Kopetoi (Selino), Holy Apostles

Late 14th to early 15th century(?)



Fig. 28 Church of the Holy Apostles, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, late 14th to early 15th century(?), wall painting (west and north walls), Kopetoi (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary. The north and south walls have two blind arches each. The building is structurally in a poor condition; the lateral walls have been pushed outward by the weight of the vault, and have been reinforced externally.

The vault has exposed masonry; remnants of plaster with fragments of poorly legible wall painting survive only on the lower parts of the walls.

**Iconographic Programme:** The surviving remnants of wall painting indicate the presence of a Last Judgement at the west end of the church; the Apostle Tribunal can still be discerned at the west end of the north wall.

Fragments in the nave reveal scenes from the Christological cycle. The eastern blind arch in the north wall shows Saints Peter and Paul enthroned

(as representatives of the patron saints of the church, the Apostles). The eastern blind arch in the south wall includes the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist; the western blind arch in the south wall contains the Archangel Michael.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features another Deesis. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse, and the deacons Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault may have had the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is likely to have been depicted as part of the Last Judgement. Remnants of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire can still be seen on the north wall, underneath the Apostle Tribunal, in the space between the west wall and the western blind arch in the north wall (Fig. 28). Within what survives of the scene, an angel pushing sinners into the fire can be distinguished on the left, but no other features of the composition can be identified.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.85 m |
| length with apse    | 6.79 m |
| width               | 2.88 m |
| height              | 4.21m  |

Hell

| Position             | Iconography                             |               | Shape                                 |
|----------------------|---|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| north wall, west end | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.65 × 1.14 m | rectangle, landscape, curved on right |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 42 (no. 166); Maderakis 1979, 39–47.

## 23. Koufalotos (Selino), Holy Apostles

Date unclear



Fig. 29 Church of the Holy Apostles, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, date unclear, wall painting (west wall), Koufalotos (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its structure distorted owing to ground movement.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed; five glazed bowls have been inserted in the plaster at the top of the west facade, and there is also a decorative feature in the plaster above the entrance. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a modern carved-stone frame.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings have been severely affected by moisture; they are faded and in a barely legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance; it includes the Apostle Tribunal.

The Archangel Michael, responsible for the Weighing of the Souls, appears to the left of the entrance. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ. The triumphal arch probably has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, which is, unusually, conceived as two independent scenes, each in its own separate, irregularly shaped frame, stacked in two registers (Fig. 29).

The subject is identified by an inscription at the top of the scene in the lower register (Ο ΠΗΡΙΝΟC ΠΟΤΑΜ'ΟC). The scene in the upper register shows an angel, standing on the left, pushing sinners into the River of Fire. The scene in the lower register is dominated by the large, black figure of Satan in the centre. He appears against a red background filled with a crowd of heads, receding into the distance.<sup>70</sup> To the right of Satan, a second group of smaller figures can be seen, wearing distinctive pointed hats, which may identify Jews.<sup>71</sup> The part of the scene below Satan is heavily damaged; it appears to have included Individual Sinners (not in

<sup>70</sup> The dense group of frontally depicted faces resembles the representation of the Gnashing of Teeth or the Sleepless Worm in other churches.

<sup>71</sup> In Western art, similar pointed hats invariably identify Jews (see the representation of Hell in the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrad of Hohenbourg in Duits in this publication, volume 1, Fig. 4.7).

separate frames, but incorporated into the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire).<sup>72</sup>

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.04 m |
| length with apse    | 7.76 m |
| width               | 3.31 m |
| height              | 4.06 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                 |                    | <i>Shape</i>                                |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| west wall, right of door |                                    |                    |   |
| top register             | <i>HFRF: Angel pushing Sinners</i> | 0.56(r) × 1.03 m   | increasing in height towards left           |
| 2nd register             | <i>HFRF: Satan and Sinners</i>     | 1.16(r) × (0.91) m | fragment, decreasing in height towards left |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 38 (no. 145); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 187 (no. 87).

<sup>72</sup> Potentially, this unusual composition may have been another example of a Hell scene in which various iconographic elements were conflated that were normally represented independently. Compare Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4).



## 24. L(e)ivada (Selino), Saint Prokopios

Late 14th century (1390s?)



Fig. 30 Church of Saint Prokopios, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, late 14th century (1390s?), wall painting (west wall), L(e)ivada (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, small even by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed; a modern belfry is mounted on the centre of the south wall. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance located off-centre (west) in the south wall, and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the same wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The greater part of the interior is whitewashed, and only fragments of the original wall paintings survive. No paintings survive on the south wall.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall displays remnants of the Last Judgement, with the Great Deesis on the upper part of the wall, and Paradise underneath, to the left: saints are waiting to enter, with the patron saint of the church, Saint Prokopios, heading the queue. The Weighing of



the Souls appears at the centre of the composition, which extends onto the north wall, where a trumpeting angel can be discerned, along with the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The Gallery of Saints includes Saint George killing the dragon, Saint Theodore and Saint Prokopios.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, to the right of the apse. In the bottom register of the triumphal arch, to the left of the apse, there is an image of Saint Symeon the Stylite.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower right section of the wall, in the form of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 30).

The scene is accompanied by an inscription referring to the Everlasting Fire (τό πυρ το ασβεστον). At the top, there is an angel holding an open book, which reads: 'show your works and receive . . .' (δῆξατε τὰ ἔργα υμῶν και λάβετε . . .). To the right of this angel, the arch-heretics Arius (ὁ ἄριος) and Sabellius(?) (Σα[βέλιος]) are represented in bust form.

Underneath the angel and the arch-heretics, the River of Fire widens. An angel is standing to the left of the River, prodding at sinners with a spear. The red fire is filled with heads of sinners, probably other heretics, including one in the centre who appears to be wearing the mitre of a Western bishop, and two on the left who may be wearing the broad-brimmed hats of Western cardinals.

Below the angel prodding at sinners with a trident, the Rich Man is represented, seated, facing left, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand; he is accompanied by the customary passage from Luke 16:24 (Π(ά)τερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέψον Λάζαρον τον αδελφόν μου ἵνα βάψω τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ μου τὴν γλῶτταν, ὅτι ὀδυνομε ἐν ταύτῃ; (Πλού)σιος Λάζαρος).

In the lower right corner of the scene, the black figure of Satan can be seen, holding Judas (Ιούδας) in his arms. Satan is enthroned on 'the Dragon of the Depths with the Spirit of Evil' (Ο βύθηος δράκον μετὰ τον πνεμάτον της πονιρίας), a scaly black dragon, its head facing left, devouring a soul, while its tail, pointing right, appears to be forked, with a separate head at each end (only one of these two extra heads survives, seemingly about to ingest one of the figures floating in the River of Fire).

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.14 m |
| length with apse    | 4.57 m |
| width               | 3.26 m |
| height              | 3.43 m |

Hell

| Position               | Iconography                             | Shape                                |
|------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| west wall, lower right | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (1.34) × (1.71) m irregular fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 14); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 45 (no. 189); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 368–70 (no. 115); Maderakis 1978, 217–36; Bissinger 1995, 205 (no. 183).

## 25. Mertes (Selino), Saint Theodore

1344

**Note:** The Hell scenes recorded by Giuseppe Gerola<sup>73</sup> at the time of his visit to this church in the early 20th century have disappeared without a trace, as has its dedicatory inscription with the date.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 13); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 44 (no. 186); Spatharakis 2001, 85–6 (no. 28; with earlier bibliography).

<sup>73</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 13).

## 26. Meskla (Kydonia), Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration)

1303



Fig. 31 Church of Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1303, wall painting (south wall), Meskla (Kydonia), Chania, Crete



Fig. 32 Church of Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), Communal Punishments, 1303, wall painting (south wall), Meskla (Kydonia), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with a narthex.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There are two entrances: the main entrance, in the centre of the west wall of the narthex, and a secondary entrance, at the west end of the north wall of the church.

The interiors of both narthex and church are covered by a barrel vault; the vault of the church has one transverse arch. The north and south walls of the church have two blind arches each (the western blind arch on the north wall has been partially broken through to accommodate the secondary entrance). Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings in the narthex are damaged and stained by moisture; they were cleaned by the Chania Ephorate of Antiquities during a conservation campaign in 2007–13. Some of the wall paintings in the church are better preserved.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription bearing the name of the patron, the monk Leontios, survives on the south wall of the church, above the image of the donor's patron saint.

The narthex has remnants of a Last Judgement, with the Apostle Tribunal and Choirs of the Elect on the north and south sides of the vault. The north wall has the Earth Giving Up her Dead, the south wall the Sea Giving Up her Dead and the Weighing of the Souls.

The programme of the narthex also includes the Last Communion of Saint Mary of Egypt, highlighting the importance of Last Rites.<sup>74</sup>

The nave of the church has scenes from the Christological cycle, including the Transfiguration, to which the church is dedicated, in the western blind arch in the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops, with the Melismos in the centre. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension, extending beyond the sanctuary in its current form.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement in the narthex, on the south wall of the narthex. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, and at least two compartments of Communal Punishments. It is divided over two registers: the upper register contains the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 31), the second register, the two compartments of Communal Punishments on the left, and a damaged frame that appears to contain naked sinners on the right (Fig. 32); based on the scene at Voutas, Virgin (cat. no. 44, Fig. 58), this may represent the Sleepless Worm.

<sup>74</sup> See above, Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1) and n. 3.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the top register shows an angel (Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ . . . ) standing on the left, pushing sinners into the fire of Hell with a trident. The sinners are not identified by inscriptions, but their attire suggests they are emperors and church officials. The right side of the scene is damaged, but Satan can be discerned here, holding Judas in his arms, and enthroned upon a white Dragon of the Depths. As in Asfentiles (cat. no. 4), one of the sinners in the foreground is shown kneeling before Satan.

Of the two compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower register, the left shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο ΚΥΟΛΙΞ Ο ΑΚΗΜΙΤΟC), containing five rows of four heads each against an ochre background, surrounded by white, wriggly worms. The right compartment has the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο ΒΡΙΓΜ'ΟC Τ'ΟΝ ΟΔ'ΟΝΤΟΝ), showing five rows of white skulls on an ochre background; the top row has three skulls, and the other four have four skulls each.

Measurements

|                              |   |               |                      |
|------------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Narthex</b>               |   |               |                      |
| length                       |   | 2.52 m        |                      |
| width                        |   | 2.99 m        |                      |
| height                       |   | 4.19 m        |                      |
| <b>Church</b>                |   |               |                      |
| length without apse          |   | 4.74 m        |                      |
| length with apse             |   | 5.52 m        |                      |
| width                        |   | 2.87 m        |                      |
| height                       |   | 4.08 m        |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>                  |   |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>              | <i>Iconography</i>                          |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| narthex, south wall,<br>east |   |               |                      |
| top register                 | <i>Hell Formed by the<br/>River of Fire</i> | 0.89 × 1.16 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register<br>(left–right) | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>                   | 0.64 × 0.42 m | rectangle, portrait  |
|                              | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>                | 0.64 × 0.32 m | rectangle, portrait  |
|                              | <i>Naked sinners(?)</i>                     | 0.64 × 0.36 m | rectangle, portrait  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 27 (no. 58; the date is wrongly recorded as 1403); Lassithiotakis 1969b, 462 (no. 39); Maderakis 1981; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 241–2; Bissinger 1995, 91–2 (no. 43); Spatharakis 2001, 24–8 (no. 8; with earlier bibliography); Mailis 2015.



**27. Moni (Selino), Saint Nicholas**

1315 (narthex)



**Fig. 33** Church of Saint Nicholas, Angel pushing Sinners into the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1315 (narthex), wall painting (south wall, narthex), Moni (Selino), Chania, Crete



Fig. 34 Church of Saint Nicholas, Individual Sinners, 1315 (narthex), wall painting (south wall, narthex), Moni (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with a narthex, relatively large by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the south wall of the narthex and one at the west end of the north wall of the church. A modern window has been inserted at the west end of the south wall of the church.



Fig. 35 Church of Saint Nicholas, Rich Man, 1315 (narthex), wall painting (south wall, narthex vault), Moni (Selino), Chania, Crete

The interior of the narthex is covered by a barrel vault. The north and south walls of the narthex each have a deep blind arch; the blind arch in the south wall has been partially broken through to accommodate the narthex entrance. Narthex and church communicate internally via an open arch. The interior of the church is covered by a barrel vault with two transverse arches. The north and the south walls have three blind arches each; the western blind arch in the north wall has been partially broken through to accommodate the north wall entrance to the church, the western blind arch in the south wall, to accommodate the modern window. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings of both church and narthex are damaged and affected by moisture; they are legible with effort.<sup>75</sup>

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives in the narthex, bearing the signature of the painter Ioannis Pagomenos and the date of 1315.

The narthex has the Last Judgement, with the Hetoimasia of the Throne and the personifications of the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead on

<sup>75</sup> The paintings in the narthex were restored by the Chania Ephorate of Antiquities during a conservation campaign, 2006–7. When Angeliki Lymberopoulou examined this church for her PhD thesis research in the second half of the 1990s, the condition of the wall paintings in the narthex was so poor that they were virtually illegible. See Lymberopoulou 2006, 132–3.





**Fig. 36** Church of Saint Nicholas, Communal Punishments, 1315 (narthex), wall painting (west wall and western section of north wall, narthex), Moni (Selino), Chania, Crete

the west wall, Paradise on the north wall, and the Apostle Tribunal on the north and south sides of the vault.

The nave of the church has scenes from the Christological cycle, as well as scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Nicholas. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria (i.e. deliverer from potions) on the west wall. The transverse arches have busts of Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, the latter each depicted in three-quarter view. Saint Nicholas is included among the Officiating Bishops on the apse wall, reflecting the dedication of the church. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. Unusually, Saint Euplous is depicted in the bottom register to the right of the apse.<sup>76</sup> The deacon saints Stephen and Romanos, who normally appear in the bottom register of the triumphal arch, are represented here in the blind arches in the north and south walls of the sanctuary, the latter together with Saint Eleftherios, popular on Crete. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented in the narthex, as part of the Last Judgement, and is divided over a total of eleven different scenes, which together form a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (two scenes), frames with Individual Sinners (four), and compartments of Communal Punishments (five). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is represented in two separate scenes on the intrados of the blind arch in the south wall of the narthex. Three frames with Individual Sinners, divided over three registers, can be found inside the same blind arch, to the right of the narthex entrance; a fourth frame with a single Individual Sinner (the Rich Man) appears on the south side of the narthex vault, underneath the Apostle Tribunal from the Last Judgement. Three compartments of Communal Punishments appear on the lower part of the west wall of the narthex, and two further compartments stacked in two registers on the adjacent western section of the north wall.

The two scenes forming the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the intrados of the blind arch in the south wall of the narthex show an angel pushing sinners into Hell (left) and the Dragon of the Depths (right) (Fig. 33).

Of the three stacked frames with Individual Sinners to the right of the narthex entrance, the frame in the top register is too damaged to be legible (Fig. 34). The frame in the second register seems to show five naked sinners, painted in brown on a red background; the central one has a legible inscription, identifying him as the Notary Who Falsified

<sup>76</sup> Saint Euplous is a patron saint of sailors, like Saint Nicholas, the principal patron of the church. He is also present in cat. nos 42, 47.

Documents (Ο ΦΑΛCO[ΓΡΑΦOC]). The frame in the third register is once again poorly preserved, but appears to show four naked sinners against a black background, the second and third (from the left) standing, with their arms bound behind their backs, the fourth suspended upside down, with prominently visible genitals.

A frame with the Rich Man on the south side of the narthex vault shows this sinner without the customary inscription from Luke 16:24; he is shown in profile, facing right, seated, naked, pointing to his mouth with his right hand (Fig. 35).

Of the three compartments of Communal Punishments on the lower part of the west wall of the narthex (Fig. 36), the two on the left are largely destroyed, but the one on the right has an inscription that identifies it as Tartarus (Ο ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΣ). Of the two compartments of Communal Punishments on the adjacent north wall, the one in the upper register shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο CKO[ΛΗ]Ξ Ο AKHMITOΣ), visualised as a crowd of heads surrounded by white, wriggly worms. The one in the second register represents the Gnashing of Teeth ([Ο ΒΡΥΓΜ'ΟΣ] ΤΟΝ ΟΔ'ΟΝΤΟΝ), shown as three rows of four white skulls against a black background.

Measurements

|                        |   |               |                      |
|------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Narthex</b>         |   |               |                      |
| length                 |   | 4.54 m        |                      |
| width                  |   | 1.53 m        |                      |
| height                 |   | 4.40 m        |                      |
| <b>Church</b>          |   |               |                      |
| length without apse    |   | 6.82 m        |                      |
| length with apse       |   | 8.11 m        |                      |
| width                  |   | 2.90 m        |                      |
| height                 |   | 4.22 m        |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>            |   |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>        | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| narthex                |   |               |                      |
| south wall, blind arch |   |               |                      |
| intrados               | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | ? × ? m       | rectangle, landscape |
| inside of arch         |   |               |                      |
| top register           | <i>Individual Sinners(?)</i>            | 0.65 × 1.23 m | rectangle, landscape |



(cont.)

|                          |   |                 |                                     |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2nd register             | <i>IS, incl. Falsifier of Documents</i> | 0.54 × 1.23 m   | rectangle, landscape                |
| 3rd register             | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | ? × 1.23 m      | fragment of rectangle, landscape    |
| south wall, left         | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>                     | 0.87 × (0.43) m | 2 fragments of rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, lower section |   |                 |                                     |
| left                     | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 1.04 × 0.52 m   | fragment of rectangle, portrait     |
| 2nd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 1.04 × 0.40 m   | fragment of rectangle, portrait     |
| 3rd                      | <i>CP: Tartarus</i>                     | 1.04 × 0.47 m   | fragment of rectangle, portrait     |
| north wall               |   |                 |                                     |
| top register             | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | 0.26 × 0.46 m   | rectangle, landscape                |
| 2nd register             | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.42 × 0.46 m   | square                              |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 45–6 (no. 199); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 373–7 (no. 118); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 227–8; Bissinger 1995, 92 (no. 45); Spatharakis 2001, 40–3 (no. 13; with earlier bibliography).

## 28. Niochorio (Kydonia), Saint Nicholas

c. 1470s



Fig. 37 Church of Saint Nicholas, Individual Sinners, c. 1470s?, wall painting (west wall), Niochorio (Kydonia), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow, leaving the carved-stone door frames of the entrance and lateral window exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof and a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault; there are remnants of a transverse arch on the south side of the vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are in poor condition, damaged and faded. It is possible the church contains two layers of wall paintings; evidence of an older layer can be seen in the sanctuary apse (left).

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance, above the portrait of a donor.

The west wall also has the Crucifixion on the upper part, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Nicholas. The Gallery of Saints includes the Ten Saints of Crete and Saint Mamas. Along the apex of the vault, there is a prominent decorative band, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The sanctuary iconography is barely legible. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops with the Melismos, the triumphal arch, the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse. The Annunciation appears (unusually) on the north wall of the sanctuary.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the door, underneath the Crucifixion. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners. Unfortunately, the paint surface in this area is heavily damaged, but the surviving remnants indicate that there may have been at least eight frames in total, divided over four registers of two square frames each.

Among the surviving frames with Individual Sinners, each frame contains a single sinner, outlined in black and shaded in ochre on a white background, in a style unique to this church. They are accompanied by inscriptions. Only two of the sinners can still be identified (Fig. 37):

Top register, right frame

- The Rich Man, identified erroneously as ‘The Rich Lazaros’ (Ο Π[ΛΟΥ]ΤΙΟ[Σ] ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing

left, naked, in a genuflecting pose, amidst red flames, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand;

Second register, right frame

- The female Slanderer ([H] KATAΛΛΑΟ'Υ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, naked, seated in a fire, with a scaly snake biting her mouth.

Measurements

|                          |                          |               |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <b>Church</b>            |                          |               |                    |
| length without apse      |                          | 4.34 m        |                    |
| length with apse         |                          | 4.94 m        |                    |
| width                    |                          | 2.80 m        |                    |
| height                   |                          | 3.56 m        |                    |
| <b>Hell</b>              |                          |               |                    |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>       | <i>Shape</i>  |                    |
| west wall, right of door |                          |               |                    |
| top register:            |                          |               |                    |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | ? × (0.17) m  | fragment           |
| right                    | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>      | 0.40 × 0.44 m | square, damaged    |
| 2nd register (right)     | <i>IS: Slanderer (f)</i> | 0.40 × 0.44 m | fragment of square |
| 3rd register             | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.42 × ? m    | fragment of square |
| 4th register             | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.41 × ? m    | fragment of square |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 340 (no. 2); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 16 (no. 49); Lassithiotakis 1969b, 459–61 (no. 36); Maderakis 1984; Bissinger 1995, 247 (no. 233).

**29. Palaia Roumata (Kissamos), Saints Spyridon and John<sup>77</sup>****Date unclear**

**Note:** This church no longer survives. At the time of our visit on 25 October 2010, inhabitants of the village told us that the historical church dedicated to Saints Spyridon and John had been replaced with a modern one in the 20th century.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 340 (no. 1); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 25 (no. 36).

<sup>77</sup> Gerola lists the church as dedicated to the Virgin. Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 25 (no. 36). We do not know if the church was dedicated to Saint John the Baptist or to Saint John the Evangelist. Equally, we do not know in which part Hell was located.

### 30. Pemonia (Vamos, Apokoronas), Saint George

Mid-14th century<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 38 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, mid-14th century, wall painting (west wall), Pemonia (Vamos, Apokoronas), Chania, Crete

<sup>78</sup> Bissinger 1995, 149 dates it to the late 1340s.



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, small even by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow, leaving the carved-stone frame of the western entrance and sections of the masonry at the corners exposed. Indentations suggest four glazed bowls were once inserted, in the shape of a cross, in the plaster on the east wall, above the apse. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are faded and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A portrait of a female donor survives on the north wall.

The west wall has the Dormition of the Virgin on the upper part, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Dormition of the Virgin.<sup>79</sup> It appears to have taken the form of a single frame with Individual Sinners, of which only a fragment with parts of two sinners survives (Fig. 38): the shackled legs of a figure in a horizontal position, and the upper body of a man, also in a horizontal position, with his arms bound behind his back. The two sinners are outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a white background.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.34 m |
| length with apse    | 5.14 m |

<sup>79</sup> It is likely that the iconographic programme of the church refers to the intercessory power of the Virgin, signified both by the Dormition of the Virgin on the west wall and the Virgin Platytera in the apse.

(*cont.*)

|                          |                           |                   |                    |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| width                    | 2.82 m                    |                   |                    |
| height                   | 3.66 m                    |                   |                    |
| <b>Hell</b>              |                           |                   |                    |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>        | <i>Shape</i>      |                    |
| west wall, right of door | <i>Individual Sinners</i> | (0.35) × (0.31) m | irregular fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 340 (no. 3); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 28 (no. 64); Lassithiotakis 1969b, 470–1 (no. 49); Bissinger 1995, 149 (no. 114).

31. *Platanias (Drakiana, Kydonia), Saint George Methystis*<sup>80</sup>15th century<sup>81</sup>

**Fig. 39** Church of Saint George Methystis, Individual Sinners, 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Platanias (Drakiana, Kydonia), Chania, Crete

<sup>80</sup> See above, n. 24.

<sup>81</sup> Angeliki Lymberopoulou has based this dating on the stylistic similarities between the sinners here and at Voukolies, Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42), dated to the 15th century.



Fig. 40 Church of Saint George Methystis, Communal Punishments, 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Platanias (Drakiana, Kydonia), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, small even by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered, leaving sections of the stonework, the carved-stone frames of the western entrance and the southern window, and the masonry at the corners of the building exposed; at the time of our visit on 26 August 2014, the plaster was in a poor condition and partially detached. There is no external roof cover. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The interior used to be entirely whitewashed; restoration work carried out by the Chania Ephorate of Antiquities has exposed sections of (poorly legible) wall painting, predominantly on the southern part of the vault and in the sanctuary.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.

The decoration of the upper part of the west wall, which would probably have provided the context for the representation of Hell, is no longer legible.

The visible wall paintings in the remainder of the nave reveal scenes from the Christological cycle and from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The transverse arch has Prophets. There is a decorative band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch (unusually) has the Annunciation on the upper part, above the apse, and two deacon saints in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The south wall of the sanctuary has the Anastasis.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, on either side of the entrance. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. Remnants of four frames with Individual Sinners, divided over four registers, can be found to the right of the entrance (Fig. 39). Fragments of four compartments of Communal Punishments can be detected to the left of the entrance, divided over three registers, with one compartment each in the upper two registers and two compartments in the lower register (Fig. 40).

The remnants of the four frames with Individual Sinners to the right of the entrance suggest that each frame included a row of three sinners, outlined in brown and shaded in a lighter brown against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions; each of the sinners is shown naked, standing, chained by the neck, positioned in or above a fire, with black snakes coiling around their body.

Only a few of the sinners can still be identified:

#### Top register

- (left) The Woman Who Refuses to Nurse Babies (Η μη θιλαζο[υσα] τα νιπ[ια]); she is shown frontally, with her arms bound behind her back, and two snakes coiling around her, biting her breasts;
- (second) Unidentifiable; a man, shown frontally; the two snakes coiling around him bite his hands, suggesting a sin with a manual connotation;
- (third) The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝ[Η]); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with her arms bound behind her back, and a snake coiling around, her biting her genitals;

Second register

- (left) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; he is shown in profile, bent over towards the left, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;

Fourth register

- (left) The Tavern Keeper(?); he is shown in profile, standing or suspended in a strappado position, with his legs tied together; what appears to be a jug is hanging from a cord around his neck.

Of the fragments of the four compartments of Communal Punishments to the left of the entrance, two bear inscriptions allowing identification. The compartment in the second register showed Tartarus (O TAP[TAPOΣ]), in the form of tightly packed bodies and heads. The left compartment in the third register showed the Sleepless Worm (O CKO[ΛΗΞ O AKH]MIT[OΣ]).

Measurements

|                          |  |               |                      |
|--------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Church</b>            |  |               |                      |
| length without apse      |  | 4.34 m        |                      |
| length with apse         |  | 5.67 m        |                      |
| width                    |  | 2.50 m        |                      |
| height                   |  | 3.24 m        |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>              |  |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                             |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| west wall, right of door |  |               |                      |
| top register             | 3 IS: incl. Woman Rejecting Babies; Fornicator | 0.34 × 0.61 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register             | 3 Individual Sinners                           | 0.33 × 0.61 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register             | 3 Individual Sinners                           | 0.32 × 0.61 m | rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, left of door  |  |               |                      |
| top register             | Communal Punishment                            | 0.34 × ? m    | 2 fragments          |
| 2nd register             | CP: Tartarus                                   | 0.33 × ? m    | 2 fragments          |
| 3rd register:            |  |               |                      |
| Left                     | CP: Sleepless Worm                             | (0.14) × ? m  | 2 fragments          |
| Right                    | Communal Punishment                            | (0.14) × ? m  | fragment             |

Bibliography: Unpublished



## 32. Plemeniana (Selino), Saint George

1409–10



Fig. 41 Church of Saint George, Angel pushing Sinners into the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1409–10, wall painting (west wall), Plemeniana (Selino), Chania, Crete



Fig. 42 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, 1409–10, wall painting (west wall), Plemeniana (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow and white; it is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the north wall; an external buttress has been placed against the wall below it. There is

a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are faded and have suffered from abrasion in parts, but are clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives at the west end of the north wall; it includes a reference to Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).<sup>82</sup>

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south sides of the vault. The west wall has the Great Deesis on the upper part. The north side of the vault has the Apostle Tribunal and a Choir of Saints. The south wall has Paradise, including the Good Thief, Dymas, holding his cross at the gates.<sup>83</sup>

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. Saint George is also part of the Gallery of Saints, represented on the north wall, on horseback, with the boy from Mytilene.<sup>84</sup> The north wall also has the Blessing of the Virgin, with a display of tableware featuring Venetian-style material culture (e.g. a drinking glass).<sup>85</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse, and the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension, the south side, the Holy Women at the Tomb. The sanctuary iconography also includes

<sup>82</sup> For the relation between reference to the reign of Palaiologan emperors in inscriptions in churches in Venetian Crete and the Last Judgement, see Volan 2011. See also cat. nos 78, 80, 82, 83. For a list of all the Cretan inscriptions referencing Palaiologan emperors, see Lymberopoulou 2006, 195–8.

<sup>83</sup> Based on the Gospel narrative of Luke 23:39–43, the thief who was crucified to the right of Christ is the only human being who died with the reassurance (by Christ Himself) that he would enter Paradise. See Meyer 2016, 77–8. For other depictions of the Good Thief in Paradise, compare cat. nos 91, 98, 100.

<sup>84</sup> The boy wears a white, pointed hat, similar to those seen worn by sinners in certain Cretan Hell scenes; see, for example, Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70), Fig. 89; Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81), Fig. 105.

<sup>85</sup> For examples of Cretan wall paintings including Venetian drinking glasses, see Lymberopoulou 2007a.

Saints Eleftherios and Titus, both popular on Crete (south wall, bottom register).

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, on either side of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River is, unusually, divided over two different, separate scenes to the left and right of the entrance. Below the scene to the right of the entrance, there are fragments of at least six frames with Individual Sinners, divided over two registers of three frames each.

Both sections of the Place of Hell Formed by the River survive only in part. The remaining fragment of the section to the left of the entrance shows a vengeful angel wielding a spear (an illegible inscription accompanies him, the last three letters of which seem to be '... TIC') (Fig. 41). The remaining fragment of the section to the right of the entrance shows Satan enthroned, outlined (rather crudely) in black against a red background, accompanied by a partially surviving inscription referring to the River of Fire of the devil (Ο Π'ΗΡΙΝΟΣ (ΠΟΤΑΜ'ΟΣ) ... (δία)βολου(?)) (Fig. 42). Unusually, he is holding Judas in what seems to be a stranglehold in his right arm.

What remains of the frames with Individual Sinners shows the sinners naked, standing in red flames, outlined in black in an unaccomplished hand, shaded in light brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. Only the two sinners in the central frame of the upper register are fully visible. The surviving inscriptions allow the identification of a few of the sinners (Fig. 42):

#### Upper register

- (central frame, right) The Murderer (Ο φονέας), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, with his arms bound behind his back; a dagger is plunged into his chest;
- (right frame, left) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line ([Ο] ΠΑ[PABΛAKICTHΣ]?); only his head is visible; he appears to be standing bent over to the left; what may be the handle of a plough appears above him.

#### Lower register

- (central frame) Those Who Sleep on Sunday (Ἡ κυμῶντες τιν αγίαν κυριακήν); below the inscription appears the top of a bed covered with a red blanket.



## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.96 m |
| length with apse    | 6.66 m |
| width               | 3.28 m |
| height              | 4.12 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>   |                 | <i>Shape</i>                         |
|--------------------------|--|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| west wall, left of door  | <i>HFRF: Angel</i>   | 0.57 × (0.58) m | fragment of rectangle, landscape     |
| west wall, right of door |  |                 |                                      |
| top register             | <i>HFRF: Satan</i>   | 1.21 × (1.00) m | fragment of rectangle, portrait      |
| 2nd register:            |  |                 |                                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinners</i>                                  | ? × ? m         | small fragment                       |
| 2nd                      | <i>2 IS: incl. Murderer</i>                                | 0.31 × 0.37 m   | rectangle, portrait, damaged on left |
| 3rd                      | <i>IS: incl. Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line</i> | 0.31 × ? m      | fragment of rectangle                |
| 3rd register:            |  |                 |                                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinners</i>                                  | ? × ? m         | small fragment                       |
| 2nd                      | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i>                       | ? × 0.37 m      | fragment of rectangle                |
| 3rd                      | <i>Individual Sinners</i>                                  | ? × ? m         | fragment of rectangle                |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 9); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 41 (no. 162); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 206–8 (no. 99); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 218–19; Bissinger 1995, 207 (no. 184).

### 33. Prines (Selino), Saint George

1367



**Fig. 43** Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, 1367, wall painting (west wall), Prines (Selino), Chania, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern iconostasis. The north and south walls have two blind arches each.

The wall paintings are heavily damaged and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west end of the south wall, directly above the section of the Hell scenes on this wall.

The west wall also has the Crucifixion on the upper part, above the entrance and the Hell scenes on this wall. The bottom register of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, has the Archangel Michael.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. Saint George also appears in the Gallery of Saints, shown on horseback, slaying the dragon. The south wall has the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the left of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion, with an additional section on the adjacent west end of the south wall.<sup>86</sup> It consists of five frames with Individual Sinners: three registers with one frame each on the west wall, and two registers with one frame each on the south wall. The frames on the adjacent walls are not neatly aligned; the bottom frames on each wall survive only in part (Fig. 43).

In the frames on both walls, the sinners are depicted naked, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a white background; some are

<sup>86</sup> The presence, on the south wall, of the Deesis (a reference to the Last Judgement) and of the Archangel Michael (responsible for the Weighing of the Souls) further underlines the theme of redemption that forms the context of Hell in this church.

identified by surviving inscriptions. The frames on the west wall have two sinners each:

Top register

- (left) Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, with her arms bound behind her back;
- (right) Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in profile, suspended by her arms and legs, wrists and ankles tied together, with her head pointing to the right;

Second register

- (left) Unidentifiable; a man, shown in three-quarters, standing bent towards the left, with his arms tied behind his back;
- (right) The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΑC); he is shown frontally, with his arms bound behind his back;

Third register

- (left) The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΠΤΗC); he is shown in three-quarters, standing, bent towards the left, with his arms bound behind his back; a black goat is draped around his neck;
- (right) The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑ[ΘΗΣΤΡΑ]); she is shown frontally, with her arms bound behind her back and a black snake coiling around her body.

The two frames on the south wall have one sinner each:

Top register

- Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, standing, bent towards the right;

Second register

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚ'ΑΜΠΑ[ΝΗΣΤΗΣ]); little survives of the actual representation.

Measurements

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| <b>Church</b>       |        |
| length without apse | 7.95 m |
| length with apse    | 8.63 m |
| width               | 2.87 m |
| height              | 3.86 m |

(cont.)

**Hell**

| <i>Position</i>            | <i>Iconography</i>                          |                 | <i>Shape</i>                               |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|--|
| west wall, left of<br>door |   |                 |  |
| top register               | <i>2 Individual Sinners (f)</i>             | 0.55 × 0.52 m   | square                                     |
| 2nd register               | <i>IS: incl. Murderer</i>                   | 0.62 × 0.52 m   | rectangle, portrait                        |
| 3rd register               | <i>IS: Thief; Gossiper (f)</i>              | (0.46) × 0.52 m | fragment                                   |
| south wall, west<br>end    |   |                 |  |
| top register               | <i>Individual Sinner (f)</i>                | 0.48 × 0.55 m   | rectangle,<br>landscape, curved<br>on left |
| 2nd register               | <i>IS: Man Who Cheats<br/>at the Scales</i> | (0.28) × 0.35 m | fragment                                   |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 16); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 44 (no. 179); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 359 (no. 108); Maderakis 1979, 36.

### 34. Prines (Selino), Saints Peter and Paul

15th century(?)<sup>87</sup>



**Fig. 44** Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Communal Punishments and Individual Sinners, 15th century(?), wall painting (south wall), Prines (Selino), Chania, Crete

<sup>87</sup> The murals are in a very poor state, and it is very difficult to assess their date. The tentative date that Angeliki Lymberopoulou has provided here is based on the representation of saints under painted arches, resembling those seen at Kapetaniana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 84), dated to the 15th century.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, except for the north wall, which has exposed stonework. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the centre of the south wall. There is a single entrance off-centre (west) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault; there is no structural transverse arch, but the decoration of one is painted on the centre of the vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and faded, and badly affected by moisture; they are in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west end of the south wall, inserted among the Hell scenes.

The west wall has the Crucifixion, adjacent to the Hell scenes on the south wall.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes related to the patron saints, Saints Peter and Paul. The Archangel Michael is represented on the south wall. The faux transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The south wall of the sanctuary has the Ascension, the north wall, the Baptism of Christ and the Raising of Lazarus (both scenes closely associated with the Resurrection).<sup>88</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the south wall, to the right of the entrance, next to the Crucifixion on the west wall. It consists of five frames with Individual Sinners and two compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over four registers. Unusually, the frames with Individual Sinners appear in the lower registers and the compartments with Communal Punishments in the upper registers (Fig. 44):<sup>89</sup> the top register has one compartment of Communal Punishment, to the left of the dedicatory inscription; the second register is shared between a compartment of Communal Punishment on the left and a frame

<sup>88</sup> See Lymberopoulou 2006, 58–9 and nn. 227, 64.

<sup>89</sup> On the relative positioning of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, Chapter 3.

with Individual Sinners on the right; and the third and fourth registers have two frames with Individual Sinners each.

The five frames with Individual Sinners are damaged and only partially legible. They may have contained varying numbers of sinners per frame. The sinners are shown naked, outlined in black, in a loose hand, and shaded in light brown, against an off-white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The sinners are:

Second register, right frame

- (left) The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡΝΟC); shown frontally, with his arms bound behind his back, possibly suspended by the chains from the upper edge of the frame;
- (second) Unidentifiable; shown frontally, with the arms bound behind the back, possibly suspended by the chains from the upper edge of the frame;
- (third) Unidentifiable; shown frontally, with the arms bound behind the back, possibly suspended by the chains from the upper edge of the frame;

Third register, left frame

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο [ΠΑΡΑΚΑ]ΜΠΑΝΗΣΤ[ΗΣ]); he appears to be suspended in a horizontal position by his limbs, with wrists and ankles tied together, and his head pointing to the right;

Third register, right frame

- Those Who Sleep on Sunday; there is no inscription, but the frame appears to show two sinners lying in bed;

Fourth register, left frame

- (left) The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘΙΣΤΡΑ); little survives of the actual representation;
- (right) Unclear (‘Η ΦΟΥ ... C ... ΗΑ’); little survives of the actual representation.

The compartment of Communal Punishment in the top register, to the left of the dedicatory inscription, is probably the Gnashing of Teeth. The compartment of Communal Punishment in the second register, on the left, has a black background, suggesting perhaps Outer Darkness or Tartarus.



## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.45 m |
| length with apse    | 5.22 m |
| width               | 2.97 m |
| height              | 3.35 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                        |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|---------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| south wall, right of door |   |               |                      |
| top register (left)       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                | 0.27 × ? m    | fragment             |
| 2nd register:             |   |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                | 0.39 × ? m    | fragment             |
| right                     | <i>3 IS: incl. Fornicator (m)</i>         | 0.39 × 0.47 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register:             |   |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>IS: incl. Man Who Cheats at Scales</i> | 0.31 × ? m    | fragment             |
| right                     | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday(?)</i>   | 0.31 × 0.47 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 4th register:             |   |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>IS: incl. Gossiper (f)</i>             | ? × ? m       | fragment             |
| right                     | <i>Individual Sinners</i>                 | ? × 0.47 m    | fragment             |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 44 (no. 181); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 360 (no. 110).

### 35. Sklavopoula (Selino), Virgin

End of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century<sup>90</sup>



Fig. 45 Church of the Virgin, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, end of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Sklavopoula (Selino), Chania, Crete

<sup>90</sup> Maderakis 2005, 246 suggests mid-14th century.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church; the building is distorted by ground movement.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof; two buttresses have been placed against the south wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a rudimentary modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and stained by moisture, but in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The church includes a donor portrait at the west end of the north wall, adjacent to the Hell scenes on the west wall.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the adjacent north and south walls. The Great Deesis appears on the upper part of the west wall, above the entrance. The lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance, has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead, stacked in two registers. The north and south walls each have a section of the Apostle Tribunal. The west end of the south wall, underneath the section of the Apostle Tribunal shown here, has Paradise. To the left of Paradise, there is an image of the Archangel Michael (responsible for the Weighing of the Souls);<sup>91</sup> to his left, an image of Saint Nicholas (one of the principal intercessors with Christ).

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the Life of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated. The Virgin and Child enthroned appear on the north wall. The Mandylinion appears at the apex of the transverse arch. There is a decorative band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops, with the Melismos in the centre. The triumphal arch has Christ Anapeson on the upper part, above the apse,<sup>92</sup> with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension; the north and south walls of the sanctuary, the Holy Women at the Tomb and Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers), respectively (a Resurrection theme).<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> See Semoglou in this publication, vol. 1, 301 and n. 112.    <sup>92</sup> See cat. no. 9, n. 27.

<sup>93</sup> See Lymberopoulou 2006, 90.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance.<sup>94</sup> It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments. It is divided over four registers (Fig. 45). The top register contains the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame; the second and third registers each have a frame with Individual Sinners; the fourth register, three compartments of Communal Punishments.

What remains of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is dominated by Satan enthroned, outlined in black on a red background. Satan is holding a horned Judas in his lap with his left hand. He is seated upon the Dragon of the Depths, the latter facing left, with a head resembling that of a bull, devouring a soul; the dragon has a forked tail ending in two small snake heads. In the red background to the right of Satan, a group of standing sinners can be seen, including a tonsured Western cleric.

The two frames with Individual Sinners in the second and third registers each contain a row of multiple naked sinners, outlined in black in an unrefined hand, shaded in ochre, against a white background; they are accompanied by inscriptions. The depiction of the sinners in this church stands out because of the painfully contorted positions in which a number of the sinners are shown.

The upper frame has six sinners in a variety of poses, connected to each other by ropes; the three on the left appear to be moving towards the left of the frame in a gruesome line dance. The sinners in this frame are, from left to right:

- The Rich Man, erroneously identified as the Rich Lazarus (Ο ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing or walking, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand;
- The (livestock) Thief, named here specifically as 'Leontis' (ΚΛΕΙΤΤΗΣ ο ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ); he is shown in three-quarters, standing or walking, bent over towards the left; he appears to be carrying a black goat on his back;

<sup>94</sup> These sinners are stylistically comparable to those in cat. nos 1, 43, 49 and 55.

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚ-ΙΣΤΗ[Σ]); he is shown in three-quarters, standing or walking towards the left, with his bound arms raised behind his back; he is carrying a plough, the blade of which is inserted in his rectum;
- The Witch (Η ΜΑΓΪCα); she is shown in profile, facing left, crouching on her knees, with her bound arms pulled between her legs;
- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΩΡΝΟC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down by ropes around his ankles from the upper edge of the frame, with his arms bound behind his back;
- The female Gossiper (Η CΟΥΪ . . . ΑΡΕΑ [Cουρεΰτρα]); she is shown in three-quarters, standing, in a strappado position – bent towards the left, with her bound arms raised behind her back.

The lower frame also has six sinners, representing five sins. They are, from left to right:

- Those Who Sleep on Sunday (ΟΠΟΥ ΚΙΜΟΥΝΤΕ ΤΙΝ ΚΙΡΙΑΚΗ); represented as a couple lying in bed, shown from above, their heads pointing left; they are covered by a red and ochre blanket, with a black devil perched on top;
- The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΑΣ); he is shown in profile, tied in a variant of strappado, bent over towards the right, with his head touching the ground and his bound arms raised behind his back, held up by a large black sword; his left leg is raised and tied to the upper edge of the frame by a rope around the ankle;
- The Woman Who Does Not Bring Offerings to the Church (ΟΠΟΥ ΔΕΝ ΠΆΓΙ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ CΤΙΝ ΕΚΚΛΙCΙΑ); she is shown in profile, crouching, facing right, with her hands inserted in a large bowl (the bowl used to gather offerings), accompanied by a black devil to her right;
- The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΫΡΑΡΙC), identified by the Greek transliteration of the Latin term; he is shown in profile, in what appears to be the reverse of the strappado of the Murderer: tilted back towards the left, with his arms bound behind his back, pulled away from his body, and his right leg raised and tied to the upper part of the frame by a rope around the ankle; a black purse is hanging from a cord around his neck;
- The (cheating) Miller (Ο ΜΙΛΟΝ(ΑΣ)); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling on his left knee, with his right leg stretched in front of him and his arms bound in front, pulled away from his body; he has a large black millstone around his neck and perhaps a grindstone hanging from a cord around his neck.

The three compartments of Communal Punishments in the fourth register are too badly damaged to be identifiable.

Measurements

|                            |   |               |  |
|----------------------------|---|---------------|--|
| <hr/>                      |   |               |  |
| Church                     | (deformed to a lozenge shape)           |               |  |
| length at south wall       |   | 6.45 m        |  |
| length in centre with apse |   | 7.36 m        |  |
| width                      |   | 2.98 m        |  |
| height                     |   | 3.82 m        |  |
| <hr/>                      |   |               |  |
| Hell                       |   |               |  |
| Position                   | Iconography                             |               | shape                                  |
| west wall, right of door   |   |               |  |
| top register               | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.67 × 0.90 m | rectangle, landscape, damaged top left |
| 2nd register               | <i>6 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>       | 0.28 × 0.90 m | rectangle, landscape                   |
| 3rd register               | <i>5 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>       | 0.32 × 0.90 m | rectangle, landscape                   |
| 4th register (left–right)  | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.29 m    | fragment                               |
|                            | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.26 m    | fragment                               |
|                            | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.29 m    | Fragment                               |
| <hr/>                      |   |               |  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 340 (no. 4); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 31 (no. 87); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 155–60 (no. 62); Maderakis 1979, 51, 57; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 214–15; Bissinger 1995, 202 (no. 179); Maderakis 2005, 246.



### 36. Spaniakos (Selino), Saint George

First half of the 14th century



Fig. 46 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishment, first half of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Spaniakos (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church intersected by a higher transept.

The exterior is entirely plastered, including the cement gable roofs of nave and transept; most of the plaster has been painted light yellow, the upper part of the transept and the roof of the apse, light blue. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the south wall of the transept. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall. A modern window has been inserted in the south wall of the transept and a second, smaller window high up in the north wall of the transept.

The interior of nave and transept is covered by barrel vaults. The north and the south walls of the nave have a blind arch each. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are in a very poor condition, damaged and faded, and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the nave has the Last Judgement, with the Great Deesis on the upper part of the west wall, above the entrance, the Adventus on the west end of the barrel vault and the Apostle Tribunal on the adjacent north and south walls. The north and south walls also have the Earth (north) and the Sea (south) Giving Up their Dead.

The remainder of nave and the transept have scenes from the Christological cycle, possibly including the Flagellation, extremely rare in Byzantine art,<sup>95</sup> on the west wall of the transept. There are also scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint George, shown on horseback, killing the dragon, and the shepherd saint Mamas.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans with Christ in a medallion, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance (Fig. 46). The surviving remnants of it indicate it may have been a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers. The top

<sup>95</sup> Another representation of the Flagellation on Crete can be found at Temenia, Christ the Saviour, dated to the 14th century; see Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2018, 40–4 and Fig. 3.4b. See also cat. no. 93.

register appears to have contained the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (only part of the red background remains); the second register has a frame with Individual Sinners (of whom one unidentifiable figure survives), the third register, a compartment of Communal Punishment (only fragments of the black background still exist).

Measurements

| Church                   |   |                 |                                |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| length without apse      |   | 6.44 m          |                                |
| length with apse         |   | 7.40 m          |                                |
| width of nave            |   | 2.46 m          |                                |
| height                   |   | 3.27 m          |                                |
| Hell                     |   |                 |                                |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>    |                                |
| west wall, right of door |   |                 |                                |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.39 × 0.53 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| 2nd register             | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | 0.38 × 0.53 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| 3rd register             | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | (0.32) × 0.53 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 35 (no. 120); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 176 (no. 74); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 64.

### 37. Stratoi (Selino), Saint Marina

#### Date unclear

**Note:** The interior of the church is completely whitewashed; nothing survives of its iconographic programme, including the Hell scenes recorded here originally by Gerola in 1908.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 12); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 36 (no. 133).

### 38. Strovles (Kalogero, Selino), Saint George

14th Century



Fig. 47 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Communal Punishments and Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Strovles (Kalogero, Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, small even by the standard of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The vault, the upper part of the walls and most of the sanctuary are whitewashed, leaving the poorly preserved and barely legible remains of wall paintings exposed on the lower parts of the walls.

**Iconographic Programme:** Given that the Hell scenes appear to have included the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, which is hardly ever represented outside of the context of the Last Judgement, it is likely that the west wall, or the western part of the nave, once showed the Last Judgement, on parts of the wall and vault that are now covered in white-wash. The remaining wall paintings on the western side of the south wall include the Deesis and the Weighing of the Souls.

The lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, has Saint Zosimas Administering the Holy Communion to Saint Mary of Egypt, underlining the salvific nature of the Holy Communion.<sup>96</sup> Further remnants of wall paintings in the nave suggest the presence of scenes from the Christological cycle. The patron saint, Saint George, is depicted on the north wall, on horseback, saving the princess; he has a raised halo.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance. It appears to have been a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments. It is divided over five registers, of which the upper two are poorly preserved (Fig. 47). The top register appears to have contained the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame; the second register appears to have had a compartment of Communal Punishment; the lower three registers have frames with Individual Sinners.<sup>97</sup>

Of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, only a small fragment of the red background remains.

<sup>96</sup> This scene is also included in the iconographic programmes in cat. nos 1 (dedicated to Saint Zosimas; the scene may be part of the cycle of the patron saint), 26 and 42. For Mary of Egypt, see above, cat. no. 1, n. 3.

<sup>97</sup> The arrangement is unusual in that the compartment of Communal Punishment appears above the frames with Individual Sinners.



Slightly more survives of the three frames with Individual Sinners in the three lower registers. The sinners that are still visible are shown naked, outlined in dark brown and shaded in light brown, against a white background; they are accompanied by inscriptions. The top frame has remnants of two sinners, shown standing, with black snakes coiling around their bodies. The one on the right is a male sinner: the masculine article ('O') of his accompanying inscription survives. The second frame has the remnants of three sinners. The one on the left is entirely unidentifiable. The second one appears to be the (cheating) Miller; he is shown suspended upside down, wearing a millstone around his neck. The sinner on the right is recognisable as a woman, walking towards the right, with her arms bound behind her back; she carries a wooden frame on her shoulders, perhaps a loom, suggesting she could be the Weaver. The bottom frame also contains three sinners, preserved in a barely identifiable state. Enough of the inscription accompanying the sinner on the right survives to determine that he is male ('O . . . Λ . . . HK').

The compartment of Communal Punishment in the second register could be either the Gnashing of Teeth or the Sleepless Worm.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.16 m |
| length with apse    | 4.76 m |
| width               | 2.39 m |
| height              | 3.24 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>         | <i>Iconography</i>                         |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|-------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall, left of door |  |               |                      |
| top register            | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire(?)</i> | 0.30 × ? m    | fragment             |
| 2nd register            | <i>CP: Gnashing / Sleepless Worm(?)</i>    | 0.30 × 0.55 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register            | <i>(2) Individual Sinners</i>              | 0.25 × 0.55 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 4th register            | <i>3 IS: incl. Miller(?); Weaver(?)</i>    | 0.30 × 0.55 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 5th register            | <i>3 Individual Sinners</i>                | 0.26 × 0.55 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 37 (no. 134); Kalogerakis 2005, 91, 97, 103.

### 39. Trachiniakos (Selino), Saint Paraskevi

1362



**Fig. 48** Church of Saint Paraskevi, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1362, wall painting (west wall), Trachiniakos (Selino), Chania, Crete

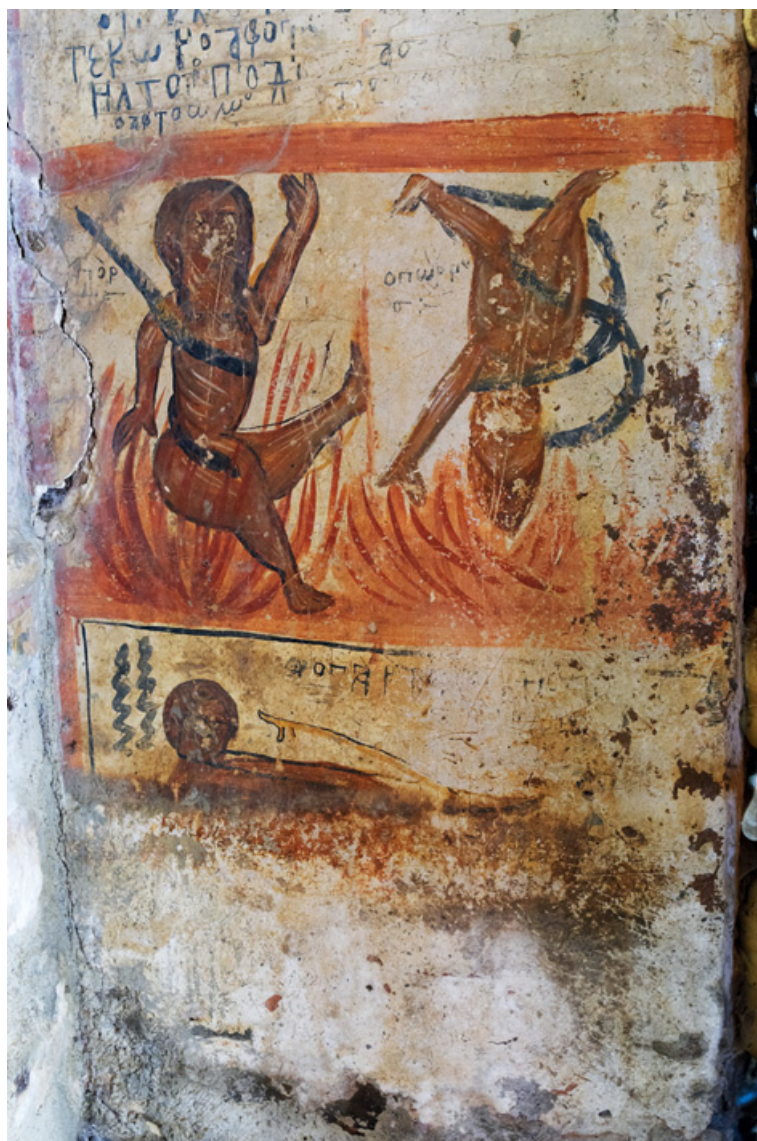


Fig. 49 Church of Saint Paraskevi, Individual Sinners, 1362, wall painting (west wall), Trachiniakos (Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, in a state of disrepair.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. The west wall is cracked and is supported by two external buttresses. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with an arched opening; the partially collapsed arch at the top is supported by a makeshift lintel.

Remnants of seven glazed bowls are inserted in the cement of the exterior wall above the arch.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches, which have shifted in position, suggesting the building has become deformed. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary. The north and south walls each have a blind arch at the west end. Part of the floor along the lateral walls and at the east end has been raised.

The wall paintings, which are executed in a crude style, are damaged and faded and poorly legible; some appear to have been overpainted in modern times.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance. It shows the Deesis at the apex of the wall, and the Apostle Tribunal underneath. It extends onto the south wall, which has Paradise, including Saint Peter holding his keys.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle (including the Washing of the Feet) and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Paraskevi. The Gallery of Saints includes the Archangel Michael and Saint George on horseback.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse, and two deacon saints in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, on either side of the door. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and two frames with Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, appears to the right of the entrance, and the two frames with Individual Sinners appear to the left of the entrance, below the dedicatory inscription, divided over two registers of one frame each.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is largely reduced to a red background (Fig. 48), on which the black outlines of Satan holding Judas, enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths, and a few sinners can still be detected. Satan is represented with wings, and the Dragon as a left-facing monster with a coiling tail pointing to the right.

The two frames with Individual Sinners show the figures painted in brown, in a crude style, on a white background, accompanied by



inscriptions in an unschooled hand. The frame in the upper register contains two sinners. They are, from left to right (Fig. 49):

- The female Fornicator (Η πόρνη); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, sitting among red flames, with her left arm and her left leg raised; a black snake coils around her body and appears to bite her right thigh (it may have been intended to be biting her genitals);
- The male Fornicator (Ο πόρνος); he is shown frontally, suspended upside down above red flames, with his legs spread wide and his left arm dangling free; a black snake coils around his body, biting his genitals.

The frame in the lower register is damaged. Only part of the sinner on the left remains visible:

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑ[ΒΛΑ]Κ-ΗCΤΗC); he appears to have been shown in profile, facing right; only his head and part of his outstretched arms can be seen; the handle of the plough that is the customary attribute of this sinner appears beside him to the right.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.85 m |
| length with apse    | 6.85 m |
| Width               | 2.96 m |
| Height              | 4.42 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>   |                 | <i>Shape</i>          |
|--------------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------|
| west wall, right of door | <i>Hell formed by the River of Fire</i>                    | 1.03 × 0.94 m   | rectangle, portrait   |
| west wall, left of door  |  |                 |                       |
| top register             | <i>IS: 2 Fornicators (m/f)</i>                             | 0.50 × 0.83 m   | rectangle, landscape  |
| 2nd register             | <i>IS: incl. Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line</i> | (0.21) × 0.83 m | fragment of rectangle |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 10); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 40 (no. 151); Koukariis 1994, 43–4 (no. 3); Kandanos 1999, 193–205; Tsamakda 2007; Patedakis 2011, esp. 211.

#### 40. Tsiskiana (Selino), Saint Eutychios

c. 1400–10



Fig. 50 Church of Saint Eutychios, Communal Punishments, c. 1400–10, wall painting (west wall), Tsiskiana (Selino), Chania, Crete



Fig. 51 Church of Saint Eutychios, Individual Sinners, c. 1400–10, wall painting (west wall), Tsiskiana (Selino), Chania, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church; its shape at the east end is slightly distorted, probably owing to ground movement.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance off-centre (south) in the west wall, and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are somewhat damaged and faded, but in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** Remnants of a dedicatory inscription survive on the west wall, on the far right of the wall, inserted among the Hell scenes.

The west wall also has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and a Gallery of Saints (there are no scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Eutychios).

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch, unusually, has the Pentecost on the upper part, above the apse. The Annunciation does not appear on the triumphal arch but on the south wall of the sanctuary, with the Holy Women at the Tomb in the register underneath. The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion and the dedicatory inscription. It consists of a frame with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over two registers, with three compartments of Communal Punishments in the upper register, and the frame with Individual Sinners in the lower register.<sup>98</sup> A fourth compartment of Communal Punishment may have been placed to the left of the dedicatory inscription, where presently only a small fragment of red background survives.

The frame with Individual Sinners, in the lower register underneath the inscription, shows six naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, standing in or positioned above red flames, against a discoloured

<sup>98</sup> It is unusual for the Communal Punishments to appear above rather than below the Individual Sinners; see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, Chapter 1.

white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right (Fig. 51):

- The Rich Man; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with bearded face, seated among flames, pointing to his mouth with his left hand; he is accompanied by the usual inscription from Luke 16:24 ([ΠΑΤΕΡ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ], ΕΛ'ΕΗC'ΟΝ ΜΕ [ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΨΟΝ Λ'ΑΖ]ΑΡ(ΟΝ) ΙΝΑ ΒΑ[ΨΥ ΤΟ ΑΚΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΚΤ'ΥΛ]ΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ 'ΙΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΨ'ΥΞΗ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΓΛ'ΟΤΑΝ, ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΔΙΝΟΜΕ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΛΟΓΗ ΤΑ'ΥΤΗ);
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΣ[ΤΡΕΦΟΥCΑ ΤΑ Ν'ΗΠΙΑ]); she is shown frontally, standing, with two black snakes coiling around her body, biting her breasts;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛ'ΕΠΤΙC); he is shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs, wrists and ankles tied together, in a horizontal position, with a black goat dangling from a cord around his neck;
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΤΑΝΙCΤ'ΗC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with bearded face, standing, chained by the neck to the upper part of the frame, with his arms bound behind his back, and a large pair of scales resting on his shoulders;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ὁ ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΙΣΤ'ΗΣ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with bearded face, bound in a variant of strappado, in a seated position, with his bound arms raised behind his back, chained to the upper part of the frame; he is chained by the neck to the upper part of the frame, and has the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;<sup>99</sup>
- The male Perjurer(?) (Ὁ Φ'ΙΟΡΚΟC / επιορκος); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with his hands bound behind his back and a snake coiling around his body, seemingly about to bite his mouth or lower jaw.

The three compartments of Communal Punishments in the upper register below the inscription are damaged and faded; only remnants of their dark backgrounds survive (Fig. 50). The two in the centre and on the right are identified by inscriptions on their upper borders: Tartarus (ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC), and the Gnashing of Teeth ([ΒΡ]ΙΓΜ'ΟC Τ[ΩΝ ΟΔ'ΟΝΤΩΝ]).<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Maderakis 1979, 52, claims that this is one of the most accurate depictions of a plough in Cretan monumental art.

<sup>100</sup> The compartment on the left, given its dark background, could be either Outer Darkness or Tar.

## Measurements

|                                 |                                   |               |                                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>Church</b> (irregular shape) |                                   |               |                                       |
| length at south wall            |                                   | 5.75 m        |                                       |
| length with apse                |                                   | 6.42 m        |                                       |
| width                           |                                   | 2.96 m        |                                       |
| height                          |                                   | 3.76 m        |                                       |
| <b>Hell</b>                     |                                   |               |                                       |
| <i>Position</i>                 | <i>Iconography</i>                |               | <i>Shape</i>                          |
| west wall, right of door        |                                   |               |                                       |
| top register                    | (?)                               | (0.25) × ? m  | small fragment                        |
| 2nd register:                   |                                   |               |                                       |
| left                            | <i>Communal Punishment</i>        | 0.65 × 0.39 m | rectangle, portrait, damaged top left |
| 2nd                             | <i>CP: Tartarus</i>               | 0.65 × 0.44 m | rectangle, portrait                   |
| 3rd                             | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>      | 0.65 × 0.49 m | rectangle, portrait                   |
| 3rd register                    | <i>6 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i> | 0.53 × 1.37 m | rectangle, landscape                  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 342 (no. 15); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 44 (no. 183); Lassithiotakis 1970b, 362–4 (no. 112); Maderakis 1979, 23; Bissinger 1995, 211 (no. 192).

#### 41. Voukolies (Kissamos), Saints Constantine and Helena

1452–61



Fig. 52 Church of Saints Constantine and Helena, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1452–61, wall painting (west wall), Voukolies (Kissamos), Chania, Crete



Fig. 53 Church of Saints Constantine and Helena, Communal Punishments, 1452–61, wall painting (west wall), Voukolies (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered, leaving the carved-stone frames of the western entrance and the lateral windows exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall and modern windows have been inserted in the centre of the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are severely damaged and poorly legible, except for some of the Hell scenes, which may have been restored.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper part of the west wall has the Great Deesis. The lower right corner of this composition shows the Weighing of the Souls, directly above the representation of Hell. The adjacent north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south wall has Paradise.

The remainder of the nave includes, on the north wall, the Tree of Jesse and an image of the patron saints, Saints Constantine and Helena, and on the south wall, the Archangel Michael and possibly another Deesis, seemingly with Christ flanked by the patron saints.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Blachernitissa in a medallion, with two attending angels. Little survives of the decoration of the triumphal arch. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension; the north and south walls of the sanctuary have a Resurrection theme, with Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers) and the Anastasis on the north wall (in two registers), and the Incredulity of Thomas on the south wall.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, directly underneath the Weighing of the Souls. It could be an abridged version of the 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, one frame with an Individual Sinner (the Rich Man), and five compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers. The upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (Fig. 52). The second register has the single frame

with an Individual Sinner (left) and two compartments of Communal Punishments (right). The third register has three compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 53).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register is damaged, and largely reduced to a red background; it is identified by an inscription in the top left corner (Ο ΠΙΡΙΝΟC ΠΟΤΑΜ'ΟC). Around a destroyed section in the centre, remnants of the black figure of Satan can be seen, in particular a leg with a clawed foot, on the lower right side of the hole in the plaster. A partially surviving inscription accompanies this figure, reading 'the Antichrist' (Ο ΑΝΤΙΧΡΗ[CΤΟC]). Several sinners can still be detected in the red fire, including a man with a flat white hat at the left border, and two busts of figures in ecclesiastical vestments, identified by inscriptions as Macedonius (ΜΑΚΕΔ'ΟΝΙΟC) and Arius (Α'ΡΙΟC), in the lower right corner. To the left, another partially surviving inscription can be discerned, the meaning of which is unclear: ΟΙ ΜΑΤΙ(ΑC)ΤΟΙ.

The single frame with an Individual Sinner in the second register is largely destroyed. It is identified by an inscription of the upper border as the Rich Man, erroneously named 'The Rich Lazarus' ([ΠΛΟ'ΥCΙΟC] ΛΑΖΑΡΟC). It is conceivable that the Rich Man here is not in fact an Individual Sinner, but represents a sixth compartment of Communal Punishment, i.e. the Everlasting Fire.<sup>101</sup>

The five compartments of Communal Punishments, too, have inscriptions on their upper borders. The two compartments in the second register on the right are, from left to right, the boiling Tar (ΠΙCΑ ΚΟΧΛΑΖΟΥCΑ), depicted in the form of a uniform black background, and Tartarus (Ὁ ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC), showing a crowd of heads, rendered in foreshortening, outlined on an ochre background. Of the three compartments in the third register, the first, on the left, shows the Gnashing of Teeth ([Ο ΒΡΗΓ]Μ'ΟC ΤΩΝ ΟΔ'Ο[ΝΤΟΝ]), rendered as a crowd of heads on a red background. The second frame represents the Sleepless Worm (Ὁ ΚΚ'ΟΛΙΞ Ὁ ΑΚ'ΙΜΗΤΟC), once again shown as a crowd of heads on a red background, this time with white, wriggly worms crawling on the faces. The third compartment, on the right, represents Outer Darkness (ΤΟ ΚΚ'ΟΤΟC ΤΟ ΕΞ'ΟΤΕΡΟΝ), rendered as a crowd of heads on a dark green background.

<sup>101</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, section 3.6.6 and n. 314. Lymberopoulou has not included this church as an example of a 'full' Hell. See also Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48), 610 and n. 3. These examples differ in their representation of the Rich Man in comparison to Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61), 581, where he is depicted in a completely separate space (spandrel).



## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.66 m |
| length with apse    | 8.39 m |
| width               | 3.78 m |
| height              | 4.20 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                 | <i>Shape</i>                    |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |   |                 |                                 |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.94 × (1.11) m | fragment of rectangle, portrait |
| 2nd register:            |   |                 |                                 |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner: Rich Man</i>      | 0.48 × ? m      | fragment                        |
| 2nd                      | <i>CP: Tar</i>                          | 0.48 × 0.40 m   | rectangle, portrait             |
| 3rd                      | <i>CP: Tartarus</i>                     | 0.48 × 0.42 m   | rectangle, portrait             |
| 3rd register:            |   |                 |                                 |
| left                     | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.40 × 0.38 m   | square, damaged left            |
| 2nd                      | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | 0.40 × 0.40 m   | square                          |
| 3rd                      | <i>CP: Outer Darkness</i>               | 0.40 × 0.42 m   | square                          |

**Bibliography:** Spatharakis 2001, 200–1 (no. 66, where the church is mentioned only as ‘Saint Constantine’; with earlier bibliography).

## 42. Voukolies (Vaïraktairiana, Kissamos), Saint Athanasios

15th century



Fig. 54 Church of Saint Athanasios, Individual Sinners, 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Voukolies (Vaïraktairiana, Kissamos), Chania, Crete



Fig. 55 Church of Saint Athanasios, Communal Punishments, 15th century, wall painting (north wall), Voukolies (Vairaktairiana, Kissamos), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, in a ruinous state. The vault and roof, the upper part of the triumphal arch and most of the west wall have collapsed. The missing central section of the west wall has been filled in, and a corrugated steel roof has been installed on what survives of the walls.

The exterior of the remaining original structure has exposed stonework. There is a single entrance in the centre of the rebuilt west wall; it is likely that this was also the location of the original entrance. The interior must have been covered by a (pointed) barrel vault with two transverse arches; the lower segments of the latter can still be seen on the lateral walls. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

Only fragments of wall painting remain, faded and in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The remnants of a now illegible dedicatory inscription survive on the north wall, to the right of the Hell scenes at the west end of this wall.

The upper part of the west wall is completely destroyed, but it is likely to have shown the Last Judgement, as the remaining decoration on this wall includes the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, which is hardly ever found outside of the context of the Last Judgement.

The remainder of the nave appears to have had scenes from the Christological Cycle, among them the Crucifixion, which is represented above the Hell scenes on the north wall. The Gallery of Saints seems to have included the patron saint, Saint Athanasios, on the north wall, and a military saint on horseback (Saint Theodore Stratilatis?) on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, blessing with outstretched arms; the apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the now destroyed upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. In the bottom register on the right, there is an image of Saint Euplous.<sup>102</sup> The decoration of the north wall of the sanctuary includes the Man of Sorrows; that of the south wall, Saint Mary of Egypt Receiving the Holy Communion from Saint Zosimas.<sup>103</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is likely to have been represented as part of a Last Judgement. The remnants of it can be found on the surviving lower right corner of the west wall, and on the adjacent north wall. It appears to have been a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners and compartments with Communal Punishments. The west wall has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, and two frames with Individual Sinners, divided over three registers (Fig. 54). The lower left corner of the north wall has four compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over two registers of two scenes each (Fig. 55).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, in the upper register on the west wall, has an unusual format. Uniquely on Crete, the scene is labelled 'Hell' (H K'O^ACIC). The little that survives of it appears to show a procession of sinners moving to the right, where they are devoured by the Dragon of the Depths, on which Satan is likely to have been enthroned. Only two of the sinners survive completely, one of them pushed towards the Dragon of the Depths by a winged black devil.

The frames with Individual Sinners in the second and third registers on the west wall each contain multiple naked sinners, elegantly outlined in black and shaded in light brown, with black snakes coiling around their bodies, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions.

What remains of the frame in the second register contains five sinners, all standing. They are, from left to right:

<sup>102</sup> Saint Euplous also appears in cat. nos 27 and 47. <sup>103</sup> See above, cat. no. 1, n. 3.

- Unidentifiable; a man, judging by his short hair, shown frontally, with his arms spread, with open palms; a snake is coiling around each arm and biting the hand, suggesting a sin with a manual connotation;
- The female Fornicator (Η Π'ΟΡΝΗ); she is shown frontally, with her arms bound behind her back, and the two snakes coiling around her appear to be biting her genitals;
- The Blasphemer (Ο ΒΛΑ[ΦΗ]ΜΟC); he is shown frontally, with his arms bound behind his back; the snake coiling around him is biting his mouth;
- The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘΗCΤΕΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with her arms bound behind her back; the two snakes coiling around her are biting her ears;
- The Woman Who Does Not Nurse Children (ΕΚ'ΙΝΗ 'ΟΠΟΥ ΔΕ ΒΙΖΑΝΗ ΤΑ ΠΕΔ'Α); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with her arms bound behind her back; the two snakes coiling around her are biting her breasts.

What remains of the frame in the third register includes four sinners in different poses, each positioned in or above flames. They are, from left to right:

- The male Tavern Keeper (Ο ταβερνάρηC); he is shown in three-quarters, from behind, appearing to be walking to the left, bent over, with his arms bound behind his back; a barrel and two jugs are dangling from cords around his neck and a black snake is coiling around his body;
- The (cheating) Miller (Ο ΜΙΛΟΝΑC); he is shown in three-quarters, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by a chain attached to his left arm and leg, with the wrist and ankle tied together; his right arm and leg are hanging down, wrist tied to ankle; a black millstone is hanging from a cord around his neck;
- The Rich Man (?); only part of the head and one shoulder of this sinner survives, at an angle that suggests he may be positioned sitting in a fire, looking up;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο Π[Α]ΡΑΒΛΑΚ-Ι[CT]'ΗC); only his head survives, near the lower edge of the frame, underneath the head of the previous sinner, at an angle that suggests he may be positioned on his back; the handle of his customary attribute, the plough, can still be seen above him.

The four square compartments of Communal Punishments on the north wall are too damaged to be identified; the top left and bottom right ones have a black background, suggesting Outer Darkness, Tar or Tartarus. The remnants of a head are visible in the bottom right compartment.

Measurements

|                          |   |               |  |
|--------------------------|---|---------------|--|
| <b>Church</b>            |   |               |  |
|                          | (ruin)                                  |               |  |
| length without apse      |   | 6.40 m        |  |
| length with apse         |   | 7.39 m        |  |
| width                    |   | 3.68 m        |  |
| height                   |   | ? m           |  |
| <b>Hell</b>              |   |               |  |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>                           |
| west wall, right section |   |               |  |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.53 × 1.19 m | rectangle, landscape, damaged top left |
| 2nd register             | <i>(5) Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>     | 0.53 × 1.19 m | rectangle, landscape                   |
| 3rd register             | <i>(4) Individual Sinners (m)</i>       | 0.53 × 1.19 m | rectangle, landscape                   |
| north wall, west end     |   |               |  |
| top register:            |   |               |  |
| left                     | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.69 × 0.66 m | square                                 |
| 2nd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.69 × 0.64 m | square                                 |
| 2nd register             |   |               |  |
| left                     | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.68 × 0.66 m | square                                 |
| 2nd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.68 × 0.64 m | square                                 |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 109 (no. 817); Lassithiotakis 1969a, 231 (no. 32); Maderakis 1980–1, 129; Maderakis 1984; Bissinger 1995, 239–40 (no. 221).



43. Voutas (Selino), *Christ the Saviour*1360s?<sup>104</sup>

Fig. 56 Church of Christ the Saviour, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1360s?, wall painting (west wall), Voutas (Selino), Chania, Crete

<sup>104</sup> Maderakis 2005, 246, suggests end of the 14th century.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, including the cement gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall; it has a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with a single transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are badly affected by moisture and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the church has the Last Judgement, with the Adventus at the apex of the vault and the Deesis and the Apostle Tribunal on the upper part of the west wall, above the entrance. The south wall has Paradise, in the register directly below the Adventus on the vault. The west wall also has an image of the Archangel Michael, to the left of the entrance.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, as well as a further Deesis on the south wall, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The Gallery of Saints includes, on the south wall, Saints Peter and Paul, and Saints Constantine and Helena, holding the Holy Cross between them. The transverse arch has Prophets, and the Mandylion at the apex.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features yet another Deesis, with Christ flanked by medallions with the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has two registers, with the Holy Communion of the Apostles in the upper register and Officiating Bishops in the lower. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance. It is a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and three compartments with Communal Punishments, divided over four registers. The upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame; the second and third registers each have a frame with Individual Sinners, and the fourth register, compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 56).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire shown in the upper register is too badly damaged to distinguish any of its individual features.

The frames with Individual Sinners in the second and third registers each contain a number of sinners in a variety of poses, outlined in black, in

a crude hand, and shaded in light brown, against a white background.<sup>105</sup> They used to be accompanied by inscriptions, which have now largely disappeared or become illegible. The frame in the second register includes seven sinners. They are, from left to right:

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; he is shown in profile, bent over towards the left, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;
- The Murderer; he is shown in profile, facing left, suspended by his neck and his raised legs, with his arms bound behind his back and a sword plunged into his chest;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο κλέπτης), shown in three-quarters, facing left, weighed down by an oversized white sheep or goat on his back;
- Unidentifiable; shown in profile, suspended in a horizontal position by his arms and legs, wrists and ankles tied together;
- Unidentifiable; shown in profile, crouching underneath the previous sinner, seemingly accompanied by an instrument;
- The female Weaver; she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with her arms bound behind her back, and what appears to be a loom attached to a cord around her neck;
- The (cheating) Tailor; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, apparently walking, with his arms bound behind his back and a large pair of scissors hanging from a cord around his neck.

In the frame in the third register, only four sinners survive, arranged in two pairs, the one above the other. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

- Unidentifiable; he appears to be bent double towards the left, with a black snake coiling around his body;
- (below him) The male Tavern Keeper; he is shown in profile, crouching on his hands and feet towards the left, with a large jug attached by a cord to his neck;
- Unidentifiable; he is shown in profile, facing left, suspended in a horizontal position by his arms and legs, wrists and ankles tied together;
- The (cheating) Miller (Ο μιλονάς); he is shown in profile, bent over to the left, with his legs tied together at the ankles, and his arms pulled down and bound behind his knees; there is a large millstone around his neck and further implements (grindstones or weights?) are attached to his neck by cords.

<sup>105</sup> These sinners are stylistically comparable to the ones found in cat. nos 1, 35, 49 and 55.

Of the three compartments of Communal Punishments in the fourth register, the two on the left have rows of heads or skulls, once again drawn in a crude hand on a white or ochre background. The one on the far left may represent the Sleepless Worm; white worms appear to be crawling on the heads or skulls. The second compartment can be identified as the Gnashing of Teeth; the heads or skulls here have prominent white teeth. The compartment on the right is no longer identifiable.

Measurements

| Church                   |   |               |                      |
|--------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| length without apse      |   | 6.07 m        |                      |
| length with apse         |   | 6.80 m        |                      |
| width                    |   | 3.00 m        |                      |
| height                   |   | 3.96 m        |                      |
| Hell                     |   |               |                      |
| Position                 | Iconography                             | Shape         |                      |
| west wall, right of door |   |               |                      |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.53 × 0.93 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register             | <i>7 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>       | 0.30 × 0.93 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register             | <i>(4) Individual Sinners (m)</i>       | 0.31 × 0.93 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 4th register:            |   |               |                      |
| left                     | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | 0.47 × 0.24 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 2nd                      | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.47 × 0.29 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.47 × 0.31 m | rectangle, portrait  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 31 (no. 90); Lassithiotakis 1970a, 162–4 (no. 64); Bissinger 1995, 169 (no. 144); Maderakis 2005, 246.

## 44. Voutas (Frameno, Selino), Virgin

Late 14th to early 15th century(?)



Fig. 57 Church of the Virgin, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, late 14th to early 15th century(?), wall painting (top and middle register, west wall), Voutas (Frameno, Selino), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church in a poor condition; the interior west wall and the vault are cracked.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a whitewashed modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are faded and have suffered from moisture damage and abrasion; they are barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has remnants of the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls: the Apostle Tribunal can be detected on the north wall, Paradise on the south.





Fig. 58 Church of the Virgin, Communal Punishments, late 14th to early 15th century(?), wall painting (west wall, bottom register), Voutas (Frameno, Selino), Chania, Crete



Fig. 59 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, late 14th to early 15th century(?), wall painting (west wall), Voutas (Frameno, Selino), Chania, Crete



The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The Gallery of Saints includes a number of doctor saints on the north wall: Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Saint Panteleimon and the twin doctor saints Cosmas and Damian. The transverse arch has Prophets.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin and Child flanked by two angels in medallions, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension, extending into the nave in the current layout of the church. The south wall of the sanctuary has the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Archangel Gabriel bringing food to the Virgin Mary.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, on either side of the entrance. It is a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners and compartments with Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, is shown in the upper of two registers to the right of the entrance (Fig. 57). Remnants of four frames of Individual Sinners survive to the left of the entrance, underneath the dedicatory inscription, divided over two registers of two frames each (Fig. 59). Two compartments of Communal Punishments appear in the lower of the two registers to the right of the entrance, underneath the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 58).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is damaged. Little of the scene remains, except the red background, with the lower part of Satan holding Judas and enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths outlined upon it in black, at the bottom of the scene (the left-facing Dragon of the Depths is devouring a soul, head first). Remnants of a group of sinners outlined in the top right corner of the scene can be discerned.

Of the frames with Individual Sinners to the left of the entrance, the two in the upper register have become completely illegible. The frames in the lower register show sinners outlined in sepia and shaded in light brown, against a light yellow background, without surviving inscriptions. What remains of the left frame includes two sinners: one on the left, suspended upside down, and another on the right, a bearded man, standing, with his arms bound behind his back, and with prominent genitals, suggesting the male Fornicator. The left frame shows the Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line, shown in profile, standing bent over to the left among flames, the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum.

Two compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower register to the right of the entrance are identified by inscriptions on the upper border of each compartment. The left compartment represents Outer Darkness (ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΟΝ), in the form of a crowd of heads outlined in grey on a black background. The right compartment shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο ΚΟΛΗΞ Ο ΑΚΗΜΙΤΟΣ), represented by a crowd of naked sinners outlined in sepia on an ochre background, with white, wriggly worms crawling over them.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.26 m |
| length with apse    | 6.96 m |
| width               | 3.12 m |
| height              | 3.37 m |

Hell

| Position                 | Iconography                                       |                   | Shape                                    |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--|
| west wall, left of door  |   |                   |  |
| top register:            |   |                   |  |
| left                     | Individual Sinners(?)                             | 0.48 × (0.23) m   | fragment                                 |
| 2nd                      | Individual Sinners(?)                             | 0.48 × (0.28) m   | fragment                                 |
| 2nd register:            |   |                   |  |
| left                     | (2) IS: incl. Fornicator (m)(?)                   | (0.30) × (0.23) m | fragment                                 |
| 3rd                      | (1) IS: Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line | (0.30) × (0.28) m | fragment                                 |
| west wall, right of door |   |                   |  |
| top register             | Hell Formed by the River of Fire                  | 0.88 × 0.94 m     | rectangle, landscape, indented top right |
| 2nd register:            |   |                   |  |
| left                     | CP: Outer Darkness                                | 0.58 × 0.45 m     | rectangle, portrait                      |
| 2nd                      | CP: Sleepless Worm                                | 0.58 × 0.43 m     | rectangle, portrait                      |

Bibliography: Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 31 (no. 91).

## 45. Vouvas (*Chora Sfakion*), *Christ the Saviour*

### Date unclear

**Note:** At the time of our visit on 3 June 2012, the larger part of the interior of this church was whitewashed. What remained visible of the iconographic programme did not include Hell scenes. Lassithiotakis, in his publication on the churches of Sfakia, records remnants of compartments of Communal Punishments on the north wall of the narthex: the Sleepless Worm; the Gnashing of Teeth; Tartarus; the Everlasting Fire; and Tar.<sup>106</sup> In addition to these compartments, Gerola also records the following sinners: the male Fornicator; the female Fornicator; the Notary who Falsified Documents; the Rope Thief (a unique figure among Cretan sinners); the Witch; the Procuress; the male Adulterer; and the Man who Cheats at the Scales.<sup>107</sup>

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24), Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 48 (no. 221); Lassithiotakis 1971, 116 (no. 137).

<sup>106</sup> Lassithiotakis 1971, 116 (no. 137).    <sup>107</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 24).

#### 46. Vouvas (Chora Sfakion), Saint Paraskevi

14th century(?)



**Fig. 60** Church of Saint Paraskevi, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, 14th century(?), wall painting (west wall), Vouvas (Chora Sfakion), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its structure distorted, probably owing to ground movement.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed; indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in the plaster, in the shape of a cross, at the top of the west facade. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the south corner of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A small modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The interior is largely whitewashed, with segments of wall painting exposed only along the lower right part of the west wall, the lower part of the north wall, and in the sanctuary. The visible paintings are faded and poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The exposed paintings on the lower right part of the west wall include the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, suggesting the west wall must have had the Last Judgement.

On the north wall, only the Gallery of Saints is exposed, including Saints Constantine and Helena holding the Holy Cross between them, an unidentified military saint and the Archangel Michael.

The conch of the sanctuary apse is whitewashed; it may have featured the Virgin or Christ; the Officiating Bishops on the apse wall are visible. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse (only the Archangel Gabriel is visible). The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension, with four Prophets in a register underneath, pointing upwards at the Ascension.<sup>108</sup> The south side of the sanctuary vault has the Pentecost.

**Hell:** Hell, as far as can be established, is represented on the lower west wall, to the right of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, and a frame with Individual Sinners, stacked in two registers (Fig. 60).

Very little remains of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register; only a segment of red background and part of an unidentifiable light grey curved shape are visible.<sup>109</sup>

The frame with Individual Sinners in the second register contains two rows of sinners, separated by a horizontal black line in the middle of the frame; only a segment of the frame remains intact. One fragmentary and two complete sinners can be seen in the top row, outlined in brown and shaded in ochre on a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right:

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line, with a small fragment of inscription (‘... ΗΣ’); he is almost completely erased, but appears to be bent over to the left with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum;
- The Witch (Η ΜΑΓΗΣΑ); she is shown in profile, seemingly suspended upside down, in a bent-over position, by a rope or ropes, from the upper edge of the frame;

<sup>108</sup> Compare cat. no. 47.

<sup>109</sup> There are extensions on the underside of the shape that could be legs; it is possible that the shape is part of the Dragon of the Depths.

- Unidentifiable; this sinner is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame, his legs at an angle to his upper body.

In the bottom row, only a small fragment of painting survives; it appears to show the head or heads of sinner(s) lying on their backs, possibly with a devil hovering above them, which may suggest Those Who Sleep on Sunday.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.63 m |
| length with apse    | 7.89 m |
| width               | 2.96 m |
| height              | 3.56 m |

Hell

| Position                 | Iconography                             | Shape                      |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |   |                            |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (0.37) × (0.73) m fragment |
| 2nd register             | <i>(4) IS: incl. Witch</i>              | (0.50) × (0.73) m fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 23); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 48 (no. 220); Lassithiotakis 1971, 116 (no. 136).



## 47. Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon

14th century (c. 1360?)



Fig. 61 Church of Saint Panteleimon, the Rich Man and the Weighing of the Souls, 14th century (c. 1360?), wall painting (north wall), Zymvragou (Kissamos), Chania, Crete



**Fig. 62** Church of Saint Panteleimon, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, 14th century (c. 1360?), wall painting (west wall), Zymvragou (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, with the (original?) carved-stone frames of the western entrance and the northern lateral window left exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance on the west



Fig. 63 Church of Saint Panteleimon, Individual Sinners, 14th century (c. 1360?), wall painting (west wall), Zymvragou (Kissamos), Chania, Crete

side, with a pointed-arch, framed niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged, but otherwise in a good, clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper part of the west wall is divided into two registers, with the Hetoimasia of the Throne in the upper register, and the Great Deesis in the lower. The north wall has Choirs of the Elect, the Weighing of the Souls, and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south wall has further Choirs of the Elect, and Paradise; it also has a further Deesis, with Christ Photodotis (lit. giving light) flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The north wall also has the Dormition of the Virgin and an image of the patron saint, Saint Panteleimon. The Gallery of Saints on the south wall includes the Archangel Michael and the twin doctor saints, Saints Cosmas and Damian. Saints Constantine and Helena, holding the Cross between them, appear on the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance.



The western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete; the eastern transverse arch has Prophets, and the Mandylion at the apex. There is a decorative band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse, and the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension, with two Prophets each in the two adjacent lower registers on the north and south sides of the vault.<sup>110</sup> The north and south walls of the sanctuary have a Resurrection theme, with the Holy Women at the Tomb and *Noli me Tangere* (Touch Me Not) on the north wall, and the *Chairete* (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers) and the Incredulity of Thomas on the south wall. The saints represented in the sanctuary include Saint Euplous.<sup>111</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, with a small extension on the north wall. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners. To the right of the entrance on the west wall, there are three registers: the upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame; the two lower registers contain a total of six frames with Individual Sinners, at three frames per register (Figs 62, 63). Exceptionally, a further Individual Sinner, the Rich Man, is included in the top left corner of the Weighing of the Souls on the north wall, adjacent to the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the west wall (Fig. 61).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, in the top register on the west wall, is heavily damaged. Only the right half survives, showing the customary red background and parts of a large winged Satan, identified by an inscription as the Son of Destruction ([O YI'OC] TĤC AΠOΛIAC); he is holding Judas (ο κέ . . . Ιούδας) in his arms, and is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths ([B'YΘI]OC ΔP'AK[ΩN]), of which only a right-facing head survives.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> See also cat. no. 46. <sup>111</sup> Compare cat. nos 27 and 42.

<sup>112</sup> The fact that a right-facing head of the dragon survives suggests that it was a double-headed dragon (with another head facing to the left, now destroyed). See Doutsis in this publication, vol. 1, 219–20.

The six frames with Individual Sinners in the second and third registers on the west wall appear to have contained two sinners per frame (Fig. 63). They are shown naked, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. In what remains of the frames in the second register, the following sinners can be seen, from left to right:

#### Left frame

- The Tavern Keeper(?); only an arm and two jugs dangling on cords survive;

#### Second frame

- Unidentifiable; only a bound pair of arms, pointing left, survives; the top right corner of the frame shows one remaining character of an inscription (‘σ’) that may have accompanied this sinner, or another positioned on the right side of the frame;

#### Third frame

- (left) The female Slanderer (Ἡ κατατολαλούσα); she is shown facing right, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by three ropes – one attached to her neck, one to her wrists and the third to her ankles; her body is contorted: her lower body is shown in profile, with her legs bent double, her upper body twisted into three-quarters, with her arms wrapped around her torso and bound behind her shoulders; a black snake coils around her and bites her mouth;
- (right) The Woman Who Rejects Babies (ἡ γυνή ἡ ἀποστρέφουσα τὰ νήπια); she is shown frontally, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by two ropes, one attached to her neck and the other to her left leg, with her arms bound behind her; her left leg is bent double by the suspension rope, her free right leg touches the ground; two snakes coil around her, biting her breasts.

The remains of the three frames in the lower register contain, from left to right:

#### Left frame

- Unidentifiable; very little survives;

#### Second frame

- (left) The Thief(?) (Ὁ Κλέπτης?); little survives of the figure or the inscription;
- (right) Unidentifiable; little survives of the figure, nothing of the inscription;

Third frame

- (left) The female Liar (Ἡ ΨΕΦΣΤΡΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, slightly bent over, looking up over her left shoulder, with her arms wrapped around her torso and bound behind her shoulders; she is suspended from or bound to the upper edge of the frame by the rope tied around her wrists; a grey snake coils around her and is possibly biting her mouth;
- (right) The Murderer (Ὁ ΦΟΝΕΑΚ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, slightly bent over, with his arms bound in front of his chest; he is bound to or suspended from the upper edge of the frame by the rope tied around his wrists and by another rope tied around his neck; a black dagger is plunged into his chest.

The Rich Man in the top left corner of the Weighing of the Souls on the north wall (Fig. 61) is shown in three-quarters, facing left, naked, seated, pointing to his parched tongue with the index finger of his right hand; he is accompanied by the customary inscription from Luke 16:24 (ὁ πλούσιος Λάζαρος; πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, πέψον Λάζαρον τον αδελφόν μου ἵνα βάψη τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ μου τὴν γλότῃ, ὅτι ὁδίνομε τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ).

Measurements

| Church                   |   |               |                       |
|--------------------------|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| length without apse      |   | 7.00 m        |                       |
| length with apse         |   | 8.03 m        |                       |
| width                    |   | 3.35 m        |                       |
| height                   |   | 4.39 m        |                       |
| Hell                     |   |               |                       |
| Position                 | Iconography                             |               | Shape                 |
| west wall, right of door |   |               |                       |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 1.11 × 1.17 m | 2 fragments of square |
| 2nd register:            |   |               |                       |
| left                     | <i>IS: incl. Tavern Keeper(?)</i>       | ? × ? m       | small fragment        |
| 2nd                      | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.37 × 0.35 m | 2 fragments of square |



(cont.)

|              |  |                   |             |
|--------------|--|-------------------|-------------|
| 3rd          | 2 IS: <i>Slanderer (f);<br/>Woman Who<br/>Rejects Babies</i> | 0.37 × 0.36 m     | square      |
| 3rd register |  |                   |             |
| left         | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>                                  | (0.19) × (0.20) m | fragment    |
| 2nd          | 2 IS: <i>incl. Thief(?)</i>                                  | (0.19) × 0.35 m   | 2 fragments |
| 3rd          | 2 IS: <i>Liar (f);<br/>Murderer</i>                          | (0.19) × 0.36 m   | fragment    |

**Bibliography:** Maderakis 2005, 183.

48. Apostoloi (Amari), Saint Nicholas

End of the 14th century



Fig. 64 Church of Saint Nicholas, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, end of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Apostoloi (Amari), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners. It is covered by a tiled gable roof. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in a cross-shaped pattern at the top of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall; it has an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings have suffered extensive moisture damage and are covered in sediment; they are barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** Portraits of a male and female donor, accompanied by a dedicatory inscription, survive at the west end of the south wall.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the adjacent north and south walls. The west wall has the Deesis, at the apex of the wall, with the Apostle Tribunal underneath. The west end of the north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The west end of the south wall has Paradise and Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Nicholas. The south wall has a representation of the Tree of Jesse. The Gallery of Saints includes, on the west wall, to the left of the door, the Archangel Michael; he probably appears here, underneath the Last Judgement, in his capacity both as guardian (φύλαξ)<sup>1</sup> and as supervisor of the Weighing of the Souls.<sup>2</sup> One of the military saints on horseback on the north wall has a halo with relief decoration.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with the bust of Christ flanked by the Virgin and the patron saint, Saint Nicholas. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, including a striking table layout. The register underneath has the Annunciation, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Nativity on the south.

On the prothesis, in the left corner of the sanctuary, there is a painted imitation of a white, patterned fabric wall hanging.

<sup>1</sup> Xyngopoulos 1932.

<sup>2</sup> Lymberopoulou 2006, 102–5. See also Semoglou in this publication, vol. 1, 301 and n. 112.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and six compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers; the upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, and the second and third registers each have three compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 64).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is heavily damaged. It has a red background, on which figures are outlined in black. At the top, in the centre of the scene, two figures of sinners can still be discerned: a bearded man with a flat, broad-brimmed hat on the left, an emperor with a bejewelled crown on the right. At the bottom, also in the centre of the scene, Satan is visible; he is holding Judas at his bosom and is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths. The dragon is facing left and has a long coiling tail pointing to the right; it is devouring a sinner.

Of the compartments of Communal Punishments in the second register, the compartment on the left is damaged beyond recognition. The second compartment shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο ΚΟΛΗΞ Ο ΑΚΙΜΗΤΟΣ). It includes at least seven ochre heads (with a possible eighth head in the lower right corner), attacked by white, wriggly worms, on a black background. The third compartment shows the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο ΒΡΙΓΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ). It has six ochre heads with prominent bared white teeth, on a black background.

Of the three compartments in the third register, the remaining fragment of the one on the left has red flames on a white background, and may have represented the Everlasting Fire.<sup>3</sup> The second compartment has Tar (Η ΠΙΣΣΑ), showing ochre sinners immersed in a black substance. The third compartment represents Outer Darkness (ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΟΝ), in the form of a plain black background.

Measurements

|                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| <b>Church</b>          |        |
| length without<br>apse | 7.57 m |
| length with apse       | 8.69 m |
| width                  | 3.37 m |
| height                 | 3.66 m |

<sup>3</sup> Another option is the Rich Man, as seen at Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41).

(cont.)

| <b>Hell</b>     |   |                        |                                   |
|-----------------|---|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Position</i> | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                        | <i>Shape</i>                      |
| west wall       |   |                        |                                   |
| top register    | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | $(0.73) \times 0.80$ m | fragment, rectangle, landscape(?) |
| 2nd register:   |   |                        |                                   |
| left            | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | $? \times 0.28$ m      | fragment                          |
| centre          | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | $0.31 \times 0.28$ m   | square                            |
| right           | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | $0.30 \times 0.28$ m   | square                            |
| 3rd register:   |   |                        |                                   |
| left            | <i>CP: Everlasting Fire(?)</i>          | $(0.14) \times 0.30$ m | fragment                          |
| centre          | <i>CP: Tar</i>                          | $0.31 \times 0.30$ m   | square                            |
| right           | <i>CP: Outer Darkness</i>               | $0.30 \times 0.30$ m   | square                            |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 37); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 64 (no. 373); Spatharakis and van Essenberg 2012, 34–9 (no. 7).

#### 49. Artos (Hagios Konstantinos, Rethymnon), Saint George

1401



Fig. 65 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1401, wall painting (west wall), Artos (Hagios Konstantinos), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow, with the masonry on the corners of the west facade and the carved-stone frames of the western entrance and the lateral windows left exposed. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted, in a cross-shaped pattern, in the plaster at the top of the west wall. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. The base of a modern belfry is mounted on the northern corner of the west wall. There is a single entrance on the west side, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Modern windows have been inserted in the centre of the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden templon.<sup>4</sup>

The wall paintings are heavily damaged, but the surviving parts are in a legible condition.

<sup>4</sup> The wooden separation appears to imitate the type of stone templon found in the church of Saint Zosimas at Achladiakes (cat. no. 1).



**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives in an unusual location, on the north wall of the sanctuary.<sup>5</sup>

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the adjacent north and south walls. The west wall has two angels holding the Scroll of Heaven at the apex, with the Deesis with attending angels underneath. On the far right of the scene, there is an inscription with a passage from Matthew 25:41: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels' (ΠΟΡΕΒΕΤΑΙΑΠ ΕΜΟΥΗΚΑΤΙΡΑΜΕΝΙΗCΤΟΠΙΠΤΟΕΟΝΙΟΝΤΟΗΤΗΜΑCΜΕΝΟΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΚΕ ΤΟΥCΑΓΓΕΛΟΥCΑΥΤΟΥ).<sup>6</sup> A frame set into the lower right corner of the composition, below the inscription, has half of the Apostle Tribunal (the other half must have appeared in a similar frame on the now destroyed left side of the painting). The west end of the north wall has Choirs of the Elect and, in the register underneath, the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The west end of the south wall has further Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. There is an ornamental border along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin flanked by two attending angels, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops, with, in the centre, an altar referring to the Melismos, but without the Christ Child. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse,<sup>7</sup> and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Incredulity of Saint Thomas, the Anastasis and the Sacrifice of Abraham, the south wall, the Pentecost.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the door. Very little

<sup>5</sup> Spatharakis 1999, 47–50.

<sup>6</sup> There are no spaces between the words in the inscription (ΠΟΡΕΒΕΤΑΙΑΠ ΕΜΟΥ Η ΚΑΤΙΡΑΜΕΝΙΗC ΤΟ ΠΙΠ ΤΟ ΕΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΗΤΗΜΑCΜΕΝΟ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟ ΚΕ ΤΟΥC ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥC ΑΥΤΟΥ). In other instances, this passage accompanies heretics burning in Hell, e.g. at Deliana, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 6).

<sup>7</sup> Spatharakis 1999, 52–3 mentions that the inscription 'and Holy Ghost' can be read above the head of the angel to the right, which would suggest that the two other angels were accompanied by inscriptions identifying them as the Father and the Son, respectively. If this was indeed the case, the Trinitarian message of the Hospitality of Abraham would have been made explicit in this church.

survives of it, except for remnants of one frame with Individual Sinners and four compartments of Communal Punishments at the bottom of the wall, divided over two registers (Fig. 65). What remains of the frame with Individual Sinners appears in the upper register on the left, the compartment of Communal Punishment in the same register on the right; the other three compartments appear in the second register.

The frame with Individual Sinners shows the sinners naked, in a variety of positions, outlined in black and shaded in brown, on a white background;<sup>8</sup> they used to be accompanied by inscriptions, which have now largely disappeared. Remnants of four sinners survive. They are, from left to right:

- Unidentifiable; only a pair of shackled legs can still be seen;
- The Usurer(?); he is shown in profile, suspended horizontally by his raised legs, his head turned towards the left, with his shackled arms below him, behind his back; a large purse is dangling from a cord around his neck;
- The female Fornicator(?); she is shown frontally, standing, spread-eagled; a black snake coiling around her body appears to bite her genitals;
- The Woman Who Does Not Give Offerings to the Church(?) (‘Η ΠΗ . . . ’); she is shown in profile, crouching, facing left, with her hands in a large bowl that has been placed before her.

The four fragments of compartments of Communal Punishments are no longer identifiable. Two have black backgrounds: the one in the upper register on the right and the one in the lower register on the right. The central one in the lower register may have had heads on a grey background.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.85 m |
| length with apse    | 7.95 m |
| width               | 3.40 m |
| height              | 4.40 m |

<sup>8</sup> These sinners are stylistically comparable to those in cat. nos 1, 35, 43 and 55.

(cont.)

| <b>Hell</b>              |                               |                   |              |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>            |                   | <i>Shape</i> |
| west wall, top register: |                               |                   |              |
| left                     | (4) <i>Individual Sinners</i> | (0.35) × (0.59) m | fragment     |
| 2nd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>    | (0.35) × (0.34) m | fragment     |
| west wall, 2nd register: |                               |                   |              |
| left                     | <i>Communal Punishment</i>    | 0.36 × ? m        | fragment     |
| 2nd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>    | 0.36 × ? m        | square       |
| 3rd                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>    | 0.36 × ? m        | fragment     |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 25); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 51 (no. 242); Bissinger 1995, 193–4 (n. 164); Spatharakis 1999, 47–71 (no. 4); Spatharakis 2001, 153–6 (no. 51; with earlier bibliography).

## 50. Axos (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Baptist

Late 14th century (1390s)<sup>9</sup>



**Fig. 66** Church of Saint John the Baptist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, late 14th century (1390s), wall painting (west wall), Axos (Mylopotamos), Rethymnon, Crete

<sup>9</sup> On style and dating, see Spatharakis 2010, 117–18. The church is a funerary church, which still serves the town cemetery today. A substantial number of the gravestones display the surname ‘Koutantos’, possibly a regional variant of ‘Akotantos’, the surname of the famous 15th-century Cretan icon-painter Angelos Akotantos. I am grateful to Charalambos Gasparis for drawing my attention to this possibility. On Angelos Akotantos, see Vassilaki 2009.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a gable roof. There is a single entrance on the west side, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. Tesserae embedded in the floor suggest the church may originally have had a mosaic pavement.

The wall paintings are damaged, but the surviving parts are in a clearly legible condition. They are of a high quality artistically.

**Iconographic Programme:** There was once a dedicatory inscription, no longer surviving today, on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the adjacent north and south walls. The west wall has the Deesis at the apex and the Hetoimasia of the Throne underneath, flanked by Adam and Eve and the Apostle Tribunal. The north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead, with Choirs of the Elect underneath. The south wall has Paradise, with at its entrance a male figure without a halo, possibly the patron of the church.<sup>10</sup> Further Choirs of the Elect appear in the register underneath Paradise. In addition, the Hand of God holding the souls of the righteous is shown at the apex of the western transverse arch.<sup>11</sup>

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint John the Baptist. The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena with the Cross (on the west wall, to the left of the entrance), Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Saint Anne holding the Virgin, Saint Mamas holding a ram, and Saint George on horseback killing the dragon. The western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete. The south-wall pediment of this arch shows Saint Anthony with a halo in relief.<sup>12</sup> There is a decorative band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

<sup>10</sup> On saints in Paradise without haloes, Ševčenko 2009, 3. On the possibility that the figure here may be the donor, see Tsamakda forthcoming.

<sup>11</sup> Compare cat. no. 68.

<sup>12</sup> This is similar to the one that the Archangel Michael has in the church dedicated to him at Kakodiki (cat. no. 13).

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with a bust of Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops, with the Melismos in the centre, showing the Christ Child on a paten, being pierced, described as 'Christ the Lamb' (IC XC O AMNOC). The triumphal arch has the Mandyllion on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The south wall of the sanctuary has doctor saints: Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Panteleimon and Saint Hermolaos.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, no fewer than twelve frames with Individual Sinners (the joint-largest surviving number in any church on Crete) and four compartments of Communal Punishments. The scenes are divided over five registers, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register, the twelve frames with Individual Sinners in the second to fourth registers (at four frames per register) and the four compartments of Communal Punishments in the fifth (bottom) register (Fig. 66).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register is heavily damaged. The scene shows a red background, bearing an inscription identifying it as the River of Fire ([O] Π'HPINOC ΠO[TAM'OC]). Sinuous black lines indicate the flow of the river. Satan enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths appears to have been shown in the centre of the scene; only the front paws of the dragon survive, outlined in black. A little black devil can be seen on the far left. There are also three larger (winged?) black figures, one to the left of Satan and two to the right.

The twelve frames with Individual Sinners in the second to fourth registers show the sinners naked, in a variety of positions, outlined in dark brown and shaded in brown, against a white background. They are accompanied by inscriptions on the upper border of each frame. There are, in the majority of cases, two sinners per frame, resulting in a total of twenty sinners – the joint largest number recorded on Crete.<sup>13</sup> They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Upper register, left

- (left) The Murderer(?); the figure is heavily damaged and the inscription has disappeared; he is shown frontally, suspended upside

<sup>13</sup> The number is matched by Karydaki, Virgin (cat. no. 19).



down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame; the hilt of a black sword (the attribute of the Murderer) can be seen to the right of his chest;

- (right) The Blasphemer (Ο ΒΛΑΦΙΜΟC); he is shown frontally, standing, with his arms bound in front of him; his head is turned towards the top right corner of the scene, and the remnants of a cord indicate that he may have been tied by his tongue to the upper edge of the frame;

Upper register, second

- (left) The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΥΡΠΑΡΙC), indicated by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; he is shown in profile, suspended horizontally from the upper edge of the frame, facing downwards, with his limbs dangling below him; his right arm is tied to the left edge of the frame by the wrist, his legs are tied to the bottom edge of the frame by the ankles, his left arm is weighed down by a purse tied to his wrist; a black snake coils around his body and appears to attack his face;
- (right) Unidentifiable (‘Ο ... ΤΑ ... Α ... ΡΗC’); the damaged figure appears to be shown from behind, suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame, with his arms bound in front of him; at least two weights are dangling from cords tied to his neck or body;

Upper register, third

- (left) The (cheating) female Weaver (Η ΑΝΙΦΑΝΤΟΥ); the heavily damaged figure may have been shown in three-quarters, facing right; remnants of a black snake can be seen, coiling around her body;
- (right) The male Gossiper (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘ[ΙCΤΗC]); the heavily damaged figure may have been shown frontally; remnants of a black snake can be seen, coiling around his body;

Upper register, fourth

- (left) The male Bestialist (Ο ΚΤΗΜΟΤΙC<sup>14</sup>); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame, with his arms dangling below him, tied to the lower edge of the frame; a black snake coils around his body and appears to attack his genitals;
- (right) The (cheating) Tailor (Ο ΡΑΙΤΤΗC); the damaged figure is shown frontally, suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame, with his arms below him, spread wide;

<sup>14</sup> A variant of κτηνοβάτης.

## Middle register, left

- The Rich Man, erroneously identified as Lazarus (ΛΑΖ[Α]ΡΟΣ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated on a chest, pointing at his parched mouth with the index finger of his right hand; a little black devil is standing behind him;

## Middle register, second

- (left) The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΤΡΕΦΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing on her right leg, with her left leg raised; her arms are spread wide and raised, tied by the wrists to the upper edge of the frame; a black snake coils around her body and bites her right breast;
- (right) The (immoral) Tavern Keeper (Ο ΤΑΒΕΝΑΡΙΣ); he is shown in profile, standing, with his right leg before his left, and his bound arms raised before him, with a jug and a cup dangling from cords tied around his wrists;

## Middle register, third

- (left) The Witch (Η ΜΑΓΙΚΑ); the damaged figure appears to be shown frontally, suspended by the neck from the upper edge of the frame, with her legs pulled up before her and her arms bound;
- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡΝΟΣ); the damaged figure appears to be shown frontally, with his lower body twisted into three-quarters, to the right; his legs are spread wide, with his raised right leg tied to the right edge of the frame; his raised arms are spread wide and tied to the upper edge of the frame by the wrists; a black snake is looping around him, appearing to attack his genitals;

## Middle register, fourth

- (left) The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ); she is shown frontally, with her lower body twisted into three-quarters, to the right; her arms are bound in front of her and her legs are spread wide, with her raised left leg tied to the sinner next to her on the right; a black snake is coiling around her and biting her genitals;
- (right) The (cheating) Miller (Ο ΜΗΛΟΝ'ΑΚ); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down by his spread legs, with his arms bound before his chest; three weights are dangling from cords tied to his right ankle, and a large black millstone has been attached around his neck;

## Lower register, left

- Those Who Sleep on Holy Sunday (Η ΚΙΜΟΎΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑΝ ΚΙΠΕΙΑΚ'Ι); they are shown from above, as a naked couple lying side

by side in a bed,<sup>15</sup> covered by a sheet and a red blanket, their heads resting on a rectangular white pillow; a little black devil is perched on top of the blanket;

Lower register, second

- The Woman Who Refuses to Bring Offerings to the Church(?) (Η ΑΠΟ . . . Ν . . . Η ΠΡ'ΟΦΟΡΑ);<sup>16</sup> the damaged figure is shown in profile, kneeling, facing left, with her bound hands in a large hexagonal bowl that has been placed before her; at least one little black devil appears to have been shown to the left, and another is hovering above her in the upper right corner of the frame;

Lower register, third

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑ[Κ-ΙCΤΗC]); he is shown in profile, facing right, positioned on all fours; one little black devil appears to be hovering close to his head on the left, and another pushes the blade of a plough into his rectum from behind on the right;

Lower register, fourth

- (left) Unidentifiable; the inscription is no longer legible; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with his arms bound behind him, and his raised right leg tied by the ankle to the left edge of the frame;
- (right) The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛ'ΕΙΤΤΙC); he is shown in profile, appearing to be walking towards the left, although his head is tied to the upper edge of the frame by a double rope; he is bent over under the weight of a black goat perched on his back; he is clutching a curved implement (possibly a goading stick) in his left hand, and appears to be pulling a set of reins tied around his own neck with his right.

The four compartments of Communal Punishments in the bottom register on the wall are damaged and have few features left except their background colours. Their inscriptions identify them as, from left to right: the Sleepless Worm (Ο CΚ'ΟΛΙΞ Ο ΑΚ'ΙΜΗΤΟC), with an ochre background; the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο ΒΡΙΓΜ'ΟC ΤΩΝ ΟΔ'ΟΝΤΩΝ), with a red background; Tar (Η ΠΙCΑ), with a black background; and Outer Darkness (ΤΟ CΚ'ΟΤΟC ΤΟ ΕΞ'ΟΤΕΡΟΝ), also with a black background.

<sup>15</sup> Their nakedness may indicate that the sin of fornication is also implied.

<sup>16</sup> Spatharakis 2010, 112, reconstructs the first word as ΑΠΝΟYΜΕΝΗ.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.73 m |
| length with apse    | 8.60 m |
| width               | 3.63 m |
| height              | 4.28 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i> | <i>Iconography</i>  |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|-----------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall:      |   |               |                      |
| top register    | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i>                       | 0.54 × 1.20 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register:   |   |               |                      |
| left            | <i>IS: Murderer; Blasphemer</i>                               | 0.28 × 0.29 m | square               |
| 2nd             | <i>IS: Usurer(?)</i>  | 0.28 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 3rd             | <i>IS: Weaver (f); Gossiper (m)</i>                           | 0.28 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 4th             | <i>IS: Bestialist (m); Tailor</i>                             | 0.28 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 3rd register:   |   |               |                      |
| left            | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>   | 0.27 × 0.29 m | square               |
| 2nd             | <i>IS: Woman Who Rejects Babies; Tavern Keeper</i>            | 0.27 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 3rd             | <i>IS: Witch; Fornicator (m)</i>                              | 0.27 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 4th             | <i>IS: Fornicator (f); Miller</i>                             | 0.27 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 4th register:   |   |               |                      |
| left            | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i>                          | 0.29 × 0.29 m | square               |
| 2nd             | <i>IS: Woman Who Refuses to Bring Offerings to the Church</i> | 0.29 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 3rd             | <i>IS: Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line</i>          | 0.29 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 4th             | <i>IS: (?); Thief</i>   | 0.29 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 5th register:   |   |               |                      |
| left            | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>                                     | 0.30 × 0.29 m | square               |
| 2nd             | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>                                  | 0.30 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 3rd             | <i>CP: Tar</i>  | 0.30 × 0.27 m | square               |
| 4th             | <i>CP: Outer Darkness</i>                                     | 0.30 × 0.30 m | square               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343-4 (no. 31); Gerola-Lassithiotakis 1961, 57 (no. 297); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 347-8; Bissinger 1995, 212 (no. 194); Spatharakis 2010, 97-119 (no. 10); Albani 2016 (with extensive footnotes).

## 51. Diblochori (*Hagios Vasileios*), Virgin

Beginning of the 14th century and 1417



Fig. 67 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners and the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1417, wall painting (west wall), Diblochori (*Hagios Vasileios*), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, with a higher narthex added in 1417, and a later extension on the south side. The shape of the narthex is distorted, probably by ground movement.

The exterior is plastered; the plaster was in a poor, degraded condition at the time of our visit on 5 June 2012. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in the plaster at the top of the west wall of the narthex. Church and narthex are covered by tiled gable roofs, the southern extension by a tiled lean-to roof. Remnants of a modern belfry are mounted on the apex of the west wall of the narthex. There is a single entrance in the south wall of the narthex, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall (looking out into the south-side extension).

The interiors of narthex and church are covered by pointed barrel vaults, without transverse arches. Narthex and church communicate internally via



Fig. 68 Church of the Virgin, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (detail), 1417, wall painting (west wall), Diblochori (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

an open arch. In the church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings in the church, executed by Theodore Daniel and Michael Veneris,<sup>17</sup> are damaged and poorly legible; the wall paintings of the narthex have virtually perished.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription recording donor names, dated 1417, survives regarding the narthex – not in the narthex itself, but at the west end of the north wall of the church.<sup>18</sup>

The west wall of the narthex has the Last Judgement, extending onto the adjacent south wall. Only fragments of the composition survive, revealing the Deesis in the lunette at the top of the wall, and the Apostle Tribunal underneath. The south wall has Paradise and Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the narthex has the Tree of Jesse on the north wall (occupying the entire north side of the vault and the upper part of the wall) and a Genesis cycle on the south wall. There is an ornamental band along the apex of the narthex vault, separating the paintings on the north and on the south sides of the vault.

<sup>17</sup> Spatharakis 2015, 51–2.

<sup>18</sup> Gerola 1932 (vol. 4), 492 (no. 6); Spatharakis 2015, 42 and Fig. 96.



The east wall of the narthex, with the open arch that connects the narthex to the church, has the iconography of a triumphal arch. It has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the open arch, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the open arch.

The intrados of the open arch connecting the narthex and the church features ten busts of saints, probably the Ten Saints of Crete. The north and south reveals of the open arch have the twin doctors Saints Cosmas and Damian.

The nave of the church has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the Virgin, including the Dormition of the Virgin, with the detail of Iephonias.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall of the narthex, on the lower right half of the wall. It consists of (a fragment of) the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the right, and (remnants of) frames with Individual Sinners in the centre of the wall; the frames with Individual Sinners appear to have been divided into multiple registers of two frames each, of which presently three registers, with fragments of a total of five frames, remain visible.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is heavily damaged (Fig. 68). Only a fragment of red background remains on the left side of the scene. Figures are outlined on it in black. The centre of the scene must have been occupied by a large winged Satan holding Judas, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths; only Satan's left-pointing wing, part of Judas, and the left-pointing head of the dragon survive. A few sinners can still be discerned to the left of Satan. Close to the head of the dragon, there are two standing figures with their hands bound in front of them; the one on the left, who is looking back over his shoulder, has a striking, prominent nose.<sup>19</sup> Towards the lower left of the scene, there is the head of a further figure, wearing a turban.

The surviving frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners naked, outlined in black on a white background (Fig. 67); they were accompanied by inscriptions, which have now largely disappeared. There appear to have

<sup>19</sup> It is possible that this is a caricature of a Jewish person, although it should be noted that the figures in the frames with Individual Sinners also have prominent noses and it may be a feature of the freehand drawing style of the painter. See Corrigan 1992, 46–9.

been two sinners per frame. In the three registers visible today, the upper register has only a small fragment of the lower right corner of the right frame.

The second register has two nearly complete frames. The sinners in these two frames are, from left to right:

Left frame

- (left) The male Fornicator(?); he appears to be a man, shown frontally, with his arms bound behind his back; a black snake seems to be biting his genitals;
- (right) Unidentifiable;<sup>20</sup> the figure is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with the arms bound behind the back and the right leg placed before the bent left; a black snake coils around the figure's body;

Right frame

- (left) The (cheating) Miller (Ο μίλον[ός]); he is shown in profile, crouching on all fours, facing left; he has a large round millstone around his neck, and a black snake is coiling around his body;
- (right) The Tavern Keeper (Ο [ταβερ]νάρης);<sup>21</sup> he is shown in profile, bent over towards the left; a little black devil is perching on his back, tormenting him with darts; a jug and a cup are dangling from cords tied around his neck.

The third register has only a small fragment of the left and a larger fragment of the right scene; in the fragment of the right scene, the head of a bearded sinner, rendered in profile, facing left, can be discerned.

Measurements

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| <b>Narthex</b>      |        |
| length              | 3.09 m |
| width               | 3.34 m |
| height              | 3.97 m |
| <b>Church</b>       |        |
| length without apse | 6.22 m |
| length with apse    | 7.58 m |
| width               | 2.47 m |
| height              | 3.58 m |

<sup>20</sup> Aggelaki 2014, 339, identifies this figure as The Woman Who Rejects Children.

<sup>21</sup> See Aggelaki 2014, 339–40.

(cont.)

| <b>Hell</b>          |   |                 |                                |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Position</i>      | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
| west wall of narthex |   |                 |                                |
| right of wall        | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (1.04) × 1.40 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| centre of wall       |   |                 |                                |
| top register:        |   |                 |                                |
| right                | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd register:        |   |                 |                                |
| left                 | <i>2 Individual Sinners</i>             | 0.29 × 0.33 m   | fragment, square               |
| right                | <i>IS: Miller; Tavern Keeper</i>        | 0.29 × 0.30 m   | fragment, square               |
| 3rd register:        |   |                 |                                |
| left                 | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | ? × 0.33 m      | fragment                       |
| right                | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | 0.30 × 0.30 m   | fragment, square               |

**Bibliography:** Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 289–91; Bissinger 1995, 77 (no. 31), 83 (no. 40), 93 (no. 48), 208–9 (no. 187); Spatharakis 2001, 170–3 (no. 56; with earlier bibliography); Aggelaki 2014; Spatharakis 2015, 42–53 (no. 6).

## 52. Drymiskos (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Constantine

### Beginning of the 15th century



**Fig. 69** Church of Saint Constantine, Individual Sinners and the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Drymiskos (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its shape distorted, perhaps by ground movement. The original building is in fact largely destroyed; the remaining walls have been buttressed on the outside and the vault has been replaced with a modern flat concrete roof supported by external concrete pilasters on the south side.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed. There is a single entrance off-centre (west) and a modern window off-centre (east) in the south wall.

In the interior, nave and sanctuary are separated by a rudimentary modern wooden iconostasis.

Only fragments of the wall paintings remain. The south wall is completely whitewashed.

**Iconography:** What remains of the original west wall has fragments of the Last Judgement, with the partially surviving Deesis on what looks to have been the apex of the wall, and remnants of the Apostle Tribunal underneath.

The nave has fragments of scenes from the Christological cycle. The north wall has the Tree of Jesse and Saint Constantine as a military saint on horseback.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. Judging by the surviving remnants, the triumphal arch had the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the right half of the wall, along the bottom. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and a frame of Individual Sinners (Fig. 69). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, in the lower right corner of the wall, and the frame with Individual Sinners appears to the left of it, in the centre of the wall.

Of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, only the upper edge survives. It has a red background, with figures on it outlined in black. The centre of the scene appears to have been occupied by a winged Satan, shown frontally; he is accompanied by an inscription referring to the Dragon of the Depths (Ο Β'ΘΙΟC ΔΡΑΚΟC). To the left and right of Satan, little black devils are tormenting groups of sinners. The group in the top left corner of the scene consists of three men, shown frontally, pestered by two devils. Two of them, standing in front, wear broad-brimmed flat hats and cloaks that resemble liturgical vestments; they are looking over their shoulder towards the left, up towards the Deesis of the Last Judgement. Behind them is a third figure, wearing a turban. Below this group, at the left edge of the scene, a bearded man and a woman can be discerned, rendered in three-quarters, facing right; they are also looking over their shoulder towards the left. The group in the top right corner of the scene consists of a further three men, tormented by a single devil. They are shown in a row, in profile, facing left, and have pointed caps that resemble the distinctive hats given to Jewish people in medieval art in western Europe.<sup>22</sup>

Of the frame with Individual Sinners, only the top right corner survives. It is likely to have been one of multiple small frames, probably divided over at least two registers. The remaining frame shows two sinners, outlined in black and shaded in brown, against a white background, standing in red flames. If they were accompanied by inscriptions, these are no longer visible. They are, from left to right:

<sup>22</sup> Compare, for instance, the hats of the Jews shown in Hell in the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, vol. 1, Fig. 4.7. It is interesting to note that the Jewish hat in medieval images may have been a purely iconographic device, which had no direct relation with contemporary reality; if the hat shown here is intended to indicate a Jewish person, the artist is therefore more likely to have copied a Western image than an aspect of reality. See Lipton 1999, 15–17.

- The (livestock) Thief; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing with his arms bound behind his back, bent down, with a black goat perched on his shoulders; a grey snake coils around his body;
- The Gossiper(?); rendered in three-quarters, facing left, with his hands bound behind his back; a grey snake coils around his body, biting his mouth.

Measurements

|                      |   |                   |                                |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Church</b>        |   | (irregular shape) |                                |
| length without apse  |   | 5.78 m            |                                |
| length with apse     |   | 6.39 m            |                                |
| width                |   | 2.89 m            |                                |
| height at north wall |   | 3.23 m            |                                |
| <b>Hell</b>          |   |                   |                                |
| <i>Position</i>      | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>      |                                |
| west wall, bottom    |   |                   |                                |
| right:               |   |                   |                                |
| left                 | <i>IS: Thief; Gossiper</i>              | (0.42) × ? m      | fragment                       |
| right                | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (0.71) × 1.37 m   | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 33); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 61 (no. 336); Spatharakis 2015, 70–1 (no. 8).



### 53. Erfoi (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Baptist

15th century (narthex)



**Fig. 70** Church of Saint John the Baptist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 15th century (narthex), wall painting (south wall), Erfoi (Mylopotamos), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with an elongated transverse narthex, extending beyond the width of the nave on both sides.

The exterior is plastered, leaving masonry on the corners of the narthex and the carved-stone frames of the entrances and lateral windows exposed. The narthex is covered by a tiled gable roof, the church by a tiled gambrel roof; a modern belfry is mounted at the south end of the west wall of the narthex. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the north wall of the narthex and one in the centre of the west wall of the narthex, each with a framed, pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the south wall of the narthex.

The interiors of narthex and church are each covered by a pointed barrel vault, with two transverse arches in the narthex and one (modern) transverse arch in the church. Narthex and church communicate internally via an open arch. In the church, there is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The interior of the church is largely plastered and whitewashed. Fragments of wall painting in a poorly legible condition survive in the narthex; almost nothing remains of the wall paintings in the church.

**Iconographic Programme:** The south end of the narthex has the Last Judgement. The south end of the narthex vault has the Adventus, the apex of the south wall, the Deesis. The adjacent west wall has the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins (bordering on the Adventus on the vault) and, in the register underneath, the barely visible Earth and Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south end of the east wall has Choirs of Saints and Paradise.

The remainder of the narthex has a programme more often associated with the nave, including scenes from the Christological cycle (among them the Massacre of the Innocents) and the Dormition of the Virgin on the south side of the east wall. There is an ornamental border, along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the west and east sides of the vault.

The only scene that survives in the church is the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria on the upper part of the west wall,<sup>23</sup> above the open arch connecting the narthex and the church.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the south wall of the narthex, in the lower right corner of the wall. It consists of a 'full' Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, up to four frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 70). It is divided over four registers, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register, the frames with Individual Sinners in

<sup>23</sup> Compare cat. nos 62, 86 and 91. For the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria, see Tsamakda 2012, 155–6.

the second, and the compartments of Communal Punishments in the third and fourth. All the scenes are severely abraded and barely legible.

Of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, only the red background remains; no figures can be distinguished any longer.

There may have been four frames with Individual Sinners in the second register, but the left two are abraded beyond recognition. The right two frames each show the form of a naked sinner against a white background; there are no surviving inscriptions or identifying characteristics.

Two compartments of Communal Punishments remain visible, one each in the third and fourth registers; there may have been further scenes to the left of these, which are now abraded beyond recognition. The compartment in the third register shows the forms of heads or skulls with prominent white teeth on a black background, discoloured to dark blue, representing the Gnashing of Teeth. The compartment in the fourth register only has a black background; it could represent Tar or Outer Darkness.

## Measurements

### Narthex

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 3.40 m |
| width  | 7.69 m |
| height | 3.99 m |

### Church

|                      |        |
|----------------------|--------|
| length without apse  | 4.47 m |
| length with apse     | 4.98 m |
| width                | 3.09 m |
| height at north wall | 3.62 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>                        | <i>Iconography</i>                          |                 | <i>Shape</i>                      |
|--|---|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| south wall of narthex,<br>bottom right |   |                 |                                   |
| top register                           | <i>Hell Formed by the River<br/>of Fire</i> | 1.07 × 1.40 m   | fragment                          |
| 2nd register:                          |   |                 |                                   |
| 3rd                                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>                 | 0.33 × 0.31 m   | square                            |
| 4th                                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>                 | 0.33 × 0.34 m   | square                            |
| 3rd register, right                    | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                  | 0.15 × (0.86) m | fragment, rectangle,<br>landscape |
| 4th register, right                    | <i>Communal Punishment</i>                  | 0.15 × ? m      | fragment, rectangle,<br>landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 53 (no. 266); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel, 1983, 297; Bissinger 1995, 211 (no. 193); Spatharakis 2010, 169–75 (no. 16).

## 54. Fourfouras (Amari), Virgin<sup>24</sup>

### Late 14th century

**Note:** The original structure of this church survives only in part. A dedicatory inscription survives partially on the north wall. It is likely that the original west wall, now lost, showed the Last Judgement, as the surviving wall paintings at the west end of the north wall include the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The Last Judgement on the west wall will have included Hell, possibly in the form of frames with Individual Sinners, in analogy with the Church of Saint Stephen at Koukou(m)nos (cat. no. 57), which has a similar iconographical arrangement.

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 67 (no. 394); Varthalitou 2010; Spatharakis and van Essenbergh 2012, 60–4 (no. 11).

<sup>24</sup> This is one of the five churches in the catalogue that were not visited and documented during the research phase of the Leverhulme International Networks Project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)*.



## 55. Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour

c. 1400



Fig. 71 Church of Christ the Saviour, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow, including the cement gable roof; the masonry at the corners of the building and the carved-stone frames of the entrance and the lateral window have been left exposed. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in the plaster in a cross-shaped pattern at the top of the west wall. There is a single entrance on the west side, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and degraded and in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconography:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, divided into several registers, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper register of the west wall, at the apex of the wall, shows two angels holding the Scroll of Heaven above the Deesis. The register underneath has the Apostle Tribunal. The adjacent north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south wall has Paradise, Choirs of the Elect and the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins.

The remainder of the nave, in line with the dedication of the church, has a larger than average number of scenes from the Christological cycle, and the Dormition of the Virgin on the north wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Pentecost(?)<sup>25</sup> on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Holy Women at the Tomb and *Noli me Tangere* (Touch Me Not), and the south wall has the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, two frames with Individual Sinners, and four compartments of Communal Punishments. It is divided over four registers: the upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, the second and third registers, the frames

<sup>25</sup> A number of haloes can be discerned, arranged in a circle, which makes it unlikely that the scene is the more common Hospitality of Abraham. The Pentecost is a scene frequently encountered in the sanctuary, either on the vault or on one of the lateral walls.



with Individual Sinners, and the fourth register, the four compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 71).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is damaged. It has a red background, with figures outlined on it in black. The centre of the scene is occupied by a large, straggly Satan, with unkempt hair and a beard, who is shown in three-quarters, facing left. He probably had Judas at his bosom, but this section of the scene is damaged. He is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, represented with a single head, pointing left, and a long, coiling tail, ending in a snake's head, pointing right. Around Satan, several figures of sinners can still be discerned. Towards the left of the scene, there is a woman in profile, facing left, in the direction of the place where a vengeful angel may have been positioned, at the now destroyed left edge of the scene. To the top left of Satan, there is a group of three figures, including a man and a woman in profile and a man with a flat, broad-brimmed hat, shown frontally. To the top right of Satan, there is an emperor wearing a bejewelled crown. Next to this emperor on the right, the head of a Western cleric with tonsure and clean-shaven face can possibly be discerned. In the right half of the scene, two figures with turban-like headwear can still be distinguished.

The two frames with Individual Sinners in the second and third registers are both damaged as well. They show the sinners naked, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, in a variety of poses, dispersed somewhat irregularly across a white background.<sup>26</sup> They may have been accompanied by inscriptions, but these have disappeared. Very few of the sinners can be identified:

#### Second register

- (centre) Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of going to church; they are shown from above, as a naked, kissing couple lying in bed, covered by a red and white striped blanket, with a little black devil perched on top;<sup>27</sup>
- (far right) The (livestock) Thief; he is shown in profile, standing bent over towards the right, with his arms bound behind his back and a black goat perched on his bent back;
- (far right) The Man/Woman Who Refuses to Bring Offerings to the Church; s/he is shown in profile, facing right, crouched over a large bowl;

#### Third register

- (centre, top) The Tavern Keeper; he is shown in profile, in a strappado position, facing left, bent over with his bound arms raised behind his back, his right leg stretched out behind him; a bottle is dangling from a cord tied around his neck;

<sup>26</sup> These sinners are stylistically comparable to those in cat. nos 1, 35, 43 and 49.

<sup>27</sup> This representation is unique on Crete in making the sexual connotation of this sin so explicit.

- (off-centre, right) The Weaver(?); she is shown in profile, seated, facing left with the frame of a loom(?) around her upper body;
- (right) The Murderer; only his upper body survives, shown in profile, facing left, with a large sword piercing his neck;
- (far right, top) The (cheating) Tailor; he is shown in profile, facing right, seated, bent over, with his arms bound behind his back; a large pair of scissors is piercing his neck.

The four compartments of Communal Punishments in the fourth register are heavily damaged. The first one, on the left, is completely destroyed. Of the second, only a fragment of a dark, greenish background can be discerned. The third represents the Gnashing of Teeth, showing heads or skulls with prominent bared teeth, outlined in black on a red background, the teeth rendered in white. The fourth compartment, on the right, only has fragments of a dark grey background.

Measurements

|                           |   |               |                      |
|---------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Church</b>             |   |               |                      |
| length without apse       |   | 5.85 m        |                      |
| length with apse          |   | 6.49 m        |                      |
| width                     |   | 3.09 m        |                      |
| height at north wall      |   | 3.77 m        |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>               |   |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| west wall, right of door: |   |               |                      |
| top register              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.50 × 0.95 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register              | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | 0.26 × 0.95 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register              | <i>Individual Sinners</i>               | 0.24 × 0.95 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 4th register:             |   |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.23 × 0.21 m | square               |
| 2nd                       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.23 × 0.21 m | square               |
| 3rd                       | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.23 × 0.21 m | square               |
| 4th                       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.23 × 0.21 m | square               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 58 (no. 307); Spatharakis 2015, 12–15 (no. 3).

## 56. Hagios Vasileios (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil

Beginning of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century<sup>28</sup>



Fig. 72 Church of Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, beginning of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A double church of irregular construction. The north church, dedicated to Saint Paraskevi, is the original building; the south church, dedicated to Saint Basil, is a modern addition.<sup>29</sup> The north church is half as wide as the south church; it is intersected by a higher transept and has a square, domed chapel behind the sanctuary on the east side.

The exterior of the north church has exposed stonework, with remnants of engraved plaster on the west facade; the exterior of the south church is plastered. The north church is covered by a tiled cross-gable roof and a small tiled dome on the sanctuary chapel; the south church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the south

<sup>28</sup> Andrianakis-Giapitsoglou 2012, 321–3, dates it to the 13th century; Spatharakis 2015, 11, to the 14th century.

<sup>29</sup> The south church was already in place when Giuseppe Gerola documented the church in the early 20th century; see Spatharakis 2015, 9.



Fig. 73 Church of Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil, the Rich Man, beginning of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

half of the west wall of the north church. Each church has its own entrance in the centre of its west wall; each entrance has an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There is a blocked-up (original?) window in the lunette of the west wall of the north church. A modern window has been inserted in the east wall of the sanctuary chapel of the north church; the modern south church has a window in the centre of the south wall.

The nave and transept of the north church are each covered by barrel vaults; the interior of the south church is covered by a pointed barrel vault. The two churches communicate internally via a large open arch between the naves and a small open arch between the sanctuaries. In each church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The interior of the north church is largely whitewashed. There are remnants of wall paintings on the vault of the nave and at the top of the west wall; they are darkened and poorly legible. The south church has modern wall paintings of a recent date.

**Iconographic Programme:** Very little survives of the original iconographic programme of the north church. The west wall had (elements of)

the Last Judgement, including the Weighing of the Souls. Paradise appears on the north side of the vault of the short nave, opposite Hell on the south side. A broad ornamental border along the top of the vault separates the two scenes.

The east wall of the nave has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the open arch connecting the nave to the high transept.

On the vault of the high transept, only the Annunciation and the Nativity can still be recognised.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement in the nave of the church, on the west wall and on the south side of the short vault. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, on the south side of the vault (Fig. 72), and one Individual Sinner, the Rich Man (Fig. 73), in the right half of the lunette at the top of the west wall.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is heavily damaged (Fig. 72). Exceptionally, it has a black and not a red background (discoloured to a dark blue shade). Figures are depicted against this black background, outlined in black and shaded in flesh tones. Among the figures that can still be discerned, there is a vengeful angel on the far left, dressed in red and with red wings, identified by an inscription as the 'Fiery Angel' (ΠΥΡΙΝΟC ΑΓΓΕΛΟC). In the centre of the scene, there is a group of sinners, including three bearded men facing the fiery angel on the left; the right one of the three, surprisingly, appears to have a halo. At the right of the scene we find Satan, shown in three-quarters, facing left, with straggly hair and beard; he is accompanied by an inscription referring to the Dragon of the Depths (Ο ΒΥΘΥ[ΟC] [ΔΡΑΚΩΝ]). Satan is holding Judas at his bosom, and is enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths; the dragon is flesh-coloured, with a large, horned head, facing left, and a long scaly tail, coiling down towards the bottom of the scene.

The frame with the Rich Man in the west wall lunette is heavily damaged as well (Fig. 73). It shows the Rich Man outlined in black and shaded in flesh tones, with brown hair and beard. He appears to be seated amongst roaring red flames, against a background with a variant of the customary inscription from Luke 16:24. He is facing right, towards Paradise on the north side of the vault, and points at his parched mouth with the index finger of his left hand.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Note that the Rich Man is shown directly adjacent to Abraham with the Poor Lazarus in his bosom in Paradise. This corresponds to the juxtaposition of the two as described by Saint John Chrysostom; see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 137 and n. 94.

Measurements

| North Church (irregular shape) |                                  |                     |                      |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| length of nave and transept    |                                  | 5.15 m              |                      |
| length with sanctuary chapel   |                                  | 7.86 m              |                      |
| width                          |                                  | 2.10 m              |                      |
| height of nave                 |                                  | 4.43 m              |                      |
| Hell                           |                                  |                     |                      |
| Position                       | Iconography                      | Shape               |                      |
| south side of nave vault       | Hell Formed by the River of Fire | c. 1.30 × c. 2.00 m | rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, top right           | IS: Rich Man                     | c. 1.00 × c. 1.00 m | quarter circle       |

Bibliography:

Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 58 (no. 308); Andrianakis-Giapitsoglou 2012, 321–3; Spatharakis 2015, 9–11 (no. 2).



## 57. Kastri (Koukoum[n]os) (Mylopotamos), Saint Stephen

1396



Fig. 74 Church of Saint Stephen, Individual Sinners, 1396, wall painting (west wall), Kastri (Koukoum[n]os) (Mylopotamos), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in a cross-shaped pattern in the cement at the top of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall. A modern window has been inserted off-centre (west) in the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are heavily damaged and faded; the surviving fragments are poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the south wall, in the centre of the wall, combined with an image of Saint Stephen in the Gallery of Saints.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls. The fragments on the west wall reveal the Deesis at the apex of the wall and the Apostle Tribunal underneath. The adjacent north wall has the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins, and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead in the register underneath. The south wall has Choirs of Saints and Paradise in the register underneath; the patron saint, Saint Stephen, is shown entering Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and a single scene from the life of Saint Stephen, his martyrdom by stoning, represented to the left of Paradise on the south wall (probably underlining that his martyrdom has earned him a place in Heaven).

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ. The apse wall has the Communion of the Apostles in the upper register, and the Melismos (showing the Christ Child lying on the paten under a ciborium) flanked by Officiating Bishops in the lower register. The paintings on the upper half of the triumphal arch are completely destroyed. The lower half has two registers, on either side of the apse, with saints in the upper register and angel-deacons in the lower register.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It consists of twelve frames of Individual Sinners, divided into four registers of three frames each (Fig. 74).

The left frame of each register is covered in whitewash. The remaining visible frames show a sinner each, painted in brown, in a variety of positions, in or above red flames, on a white background; unusually, the

white backgrounds each have a broad inner border in a pale shade of green. There are no surviving inscriptions and too few distinctive visual characteristics to identify any of the sinners.

## Measurements

### Church

|                      |        |
|----------------------|--------|
| length without apse  | 5.31 m |
| length with apse     | 6.24 m |
| width                | 3.19 m |
| height at north wall | 3.84 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>       |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall, right of door |                          |               |                      |
| top register:            |                          |               |                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.32 × ? m    | fragment             |
| 2nd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.32 × 0.26 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.32 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 2nd register:            |                          |               |                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × ? m    | fragment             |
| 2nd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × 0.26 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 3rd register:            |                          |               |                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × ? m    | covered in whitewash |
| 2nd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × 0.26 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.28 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 4th register             |                          |               |                      |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.29 × ? m    | covered in whitewash |
| 2nd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.29 × 0.26 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                      | <i>Individual Sinner</i> | 0.29 × 0.30 m | square               |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 30); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 55 (no. 280); Bissinger 1995, 192 (no. 162); Spatharakis 2001, 142–4 (no. 48; with earlier bibliography); Spatharakis 2010, 190–9 (no. 19).

## 58. Kato Valsamonero (Rethymnon), Saint John the Evangelist

c. 1400<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 75 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Kato Valsamonero (Rethymnon), Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. Indentations suggest five glazed bowls were once inserted in a cross-shaped pattern at the top of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a framed, pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and faded and poorly legible. Remnants of an older layer of paintings, datable to the 12th century, can be seen in the sanctuary.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the north wall, in the centre of the wall, in the Gallery of Saints.

<sup>31</sup> Maderakis 2005, 247 dates the church to 1360–80. Remnants of an earlier layer, dated to the 12th century, can be seen in the sanctuary.





Fig. 76 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Individual Sinners, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Kato Valsamonero (Rethymnon), Crete

The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper part of the west wall is divided into registers; the upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Deesis, the second register, the Apostle Tribunal. The north wall has the Sea and the Earth Giving Up their Dead; the south wall has Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The south wall has an image of the patron saint, Saint John the Evangelist, enthroned. The western transverse arch has (remnants of) the Ten Saints of Crete. Along the apex of the vault, there is an ornamental border, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The apse is completely whitewashed. The triumphal arch has evidence of two layers of wall paintings. On the upper part, above the apse, the later (top) layer has the Crucifixion, the older layer, the Hospitality of Abraham. In the register underneath, on either side of the apse, both layers have the Annunciation. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Pentecost on the south.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners, divided over multiple registers. The upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 75). The lower registers, surviving only in part, have (remnants of) frames with Individual Sinners; three registers remain visible, containing (remnants of) a total of five frames – two registers with two and one register with one remaining frame (Fig. 76).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is badly damaged and abraded (Fig. 75). Little of it survives except fragments of the red background, on which the remnants of figures are visible, including a man wearing a white turban and seemingly wrapped in a white shroud, off-centre (left) at the lower edge of the scene.

The surviving frames with Individual Sinners have two naked sinners per frame, in a variety of positions, outlined in black and shaded in brown, on a white background. They are identified by inscriptions on the upper border of each frame. The following sinners are included, from left to right, top to bottom (Fig. 76):

Upper register, left

- (left) The (cheating) Tailor ([O PA]ΠΤΗC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, seemingly hung by the neck from the upper edge of the frame, with his raised left hand tied to the sinner next to him on the right, and his spread legs tied to the lower edge of the frame; a very large pair of scissors is visible to the lower right of the figure;
- (right) The Usurer (O ZOYPAPIC), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; he is shown from behind, suspended upside down by his spread legs, with his bound arms stretched out below him, tied to the



lower edge of the frame; a purse is hanging from a cord from the upper edge of the frame between his legs;

Upper register, right

- (left) The Tavern Keeper(?); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, hung by the neck from the upper edge of the frame, with his legs pulled up under him; three jugs(?) are positioned on the lower edge of the frame below him;
- (right) Unidentifiable; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, hung by the neck from the upper edge of the frame, with his right hand raised and his legs pulled up under him;

Third register

- (left) The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ); the damaged figure appears to be shown in three-quarters, facing left, hung by the neck from the upper edge of the frame, with a grey snake coiling around her, biting her genitals;
- (right) The male Fornicator(?); both the inscription and the figure are virtually destroyed, but a coiling black snake appears to bite the figure's genitals, and the male and female Fornicators are often shown together.<sup>32</sup>

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.35 m |
| length with apse    | 6.17 m |
| width               | 3.12 m |
| height              | 3.85 m |

Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>                         |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |   |                                      |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.61 × (0.69) m rectangle, landscape |

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Kitiros, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 21), Myrthios, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 66). For a complete list, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 157–8.

(cont.)

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|               |                                     |                 |                  |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 2nd register: |                                     |                 |                  |
| left          | 2 IS: <i>Tailor; Usurer</i>         | 0.36 × (0.28) m | fragment, square |
| right         | 2 IS: <i>incl. Tavern Keeper(?)</i> | 0.36 × 0.36 m   | square           |
| 3rd register  |                                     |                 |                  |
| left          | <i>Individual Sinners</i>           | 0.32 × ? m      | fragment, square |
| light         | <i>Individual Sinners</i>           | 0.32 × 0.36 m   | square           |
| 4th register  |                                     |                 |                  |
| right         | 2 IS: <i>Fornicators (m/f)</i>      | (0.27) × 0.36 m | fragment, square |

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**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 26); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 51–2 (no. 250); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 263; Bissinger 1995, 203–4 (cat. no. 181); Spatharakis 1999, 121–38 (no. 12).

**59. Kissos (Hagios Vasileios), Saint John the Evangelist**

c. 1400



**Fig. 77** Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Those Who Sleep on Holy Sunday and Communal Punishments, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Kissos (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its shape distorted, probably by ground movement.

The exterior is roughly plastered and covered by a gable roof. There is a single entrance on the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are covered by moisture sediment, but clearly legible. There is evidence of an older paint layer in several places, including on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, where Hell is represented, and in the sanctuary apse.<sup>33</sup>

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper part of the west wall is divided into two registers. The upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Deesis, with the Hetoimasia of the Throne underneath. The second register has the Apostle Tribunal. The north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead and Choirs of the Elect; the south wall has Paradise and Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The Gallery of Saints includes an image of the Archangel Michael on horseback on the south wall. There is an ornamental border along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The later (top) paint layer in the conch of the sanctuary apse features angels, the older layer, Christ. Both layers on the apse wall have Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and Nativity on the south. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Anastasis and the Sacrifice of Abraham, the south wall, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It

<sup>33</sup> For the dating of this older layer, see Pyrrou 2014, 116 (late 13th century) and Spatharakis 2015, 92 (c. 1300).

consists of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. Only a small section survives, at the far right of the wall; it reveals two registers, with (remnants of) two frames with Individual Sinners in the upper register, and (remnants of) two compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower (Fig. 77).

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners painted in ochre on a white background, identified by inscriptions on the upper border of the frames. Of the two frames that are still visible, the left one is a mere fragment, containing only a leg, possibly of a little black devil. A larger fragment of the right frame survives. It has:

- Those Who Sleep on Holy Sunday (H KIMO(Y)NTE(C) THN ΑΓΗΑ[N KYPIAKHN]) instead of going to church.<sup>34</sup> They are shown from above, as a naked sleeping couple lying in bed, with their heads on a rectangular pillow; they are covered by a sheet and a blanket, and a little black devil brandishing a rod is perched on the bed covers.

The compartments of Communal Punishments in the lower register also have an identifying inscription on the upper border of each compartment. Of the two compartments that are still visible, the left one is a mere fragment. This compartment represents the Gnashing of Teeth ([O BPYΓMOC TΩN OΔ]ONTON), showing rows of heads outlined in black, with prominent bared white teeth, on a dark red background. A larger fragment of the right compartment survives, which has the Sleepless Worm (O CKOΛ[H]Ξ O AKIMHTOC), showing three rows of heads, outlined in black on a light red background, with white, wriggly worms crawling over them.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.98 m |
| length with apse    | 7.28 m |
| width               | 2.80 m |
| height              | 4.59 m |

<sup>34</sup> Pyrrou 2014, 138, erroneously reads and reconstructs as follows: H KIMONTE[C] T[AC] ΑΓΙΑC [EOPTAC]. For the correct reading, see Spatharakis 2015, 104.

(cont.)

| <b>Hell</b>              |                                      |                   |                  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                   |                   | <i>Shape</i>     |
| west wall, right of door |                                      |                   |                  |
| top register:            |                                      |                   |                  |
| left                     | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>          | 0.39 × (0.09) m   | fragment, square |
| right                    | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i> | 0.39 × (0.25) m   | fragment, square |
| 2nd register:            |                                      |                   |                  |
| left                     | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>         | (0.38) × (0.09) m | fragment, square |
| right                    | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>            | (0.38) × (0.30) m | fragment, square |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassthiotakis 1961, 60 (no. 330); Bissinger 1995, 212–13 (no. 195); Pyrrou 2014; Spatharakis 2015, 92–105 (no. 13).



## 60. Kissos (*Hagios Vasileios*), Virgin

1320–30

**Note:** A large part of the west wall of this single-nave church has been demolished; only the upper part of the Crucifixion is still preserved here. Nothing survives of the Hell scenes documented by Gerola,<sup>35</sup> which must have been situated here.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 36); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 60 (no. 329); Bissinger 1995, 94 (no. 49); Spatharakis 2015, 74–85 (no. 11).

<sup>35</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 36), mentions Those Who Sleep on Sunday.

## 61. Lambini (Hagios Vasileios), Virgin

Beginning of the 14th century<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 78 Church of the Virgin, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (north arm of the cross), Lambini (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

<sup>36</sup> The church has an earlier layer of wall paintings, dated to the end of the 12th century; see Spatharakis 2015, 128.



Fig. 79 Church of the Virgin, Communal Punishments, beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Lambini (*Hagios Vasileios*), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A cross-in-square church with a central dome.

The exterior has exposed stonework. The arms of the cross are covered by tiled gable roofs, the raised dome on the crossing by a conical tiled roof, and the lower corner bays by tiled lean-to roofs. A modern belfry is mounted on the west wall of the western arm of the cross. There is

a single entrance in the centre of the west wall of the west arm of the cross, with an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Modern windows have been inserted in the north and south walls of the north and south arms of the cross.

In the interior, the arms of the cross are covered by barrel vaults, the crossing by spandrels and the raised dome, and the corner bays by cross vaults. There is no physical barrier at the entrance to the sanctuary.

Fragments of wall painting survive, mainly in the corner bays, on the higher parts of the walls and on the vaults; they are faded and abraded and poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The north arm of the cross has the Last Judgement. The lunette of the north wall of the cross features the Deesis. The vault of the north arm has the Apostle Tribunal. The south wall of the north arm has Paradise, with the Earth Giving Up her Dead in the register underneath; the north wall has Choirs of the Elect, with the Sea Giving Up her Dead in the register underneath.

The remainder of the church has the remains of a rich iconographic programme. The dome features Christ, the spandrels, the four Evangelists. The walls and vaults have scenes from the Christological cycle and, due to the dedication of the church, an extensive cycle of scenes from the life of the Virgin. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint Constantine on horseback.

In the tripartite sanctuary, the conch of the central apse, at the end of the east arm of the cross, has the Virgin Lambini flanked by two busts of angels in medallions. The vault of the east arm of the cross has the Holy Women at the Tomb, the Ascension (at the east end) and the Pentecost. The remainder of the sanctuary iconography includes, among the Gallery of Saints in the northern corner bay, the Holy Communion of Mary of Egypt,<sup>37</sup> and, on the south wall of the northern corner bay, Christ Anapeson.<sup>38</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement in the north arm of the cross. What remains of it is just enough to qualify as a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, one frame with an Individual Sinner (the Rich Man) and two compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appears on the north wall of the north arm of the cross, in the register underneath the

<sup>37</sup> See cat. no. 1, n. 3.      <sup>38</sup> See cat. no. 9, n. 27.

Deesis in the lunette, across the full width of the wall. The Rich Man is shown on the west wall of the north arm, in a spandrel (the north spandrel of the arched opening between the north arm of the cross and the north-west corner bay). The two compartments of Communal Punishments appear slightly lower on the west wall, adjacent to the north wall, stacked in two registers.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is largely destroyed (Fig. 78). On the remaining fragments, the back of a vengeful angel clad in white can be discerned at the left, and part of the scaly tail of the Dragon of the Depths and heads of sinners at the right of the scene.

The frame with the Rich Man in the spandrel on the west wall is severely abraded. Just enough of it is visible to determine that the Rich Man is shown in profile, facing left, naked, sitting with his back against the right edge of the frame, pointing at his parched mouth with his left hand.

The two stacked compartments of Communal Punishments on the west wall have sustained surface damage (Fig. 79). They used to be identified by an inscription on the upper border of each compartment, but only the inscription of the lower compartment is still legible. The upper compartment appears to represent the Sleepless Worm. It shows three rows of heads, all in three-quarters, facing left, outlined in black, shaded in light brown, with dark brown hair, against a black background with white hatchings;<sup>39</sup> white, wriggly worms seem to be crawling over them. The lower compartment has the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο ΒΡΗΓΜΟC ΤΟΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΟ[Ν]), showing three rows of skulls with prominent white teeth against a black background.

## Measurements

### Church

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| length of west–east<br>arm (without apse) | 8.06 m |
| length of west–east<br>arm (with apse)    | 8.93 m |
| length of<br>north–south arm              | 6.82 m |
| height of nave                            | 5.44 m |

<sup>39</sup> Compare Mourné, Saint George (cat. no. 65).



(cont.)

| Hell                             |   |                     |                                |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Position                         | Iconography                             |                     | Shape                          |
| north wall of north arm          | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | c. 1.10 × 2.25 m    | rectangle, landscape           |
| west wall of north arm, spandrel | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>                     | c. 0.59 × c. 0.59 m | spandrel                       |
| west wall, right, below middle:  |   |                     |                                |
| top register                     | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | 0.37 × 0.67 m       | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register                     | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.32 × 0.67 m       | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 59 (no. 322); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 284–6; Bissinger 1995, 129 (no. 95); Spatharakis 2015, 111–28 (no. 15).



## 62. *Margarites (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Evangelist*

1383

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, relatively large by the standards of Cretan regional churches.

The exterior has remnants of plaster and partially exposed stonework. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance, off-centre (west) in the north wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel; there is evidence of another entrance in the centre of the west wall, which has been blocked up and replaced with a modern window.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with traces of three transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a reconstructed stone templon. The north and south walls are each divided into four bays, the easternmost of which are within the sanctuary. The four bays of the south wall each have a blind arch. The second bay from the west in the north wall has the entrance, and the other three bays have blind arches mirroring those in the south wall.

Only fragments of the wall paintings survive, mostly abraded and in a poorly legible state.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives in the blind arch to the east of the entrance in the north wall, along with a portrait of the donor Georgios Klados, who is, exceptionally, depicted in the position of Saint John the Baptist in the Deesis in this arch.<sup>40</sup>

The west wall has a few remnants of the Last Judgement, extending onto the north and south walls. The north wall appears to have had Choirs of the Elect and the Earth Giving Up her Dead. The south wall has Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint John the Evangelist. The north wall has the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria.<sup>41</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator in the Deesis, flanked by the Virgin and either Saint John the Baptist or Saint John the Evangelist.<sup>42</sup> The apse wall has remnants of Officiating Bishops. The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension, the north wall, the Anastasis and the Raising of Lazarus.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall. Little remains of it except fragments of four frames with Individual Sinners

<sup>40</sup> Tsamakda 2012, 262, Fig. 241; see also Lymberopoulou forthcoming c.

<sup>41</sup> Compare cat. nos 53, 86, 91. For the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria, see Tsamakda 2012, 155–6.

<sup>42</sup> The scene is too damaged for the figure to be identified. In the Deesis, the figure of Saint John the Baptist can be substituted for the patron saint of the church.

in the lower left corner of the wall. The frames are stacked in two registers of two frames each.

The frames include naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The frames have a broad inner border in a pale shade of grey.<sup>43</sup> Only in two of the frames can sinners still be identified:

Top register, left

- Those Who Sleep on Sunday instead of going to church (‘... HMOY ... M’); they are shown from above, lying side by side in a bed, heads pointing left, covered by a red blanket with a little black devil perched on top; red flames are visible along the bottom edge of the frame;

Second register, left

- (left) The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡΝΟ[C]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with his legs spread wide and a grey snake biting his genitals.

Measurements

| Church                       |                                      |               |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| length without apse          |                                      | 8.97 m        |                                |
| length with apse             |                                      | 10.12 m       |                                |
| width                        |                                      | 3.56 m        |                                |
| height                       |                                      | 4.85 m        |                                |
| Hell                         |                                      |               |                                |
| Position                     | Iconography                          | Shape         |                                |
| west wall, lower left corner |                                      |               |                                |
| top register:                |                                      |               |                                |
| left                         | IS: <i>Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i> | 0.31 × 0.39 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| right                        | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>          | 0.31 × ? m    | fragment                       |
| 2nd register:                |                                      |               |                                |
| left                         | 2 IS: <i>incl. Fornicator (m)</i>    | 0.37 × 0.39 m | fragment, square               |
| right                        | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>          | 0.37 × ? m    | fragment                       |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 54 (no. 267); Bissinger 1995, 190–1 (no. 159); Spatharakis 2001, 124–6 (no. 44; with earlier bibliography); Spatharakis 2010, 215–28 (no. 23).

<sup>43</sup> These frames are comparable to Kastri, Saint Stephen (cat. no. 57), Fig. 74.

### 63. Melambes (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Paraskevi<sup>44</sup>

c. 1320

**Note:** Spatharakis records remnants from a representation of Hell on the west wall to the left of the entrance; he also mentions Apostles to the right, which would suggest that here, Hell would probably have been part of the Last Judgement.<sup>45</sup>

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 62 (no. 344); Bissinger 1995, 94 (no. 50); Spatharakis 2015, 138–45 (no. 18).

<sup>44</sup> This is one of the five churches in the catalogue that were not visited and documented during the research phase of the Leverhulme International Networks Project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)*.

<sup>45</sup> Spatharakis 2015, 142.

## 64. Meronas (Amari), Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena

Beginning of the 15th century



**Fig. 80** Church of the Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena, Individual Sinners, beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Meronas (Amari), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A double church. The south church, dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin (feast day, 8 September) and known as ‘the Virgin at Sochora’, is the original building raised in the 13th century and renovated and decorated in the 15th century; the north church, dedicated to Saints Constantine and Helena, is a later addition.<sup>46</sup>

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow, including the cement gable roofs of both churches and the cement dome of the north church. The masonry of the corners and the carved-stone frames of the entrance door and the windows have been left exposed. There is a single entrance in the western half of the north wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Modern windows have been inserted in the west wall of the north church and the south wall of the south church.

<sup>46</sup> Spatharakis identifies the north church as a narthex. His description of the building predates the most recent restoration. Presently, the north half of the building is a dedicated church with its own sanctuary. Spatharakis and van Essenbergh 2012, 178.



**Fig. 81** Church of the Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena, Communal Punishments, beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Meronas (Amari), Rethymnon, Crete

The interior of the north church consists of two bays, the western one of which is covered by a dome. The two churches communicate internally via an open arch. The interior of the south church is covered by a pointed barrel vault. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

Most of the interior of the south church is plastered and whitewashed and only small fragments of wall painting survive on the west wall, at the western end of the vault, on the lower part of the north wall, on the lower left part of the triumphal arch and in the lower left corner of the apse wall.<sup>47</sup> The later north church is devoid of wall paintings.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has remnants of the Last Judgement, extending onto the north and south walls. The remaining fragments on the west wall reveal the presence of the Deesis and the Apostle Tribunal. The adjacent north wall has Choirs of the Elect, the south wall, Paradise.

The iconography that can still be identified in the remainder of the nave includes the Dormition of the Virgin on the north wall and, among the Gallery of Saints, Saint Panteleimon.

The painting in the conch of the sanctuary apse does not survive; the apse wall features the Melismos flanked by Officiating Bishops. The triumphal apse has fragments of the Mandyllion on the upper part, above the apse, and of the Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation in the register underneath, to the left of the apse. The north side of the sanctuary vault has the Ascension, the north wall, possibly the Lamentation.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall of the south church, on the lower part of the wall, extending onto the north wall. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, a frame with Individual Sinners, and at least one compartment of Communal Punishment. Remnants of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire are positioned on the lower right of the wall, included in the Last Judgement composition. The frame with Individual Sinners appears near the bottom of the west wall, in the register below the Last Judgement composition, stretching across the full width of the wall (Fig. 80). A fragment of a compartment of Communal Punishment can be found on the adjacent north wall, on the lower left part of the wall, at the same height as the frame with Individual Sinners on the west wall (Fig. 81).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is virtually destroyed. Only small fragments of the red background remain, with figures outlined on it in black.

The elongated frame with Individual Sinners is damaged. What survives of it contains the remnants of at least eight sinners, shown naked, in

<sup>47</sup> An earlier layer of wall paintings in the church can be dated to the 13th century; see Aggelaki 2015, 379 and n. 5.



a variety of positions, outlined in dark brown and shaded in ochre, on a black background (Fig. 80). The last three are depicted hanging from cords with which their hands and feet are tied together. They used to be accompanied by inscriptions, but these are no longer legible.<sup>48</sup> Only two sinners could be identified:

- (first on the left) The Rich Man; shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing amidst red flames, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand;
- (sixth from the left) Possibly the Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; the figure is badly damaged, but it seems that he is hanging from a cord with his hands and feet tied together, with the upper part of the plough visible.

The fragment of the compartment of Communal Punishment shows rows of heads outlined in dark brown on an ochre background, ‘attacked’ by white, wiggly lines, representing the Sleepless Worm.

## Measurements

### South Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.35 m |
| length with apse    | 6.99 m |
| width               | 2.83 m |
| height              | 3.76 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>                   | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                          | <i>Shape</i>               |
|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| west wall:                        |   |                          |                            |
| lower half of wall, right         | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | $(0.28) \times (0.38)$ m | fragment of Last Judgement |
| 2nd register, near bottom of wall | <i>(7) IS: incl. Rich Man</i>           | $0.52 \times 2.77$ m     | rectangle, landscape       |
| north wall:                       |   |                          |                            |
| lower left of wall                | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>               | $0.52 \times (0.18)$ m   | fragment                   |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 63 (no. 356); Spatharakis and van Essenbergen 2012, 178 (no. 26); Aggelaki 2015.

<sup>48</sup> Aggelaki 2015, 382 and Fig. 8, suggests the reading ο πόρνος (male Fornicator) for the last figure from the left. Only the first two letters, ‘ο π . . .’, are legible. Furthermore, the punishment suffered by this male sinner here is not typical for the male Fornicator, who is invariably depicted with snakes biting his genitals.

## 65. Mourne (Hagios Vasileios), Saint George

14th century



Fig. 82 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (north side of the vault), Mourne (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its rectangular shape distorted.

The exterior is roughly plastered and whitewashed and covered by a gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged but in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the church has the Last Judgement, divided in an unusual manner. The west wall has Paradise, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance. The adjacent north side of the vault has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead in the upper register, and the Weighing of the Souls and the Hetoimasia of the Throne in the register underneath. The south side of the vault has Choirs of the Elect.



**Fig. 83** Church of Saint George, Communal Punishments and the Rich Man, 14th century, wall painting (north side of the vault), Mourné (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The south wall has an image of the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, adjacent to the sanctuary. The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena on the west wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, and the apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The wall painting on the upper part of the triumphal arch, above the apse, is destroyed; the register below has the Annunciation, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement at the west end of the church. It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners and one compartment of Communal Punishment, on the north and south sides of the vault. The north side of the vault has one elongated frame with Individual Sinners, on the lower part of the vault, in the register below the Weighing of the Souls and the Hetoimasia of the Throne (Fig. 82). The south side of the vault has a small frame with a single Individual Sinner (the Rich Man) and the single compartment of Communal Punishment, placed side by side on the lower part of the vault, in the register below the Choirs of the Elect – the Rich Man on the right, next to Paradise on the west wall, and the compartment of Communal Punishment on the left (Fig. 83).

The frame with Individual Sinners on the north side of the vault is badly abraded, with some of the attributes of the sinners reduced to contours. It contains a row of nine sinners, five men and four women. They are shown naked, standing, with their arms bound behind their backs, painted in light brown on a black background. They are identified by inscriptions on the upper border of the frame. They are, from left to right (Fig. 82):

- The Murderer ([Ο ΦΟ]ΝΕΥC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with bearded face; the contours of a large sword can be discerned, positioned diagonally in front of his chest;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΥΛΑΚΙCΤΗC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with bearded face; the remnants of a plough can be discerned, positioned diagonally in front of his chest;
- The Farmer Who Reaps over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΘΕΡΙCΤΗC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with bearded face; a large sickle is positioned in front of his body on the right;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο Κ[ΛΕΠΤΗC]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, beardless, with a white goat with long twisted horns draped across his shoulders;
- The male Fornicator(?); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, beardless; his inscription does not survive and he has no distinctive attributes, but he appears next to the female Fornicator;
- The female Fornicator (Η [ΠΟΡΝ]Η); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with a snake (of which only the contours and a small part of scaly skin can be discerned) biting her genitals;
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (. . . ΜΕΝΙ ΤΑ ΥΑΡΕΦΙ);<sup>49</sup> she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with a snake (of which only the contours can be discerned) biting her left breast;
- The Witch (Ι ΜΑΓΗCΑ);<sup>50</sup> she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, without distinctive attributes;
- The female Gossiper (Ι ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘΙCΤΕΡΕΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, without distinctive attributes.

The frame with the Rich Man on the south side of the vault shows this sinner naked, in three-quarters, facing right, looking up at Paradise on the west wall; he is seated amongst red flames and points at his parched mouth with his left hand.

<sup>49</sup> The inscription can be reconstructed as ἀποστρεφόμενη τα βρέφη. See Spatharakis 2015, 152.

<sup>50</sup> Emmanuel 2014, 289.

The compartment of Communal Punishment on the south side of the vault represents the Sleepless Worm. It shows two rows of heads, outlined in black, shaded in light brown, with dark brown hair, against a black background with white hatchings.<sup>51</sup> Each of the heads is attacked by white, wriggly worms.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.40 m |
| length with apse    | 6.24 m |
| width               | 3.19 m |
| height              | 3.50 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>                  | <i>Iconography</i>                   |               | <i>Shape</i>                       |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| north side of vault,<br>west end | 9 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(m/f) | 0.56 × 1.87 m | rectangle, landscape               |
| south side of vault:             |                                      |               |                                    |
| right                            | IS: <i>Rich Man</i>                  | 0.49 × 0.46 m | square, irregular                  |
| left                             | CP: <i>Sleepless Worm</i>            | 0.49 × 0.87 m | rectangle, landscape,<br>irregular |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 34); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 59 (no. 314); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 287–8; Bissinger 1995, 93 (no. 46); Emmanuel 2014; Spatharakis 2015, 146–54 (no. 19).

<sup>51</sup> Compare Lambini, Virgin (cat. no. 61).



## 66. Myrthios (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour

c. 1400



Fig. 84 Church of Christ the Saviour, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Myrthios (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete



Fig. 85 Church of Christ the Saviour, Individual Sinners, c. 1400, wall painting (west wall), Myrthios (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, its shape distorted, probably by ground movement.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a gable roof. There is a single entrance off-centre (west) in the south wall. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are cracked and damaged but in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A donor portrait with dedicatory inscription survives at the west end of the south wall; it shows a male and a female donor with their young daughter, the daughter holding a sign with the inscription.

The west wall has the Last Judgement on the upper part of the wall, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper part of the west wall has the Deesis and the Apostle Tribunal. The adjacent north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead, the Weighing of the Souls, and Angels holding the Scroll of Heaven. The south wall has Choirs of the Elect and Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has, due to the dedication of the church, a large number of scenes from the Christological cycle. The west side of the transverse arch has the Mandylion at the apex. The west end of the north wall has the Dormition of the Virgin, with an image of Christ enthroned next to it on the right, with a halo with punched decoration.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin with Christ in a medallion, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west and north walls. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, a frame with Individual Sinners, and a compartment of Communal Punishment. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, positioned halfway up the west wall, to the right of the modern window that has been inserted off-centre (south) into this wall (Fig. 84). The frame with Individual Sinners and the compartment of Communal Punishment appear west of centre on the north wall, above the Gallery of Saints on

this wall, with the frame with Individual Sinners on the right and the compartment of Communal Punishment on the left (Fig. 85).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire has a red background, on which the flow of the River of Fire has been indicated with white wavy lines (Fig. 84). The centre of the scene is occupied by the figure of Satan, shown in three-quarters, facing left, painted in dark brown, with white straggly hair and beard. He is holding a tiny Judas at his bosom with his left arm; he is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, painted in black, with its head pointing left and its tail pointing right. Around Satan, figures are outlined in black. In the top left corner of the scene, there is a vengeful angel, shown in three-quarters, facing right, brandishing a long trident in his raised right hand. Closer to Satan on the left, there are heads of sinners, depicted frontally, including a man with a tall, pointed hat directly next to Satan's head and a woman with turban-like headwear near the front paw of the Dragon of the Depths. On the damaged right side of the scene, a group of bearded men wearing the liturgical attire of Orthodox bishops (including the omophorion) can be discerned.

The frame with Individual Sinners is damaged (Fig. 85). It has a row of eight sinners, shown naked, standing, with their arms bound behind their backs, outlined in black and shaded in brown, on an olive-green background; they have grey, scaly snakes coiling around their bodies and are accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right:

- Unidentifiable; the inscription has disappeared, and the figure is heavily damaged;
- Unidentifiable; a woman, shown in three-quarters, facing left; unusually, she wears a necklace;
- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡΝΟ[С]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame;
- The female Fornicator (Η Π[ΟΡ]ΝΗ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left; unusually, she has short hair and is wearing a necklace; the serpent coiling around her legs is biting her genitals;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΙCΤ[ΗС]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left; two snakes are coiling around his body, one biting his mouth, the other, his ear; the handle of a plough can be seen positioned diagonally in front of his chest;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο Κ[ΛΕΙΤΤ]ΗС); the figure is almost destroyed, but a black goat draped across his shoulders can still be discerned;
- Unidentifiable ('... КΗМ ...?'); the figure is virtually destroyed;

- Unidentifiable; the inscription has disappeared, and the figure is virtually destroyed.

The compartment of Communal Punishment shows Outer Darkness (TO [C]KOT[OC TO ΕΞΩΤΕΡΟΝ]); it consists of a black background, discoloured to dark blue, without further distinctive features.

Measurements

|                                     |   |                 |                                |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Church</b>                       |   |                 |                                |
| length without apse                 |   | 5.80 m          |                                |
| length with apse                    |   | 6.75 m          |                                |
| width                               |   | 3.02 m          |                                |
| height                              |   | 3.61 m          |                                |
| <b>Hell</b>                         |   |                 |                                |
| <i>Position</i>                     | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
| west wall, middle, right            | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (0.50) × 1.40 m | rectangle, landscape           |
| south wall, middle, left of centre: |   |                 |                                |
| right                               | <i>9 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>       | 0.68 × 1.37 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| left                                | <i>CP: Outer Darkness</i>               | 0.68 × 0.46 m   | rectangle, portrait, irregular |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 32); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 57 (no. 301); Spatharakis 2015, 165–71 (no. 22).

## 67. Petrochori (formerly Aposeti, Amari), Holy Apostles

15th century



Fig. 86 Church of Holy Apostles, Last Judgement, 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Petrochori (formerly Aposeti, Amari), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, unusually elongated by the standards of Cretan regional churches.

The exterior has remnants of rough plaster and partially exposed stonework and masonry; it is covered by a gable roof. There is a single entrance off-centre (west) in the south wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Modern windows have been inserted in the centre of the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with three transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern iconostasis. The interior is largely renovated, plastered and whitewashed.

Fragments of wall painting survive only in the section to the west of the entrance, mainly on the west wall and the western end of the vault. They are faded and barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, divided into registers, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper register of the west wall, at the apex of the wall, has remains of the Deesis. The second register has the Hetoimasia of the Throne, flanked by the Apostle Tribunal. The third register has Choirs of the Elect on the left and the Weighing of the Souls flanked by Adam and Eve in the centre. The adjacent north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead, with trumpeting angels, but without the customary personifications of Earth and Sea. The south wall has further Choirs of the Elect and Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has a few remnants of scenes from the Christological cycle and of a Gallery of Saints.

No wall paintings survive in the sanctuary.

**Hell:** Hell used to be represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, in the third (lower) register of the Last Judgement composition, on the right. It consisted of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame. Presently, only a small fragment of the red background of the scene survives, at the left border of the scene (Fig. 86).

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 9.80 m  |
| length with apse    | 10.99 m |
| width               | 3.45 m  |
| height              | 4.27 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>        | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                   | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, lower right | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (0.35) × (0.86) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 66 (no. 385); Spatharakis and van Essenbergh 2012, 190–2 (no. 30).

## 68. Roustika (Rethymnon), Virgin and Christ the Saviour

1391

**Structure and Condition:** A double church. The north church, dedicated to the Virgin, is the original building; the south church, dedicated to Christ the Saviour, is a modern addition.

The exterior is whitewashed, leaving the masonry exposed on the corners and the carved-stone frames of the entrances and lateral windows. A large modern belfry has been erected against the centre of the west facade. Each church has its own entrance in the centre of its west wall. A large, somewhat irregularly shaped modern oculus has been inserted above the entrance in the west wall of the north church, which also has an original window in the centre of the north wall. The modern south church has a small oculus above the entrance in the west wall and a window in the centre of the south wall.

The interior of each church is covered by a pointed barrel vault, the one in the original north church with two transverse arches. The two churches communicate internally via an open arch in the dividing wall. In each church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings in the north church are darkened, but in a clearly legible condition. Some of the wall paintings on the west wall of the north church were destroyed by the insertion of the modern oculus above the entrance; the lower part of the wall is damaged, and the section to the right of the door was covered in conservation gauze during our visits on 14 April and 6 September 2011. The south church is devoid of wall paintings.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives in the centre of the north wall, above the window.

The west wall has the remains of a Last Judgement, divided into separate registers, extending onto the north and south walls. The upper register on the west wall, at the apex of the wall, has remnants of the Deesis on either side of the modern oculus. The second register has fragments of the Apostle Tribunal on either side of the modern oculus. The north wall has Choirs of the Elect and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south wall has further Choirs of the Elect and Paradise. The apex of the western transverse arch has the unusual feature of the Hand of God holding Souls.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Compare cat. no. 50.



The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and the Akathistos Hymn.<sup>53</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans with Christ in a medallion, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. Exceptionally, the triumphal arch has the Throne of Mercy on the upper part, above the apse – a rare iconography for the Orthodox Church, showing the Holy Trinity with God the Father enthroned holding the Dead Christ on the Cross, accompanied by the Holy Ghost as a dove.<sup>54</sup> The north wall of the sanctuary has the Sacrifice of Abraham and the Departure of Abraham – the latter, too, a rare iconography in Byzantine churches.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall of the north church, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. It is a ‘full’ Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. It is divided over six registers. The top register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene within its own separate frame. The second to fifth registers have (remnants of) twelve frames with Individual Sinners, with three frames per register. The sixth register has (remnants of) three compartments of Communal Punishments. The conservation gauze on this section of the wall made a detailed examination of the scenes impossible.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is destroyed on the left side. It has a red background. The scene is identified by an inscription on the upper border, referring to the River of Fire ([Ο ΠΥΡΙ]ΝΟC ΠΟ[ΤΑΜ'ΟC]). The centre of the scene is occupied by Satan enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths. Around Satan, figures of sinners can be discerned, including a nun on the left and a monk on the right.

Of the twelve frames with Individual Sinners, those on the left in each register are largely destroyed. The remaining frames show the sinners naked, in a variety of positions, outlined in black and shaded in brown, on a white background.

Of the three compartments of Communal Punishments, the left is virtually destroyed. The remaining two each have a black background, discoloured to dark blue.

<sup>53</sup> For the iconography of the Akathistos Hymn, see, indicatively, Spatharakis 2005.

<sup>54</sup> Spatharakis 1999, 198–206, has used the presence of this iconography to argue that the church belonged originally to the Roman Catholic rite. See also Gratziou 2010, 150–1. It should be noted that the more common subject of the Hospitality of Abraham on the triumphal arch also refers to the Holy Trinity.

## Measurements

### North Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.17 m |
| length with apse    | 7.12 m |
| width               | 3.27 m |
| height              | 3.92 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>        | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, lower right |   |                 |                                |
| top register           | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.52 × (0.54) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| second register:       |   |                 |                                |
| left                   | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.21 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| 3rd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.21 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| third register:        |   |                 |                                |
| left                   | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.21 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| 3rd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.22 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| fourth register:       |   |                 |                                |
| left                   | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.21 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| 3rd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.25 × 0.23 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| fifth register:        |   |                 |                                |
| left                   | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.22 × 0.21 m   | square                         |
| 3rd                    | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>             | 0.22 × 0.24 m   | square                         |
| sixth register:        |   |                 |                                |
| left                   | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × ? m         | fragment                       |
| 2nd                    | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.21 m      | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd                    | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.25 m      | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 28); Gerola-Lassithiotakis 1961, 51 (no. 243); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 261–3; Bissinger 1995, 189–90 (no. 157); Spatharakis 1999, 179–224 (no. 18); Spatharakis 2001, 137–41 (no. 47; with earlier bibliography).

## 69. Saitoures (Rethymnon), Virgin

c. 1300



Fig. 87 Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, c. 1300, wall painting (north side of the vault), Saitoures (Rethymnon), Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed. The church is covered by a gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. Two buttresses have been installed against the north wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall. A modern window has been inserted above the entrance in the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by the framework of a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and faded and in a poorly legible condition. The format of the scenes appears to deviate from the most common formats found on Crete, with a comparatively large number of relatively small scenes, containing small-scale figures.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives at the west end of the south wall.

The west end of the church has remnants of the Last Judgement. The now practically destroyed wall painting on the upper part of the west wall is likely to have shown the Deesis. The western end of the vault has the Hetoimasia of the Throne, flanked by the Apostle Tribunal, at the apex. The west face of the western transverse arch has a trumpeting angel.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated. The east face of the western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete. The Gallery of Saints includes, on the south wall, images of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; the Archangels have haloes with punched decoration, while Michael holds a raised sword with an inscription and Gabriel holds a medallion with Christ.<sup>55</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans, with Christ in a medallion, flanked by two angels. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement at the west end of the church, on the north side of the vault, underneath the

<sup>55</sup> This scene may be an abbreviated version of the Synaxis of the Asomatoi; see Kalopossi-Verti 1975, 41–2, 188–95, Plate 22.

Hetoimasia of the Throne and the section of the Apostle Tribunal on this side of the vault. It is heavily damaged and abraded, but it appears to include frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over two registers (Fig. 87). The upper register has an elongated frame with Individual Sinners. The lower register has a further small frame with one Individual Sinner, the Rich Man, on the right, and, to the left of this frame, at least two possible compartments of Communal Punishments.

The frame with Individual Sinners in the upper register is severely abraded. It contains a row of ten sinners, only the contours of whom remain, outlined against a black background. If they were accompanied by inscriptions, these have completely disappeared. The first seven sinners on the left appear to be shown frontally, standing, with their bound arms raised above their heads, tied to the upper edge of the frame; they have remnants of grey snakes coiling around their bodies. No identifying characteristics survive. The last three sinners, on the right, appear to be shown in three-quarters, facing right, kneeling, with their hands bound in front of them, again with grey snakes coiling around their bodies. The first of these three (number eight in the row, counting from the left) seems to be accompanied by a plough, positioned behind his back, suggesting he is the Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line. The pair of scissors that probably hangs from the neck of the sinner next to him (number nine) would suggest the thieving tailor.

The small frame with the Rich Man in the second register on the right is also badly abraded (the Rich Man is not visible in Fig. 87). It appears to show the Rich Man seated in the lower right corner, facing left, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand. Unusually, he is looking up at another figure in the top left corner of the frame – possibly an angel, or Abraham holding the Poor Lazarus at his bosom.<sup>56</sup>

The two possible compartments of Communal Punishments to the left of the frame with the Rich Man are again badly abraded. They appear to show two rows of figures each, against a black background. To the left of these two compartments, a further scene makes up the rest of the register; it is too damaged to be identified.

<sup>56</sup> This arrangement would correspond to the juxtaposition of the two as described by Saint John Chrysostom; see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 137, n. 94.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.47 m |
| length with apse    | 8.34 m |
| width               | 3.25 m |
| height              | 3.92 m |

Hell

| Position              | Iconography               |                   | Shape                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| north wall, west end: |                           |                   |                                 |
| top register, left    | 10 Individual Sinners     | (0.35) × (.086) m | rectangle, landscape, irregular |
| 2nd register:         |                           |                   |                                 |
| left                  | Destroyed                 | 0.67 × 0.91 m     | rectangle, landscape            |
| 2nd                   | Communal<br>Punishment(?) | 0.67 × 0.39 m     | rectangle, landscape            |
| 3rd                   | Communal<br>Punishment(?) | 0.67 × 0.39 m     | rectangle, landscape, irregular |
| 4th                   | IS: Rich Man              | 0.67 × 0.26 m     | rectangle, portrait, irregular  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 27); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 51 (no. 247); Bissinger 1995, 83 (no. 39); Spatharakis 1999, 225–34 (no. 19).



## 70. Selli (Rethymnon), Saint John the Evangelist

1411



Fig. 88 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, the River of Fire, 1411, wall painting (west wall), Selli (Rethymnon), Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is roughly plastered and whitewashed. The church is covered by a gable roof. A modern belfry has been erected against the centre of the west facade. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and faded, but for the most part clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the north wall of the sanctuary.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the north and south walls. The west wall has the Deesis at the apex of the wall and the



Fig. 89 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1411, wall painting (west wall), Selli (Rethymnon), Crete



Fig. 90 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Individual Sinners, 1411, wall painting (west wall), Selli (Rethymnon), Crete

Apostle Tribunal underneath. The north wall has the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The south wall has Choirs of the Elect and Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint John the Evangelist. The Gallery of Saints includes a relatively rare image of the Wisdom of God (Saint Sophia) on the south wall.<sup>57</sup> The eastern transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete, popular on the island. The apex of the eastern transverse arch has the Mandylion. There is an ornamental band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall. It includes, unusually, a few sinners along the River of Fire flowing down from the Throne of Christ in the Deesis on the upper part of the wall.<sup>58</sup> The iconography of Hell proper consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (Fig. 89), and six frames with Individual Sinners, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance (Fig. 90). It is divided over three registers, with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire in the upper register, and the six frames with Individual Sinners in the two lower registers, with three frames per register.

In front of the River of Fire, in the centre of the upper part of the wall, directly above the entrance, there is a group of four small, naked male sinners, led on a rope by a little black devil down towards Hell on the lower right (Fig. 88). All four sinners are shown in three-quarters, facing right, looking back over their shoulder at Saint Peter in the Apostle Tribunal on the left. The first three on the left have their arms crossed in front of their chest, the fourth on the right has his bound arms stretched out before him, attached to the rope pulled by the little black devil on the right. To the right of this group, on the opposite bank of the

<sup>57</sup> On this iconographic subject, see Tsamakda 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Spatharakis 1999, 247 notes that the position of these sinners is unusual. See also Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 213.



River of Fire, there is a further, single naked male sinner, also led on a rope by a little black devil towards Hell on the lower right. He is again shown in three-quarters, facing right, looking back over his shoulder to Saint Peter on the left, with his bound arms stretched out before him, attached to the rope pulled by the little black devil.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is badly abraded (Fig. 89). Only its red background survives, with a few remnants of figures outlined on it in black. The centre of the scene appears to have been occupied by a large, possibly winged Satan, of whom only part of what may have been the right-pointing wing survives. Satan would have been surrounded by figures of sinners. In the upper left corner of the scene, a surviving inscription refers to the Arians (APIAN'I). In the lower right corner, there is a group of men wearing pointed helmets decorated with long, thin ornaments or plumes, identified by an inscription as Ishmaelites (HCMAH\INOI), a term used for Muslims in Byzantium.<sup>59</sup>

The six frames with Individual Sinners in the lower two registers contain one or two sinners per frame (Fig. 90). They are shown naked, in a variety of positions, outlined in black and shaded in brown, on a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Upper register, left

- The Rich Man, erroneously identified as the Rich Lazarus ([O] ΠΛΟΫCIOC AA[ZAΠOC]); he is shown in profile, facing left, in a half-seated position, pointing at his parched mouth with the index finger of his right hand; unusually, he is not sitting among flames, and a black snake is coiling around his body;

Upper register, second

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (O ΠΑΡΑΥΛΑΚ-I[CTHC]); he is shown in profile, facing left, positioned on all fours with his spread legs and left arm tied to the bottom edge of the frame, and his raised left arm tied to the left edge of the frame; a black snake is coiling around his body and a little black devil is standing on his back, goading him with a stick and pushing the blade of a plough into his rectum;

Upper register, third

<sup>59</sup> The terms 'Agarenoi' and 'Ishmaelites' derive from the Old Testament, and refer to the descendants of Hagar, the Egyptian slave of Sarah and Abraham, and of her son Ishmael (Gen. 16:11–16; 17:17–26; and 21:9–21). According to Byzantine tradition, the mother of Ishmael was the ancestor of all Arabs. The type of helmet depicted here is also reminiscent of Ottoman military headgear. Karapidakis and Spatharakis each describe this scene, but without presenting a reading of the inscription. Karapidakis 1984, 73–4, Fig. 5 (drawing); Spatharakis 1999, 247.

- Those Who Sleep on Holy Sunday (H KIM(ON)TEC T(HN) AΓIAN KYPIAK'H) instead of going to church; they are shown from above, as a couple lying in bed, their heads pointing left, resting on a large rectangular pillow; they are covered by a striped blanket, with a little black devil perched on top;

Lower register, left

- (left) The Murderer (O ΦONEAC); he is shown from behind, with his upper body twisted in profile, facing right; he is suspended upside down by his feet from the upper edge of the frame, with his bound arms stretched out diagonally in front of him and tied to the lower edge of the frame; a black snake coils around his body, and a sword appears to have been inserted between his spread legs;
- (right) The (livestock) Thief (O ΚΛ'ΕΠΤΙC); he is shown in profile, facing left, on all fours, with his arms and legs tied to the lower edge of the frame and a noose tied around his neck, attached to the upper edge of the frame; a black snake coils around his body and a black goat with long, twisted horns is perched upon his back;

Lower register, second

- (left) The Procuress (Bawd; Madam) (H MAYΛ'HCTPα); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, tied by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her back; a black snake coils around her body and appears to be biting her face;
- (right) The female Fornicator (H ΠΟΡΝΗ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, tied by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her back; a black snake coils around her body and is biting her genitals;

Lower register, third

- (left) The (cheating) Miller (O ΜΙΛΟΝ[Α]c); he is shown in profile, bent over towards the left, tied by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with his arms stretched out before him; a black snake coils around his body and a scoop(?) and a grindstone(?) dangle from cords around his neck; a further unidentified object dangles from a cord tied around his left arm;
- (right) The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (O ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝΙCΤ'HC); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, with his arms bound behind his back; a black snake coils around his body and a large pair of scales swings from a cord around his neck.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.62 m |
| length with apse    | 7.39 m |
| width               | 3.15 m |
| height              | 3.82 m |

Hell

| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                                   |               | <i>shape</i>         |
|---------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall, right of door: |  |               |                      |
| top register              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i>              | 1.08 × 0.70 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register:             |  |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>IS: Rich Man</i>                                  | 0.30 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 2nd                       | <i>IS: Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line</i> | 0.30 × 0.32 m | square               |
| 3rd                       | <i>IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday</i>                 | 0.30 × 0.38 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register:             |  |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>IS: Murderer; Thief</i>                           | 0.30 × 0.30 m | square               |
| 2nd                       | <i>IS: Procuress; Fornicator (f)</i>                 | 0.30 × 0.32 m | square               |
| 3rd                       | <i>IS: Miller; Man Who Cheats at the Scales</i>      | 0.30 × 0.38 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 343 (no. 29); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 52–3 (no. 257; church recorded erroneously as dedicated to the Archangel Michael); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 270–1; Karapidakis 1984; Bissinger 1995, 208 (n. 186); Spatharakis 1999, 235–62 (no. 20); Spatharakis 2001, 163–6 (no. 54; with earlier bibliography).



## 71. Spili (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration)

14th century<sup>60</sup>



**Fig. 91** Church of Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Spili (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

<sup>60</sup> Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983 date the wall paintings to the end of the 14th century; Bissinger 1995, 195, to c. 1380(?); Spatharakis 2015, 195, to the beginning of the 14th century.



**Fig. 92** Church of Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), the Sleepless Worm and the Rich Lazarus (Rich Man), 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Spili (Hagios Vasileios), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and decorated with a pattern of faux masonry. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and darkened, but otherwise clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the north and south walls. The west wall has the Deesis at the apex of the wall, with the Apostle Tribunal underneath. The north wall has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead; they are flanked by the Crucifixion on the left and the Anastasis on the right. The south wall has Choirs of the Elect walking towards the entrance of Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena holding the Holy Cross between them. The transverse arch may have had the Ten Saints of Crete. There is an ornamental band along the apex of the vault, which separates the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The wall paintings in the apse are too damaged to be identified. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, flanked, unusually, by medallions of Saints Joachim and Anne.<sup>61</sup> In the second register on the triumphal arch, the Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation survives to the left of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the left and right of the entrance. The section to the right of the entrance is almost completely destroyed. What remains visible, on either side of the entrance, includes frames with Individual Sinners and a compartment of Communal Punishment. To the left of the entrance, there are three frames with Individual Sinners, stacked in three registers (Fig. 91).<sup>62</sup> To the right of the door, a small fragment of painting with remnants of two registers survives. The upper register has the compartment of Communal Punishment, the lower register, a further frame with an Individual Sinner: the Rich Man.

The three frames with Individual Sinners to the left of the entrance each contain multiple sinners. The sinners are shown naked, in a variety of poses, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a white background; they are identified by inscriptions on the upper borders of the frames. The

<sup>61</sup> Compare cat. no. 72.

<sup>62</sup> There is a fourth frame, heavily damaged, above the remaining three; this has the same format as the frames with Individual Sinners below, but appears to be larger and includes remnants of a dressed figure on the left, unlikely to be a sinner.

figures are drawn in a comparatively crude style, with those in the third register larger and even more crudely drawn than those in the upper two registers. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

#### Upper register

- (left) The female Weaver (Η ανίφαντού); she is shown frontally, with lush red hair and, unusually, with what appears to be matching red pubic hair; she is holding a loom in front of her, to which weights are attached on the right; a further weight or basket of yarn hangs from a cord between her legs;
- (second) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (only the character 'O' survives of his inscription); the damaged figure, of which only the lower body survives, is shown in profile, bent over towards the right; a black devil is standing behind him on the left, pushing the blade of a plough into his rectum;<sup>63</sup>

#### Second register

- (left) The male Fornicator (Ο Π'ΟΡΝΟ[С]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, tied by a noose around the neck to the upper edge of the frame; he is standing on his right leg, with his left leg pulled up and tied by a rope around the ankle to the upper edge of the frame; his arms are bound behind him; a black snake coils around his body and is biting his graphically depicted genitals;
- (second) The female Fornicator (Η Π'ΟΡΝΗ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, with her head turned towards her partner in sin on the left; she is tied by a noose around the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with a further rope attached to her lower body(?); she is standing on her right leg, with her left leg pulled up and tied by a rope around the ankle to the upper edge of the frame; her arms are bound behind her; a black snake coils around her body and is biting her genitals, again rendered with what appears to be red pubic hair;
- (third) The Usurer (Ο ζουράρις), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; he is shown from behind, suspended upside down, unusually, by a rope tied around his genitals, from the upper edge of the frame; his legs are spread wide and his arms are bound in front of him; his head is twisted backwards, exposing his bearded face to the viewer; two purses are hanging from cords around his neck; a black snake coils around his leg and appears to bite him in his left buttock;

<sup>63</sup> Compare cat. no. 21.



- (fourth) The (cheating) Tailor (Ο ράπτης); he is shown frontally, in a seated position, with his legs spread wide and his arms bound behind him; a large pair of scissors is hanging from a cord around his neck and a piece of red cloth is draped over his lap;<sup>64</sup> on the left, the cloth is tied by a cord to one of the purses of the Usurer;

### Third register

- (left) The Woman Who Does Not Nurse Babies (Η ΜΥ Θιλάζουσα [τα] νίπια); the figure is damaged and only the upper body survives; she is shown frontally, tied by a noose around the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her; two snakes are biting her breasts;
- (second) The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΤΤ[ΗC]); he is shown frontally, suspended horizontally from the upper edge of the frame, with his head pointing right, with his arms bound behind him and his legs pulled up and bound together; a black goat is strapped to his back with rope;
- (third) The (cheating) Miller (Ο μι[λ]ον[άς]); he is shown from behind, suspended upside down, unusually, by a rope tied around his graphically rendered genitals; his legs are spread wide and his arms are bound in front of him.

The small remnant of the frame with the Rich Man in the lower register to the right of the entrance only shows his head, looking up towards the left. The inscription on the upper border of the frame identifies him erroneously as the Rich Lazarus ([ο πλού]τιος λαζαρος) (Fig. 92).

The fragment of the compartment of Communal Punishment in the upper register to the right of the entrance shows the Sleepless Worm ([ο σκώλη]ξ ο ακύμι[τος]) (Fig. 92). It contains two rows of heads rendered in ochre on a dark grey-blue background, attacked by white, wriggly worms.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.75 m |
| length with apse    | 6.63 m |
| width               | 2.67 m |
| height              | 3.69 m |

<sup>64</sup> For the possibility that he is a specialised tailor known as a *zouparis*, see above, n. 68 (Chania, Kitiros).

(cont.)

**Hell**

| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, left of door:  |                                   |                 |                                |
| top register              | 2 <i>Individual Sinners</i> (m/f) | 0.25 × 0.54 m   | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register              | 4 <i>Individual Sinners</i> (m/f) | 0.25 × 0.54 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| 3rd register              | 3 <i>Individual Sinners</i> (m/f) | 0.28 × 0.54 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| west wall, right of door: |                                   |                 |                                |
| top register              | CP: <i>Sleepless Worm</i>         | 0.25 × (0.30) m | fragment                       |
| 2nd register              | IS: <i>Rich Man</i>               | ? × (0.30) m    | fragment                       |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 35); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 60 (no. 326); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 286–7; Bissinger 1995, 195 (no. 166); Spatharakis 2015, 189–95 (no. 26).



## 72. Vathiako (Amari), Saint George

c. 1300 to third quarter of the 14th century



**Fig. 93** Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1300 to third quarter of the 14th century, wall painting (vault), Vathiako (Amari), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, unusually elongated by the standards of Cretan regional churches.

The exterior has remnants of plaster and partially exposed stonework. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the centre of the south wall. There is a single (modern) entrance off-centre (west) in the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with three transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a reconstructed stone templon.

Only fragments of wall painting survive, albeit in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** Exceptionally, the north and south walls have the Last Judgement, positioned between the western and central transverse arches. The vault in this section has the Apostle Tribunal at the apex, on the north and south sides of the vault. The second register on the north side of the vault has the Deesis.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George; exceptionally, some of the latter appear on the west wall. The Gallery of Saints includes an abbreviated version of the Synaxis of the Asomatoi on the north wall,<sup>65</sup> and Saint George on horseback on the south wall, identified as 'Diasoritis'.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, the apse wall, the Communion of the Apostles (surviving only on the right part of the wall). The triumphal arch may have had the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, flanked by medallions with Saints Joachim and Anne; at present, only the medallion with Saint Joachim survives, on the left.<sup>66</sup> The second register on the triumphal arch has the Annunciation, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north wall of the sanctuary has medallions with busts of the four doctor saints, Saints Cosmas, Damian, Panteleimon and Ermolaos.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the vault between the western and central transverse arches, on the lower part of the south side of the vault, directly above the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, only the upper part of which survives (the lower part was destroyed by the creation of the modern entrance) (Fig. 93).

The scene has an inscription along the upper border, derived from Matthew 25:41: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels' (ΑΠΕΛΘΑΤΕ Η ΚΑΤΗΡΑΓΜΕΝΙ ΗC ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΕΞΟΤ . . . ). The scene shows a vengeful angel pushing anguished sinners towards Hell with a trident, against a dark blue background. The angel, dressed in red, with red wings and a red halo, appears on the left, accompanied by an inscription referring to the 'Fiery Angel' (Ο ΠΥΡΙΝΟΣ [ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ]).<sup>67</sup> The sinners are shown in two groups, in the centre and on the right. The group in the centre consists of bearded men wearing the liturgical vestments of Orthodox bishops, white with black crosses; the man on the left of the group, facing the vengeful angel, is labelled by an inscription as 'the foolish Arius of the Trinity' (Ο ΑΡΙΟΣ Ο ΑΦΡΩ[Ν] Ο ΤΗΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ), referring to the heretic Arius of Alexandria and his position that

<sup>65</sup> For this scene, see Kalopissi-Verti 1975, 41–2, 188–95, Plate 22.

<sup>66</sup> See cat. no. 71 for a comparable iconography, which is also found at Alikampos, Church of the Virgin, dated 1315 and painted by Ioannis Pagoamenos; see Lymberopoulou 2006, 131.

<sup>67</sup> Spatharakis and van Essenbergh 2012, 226, reconstruct Ο ΠΥΡΙΝΟΣ [ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ]. The reconstruction presented here is in analogy with other similar scenes, e.g. Hagios Vasileios, Saints Paraskevi and Basil (cat. no. 56).

Christ is subordinate to God the Father in the Holy Trinity.<sup>68</sup> The group on the right comprises four heretical emperors wearing bejewelled crowns, labelled ‘the Emperors of the Wrong Faith’ (Η ΒΑΣΙΛΥΣ Η ΚΑΚΟΔΟΞΥ), likely referring to emperors who supported Iconoclasm during the 8th and 9th centuries.<sup>69</sup> Unusually, in the background between the two groups, the wild-haired figure of Satan can be discerned, rendered in grisaille, accompanied by an inscription referring to the Dragon of the Depths (Ο ΒΙΘΙΟC ΔΡΑΚΩΝ).

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 9.44 m  |
| length with apse    | 10.31 m |
| width               | 4.29 m  |
| height              | 4.60 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>        | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| south wall, above door | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (1.00) × 1.97 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 69 (no. 413); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 310–13; Volanakis 1985; Bissinger 1995, 152–3 (no. 117); Spatharakis and van Essenbergen 2012, 221–30 (cat. no. 34).

<sup>68</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 131–3.

<sup>69</sup> For the emperors involved in Iconoclasm, see Kazhdan 1991, 975–7.

### 73. Veni (Mylopotamos), Virgin

1313



Fig. 94 Church of the Virgin, the Usurer, 1313, wall painting (north wall), Veni (Mylopotamos), Rethymnon, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has a modern veneer of exposed stonework with masonry corners. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the east wall and one in the centre of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden banister.

Only small to medium-size fragments of wall painting survive; they are faded and abraded and poorly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the south wall; it was possibly accompanied by portraits of three donors.

The west wall has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance.

The remainder of the nave has remnants of scenes from the Christological cycle. The south wall has the Dormition of the Virgin.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin, probably flanked by angels, with a partially surviving inscription underneath. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. Little survives of the wall painting on the upper part of



**Fig. 95** Church of the Virgin, Individual Sinners, 1313, wall painting (north wall), *Veni* (Mylopotamos), Rethymnon, Crete

the triumphal arch, above the apse, except two angel deacons on the left and two saints, probably Apostles, on the right.<sup>70</sup> The second register on the triumphal arch has the Annunciation, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Nativity on the

<sup>70</sup> It is highly unlikely that the scene depicts the Hospitality of Abraham, commonly occupying this part of the sanctuary.



south side. The register underneath the Ascension on the north wall has the Mandylion. The register underneath the Nativity on the south wall has the Presentation in the Temple. The sides of the stone table in the north corner of the sanctuary have a painted imitation of a white patterned fabric wall hanging.

**Hell:** Hell is represented, exceptionally, on the west and east reveals of the north wall entrance. There is no clear context for the representation.<sup>71</sup> It consists of (remnants of) frames with Individual Sinners. In total, fragments of three frames survive. The west reveal has fragments of two frames stacked in two registers. The east reveal has a fragment of one frame on the lower part of the reveal; it is likely that this reveal originally had two registers as well.

Of the frame with Individual Sinners in the upper register of the west reveal, only a fragment survives, at the top of the reveal (Fig. 94). It shows part of the upper edge of the frame and a segment of its white background, bearing an inscription referring to the Usurer (ὁ τόκον λαβήν).<sup>72</sup> Of the frame with Individual Sinners in the lower register of the west reveal, a fragment survives on the lower part of the reveal. It shows part of the lower edge of the frame and the legs of a naked sinner, rendered in profile, painted in brown on the white background.

Of the frame in what must have been the lower register of the east reveal, again only a fragment survives, on the lower part of the reveal (Fig. 95). It contains remnants of two sinners standing side by side, both painted in brown on a white background. Of the sinner on the left, only the legs remain, rendered in three-quarters, facing right, with two grey, scaly snakes coiling around them. The sinner on the right can be seen from the abdomen downwards, rendered in profile, facing left. Judging by the stretched position of the feet, the sinner is suspended from the upper edge of the frame. What looks like the handle of an object is placed diagonally in front of the sinner's upper body. Unusually, a second object of an uncertain nature appears behind the sinner's thighs on the right; it could be the head of a broom or duster, the handle of which would, in that case, have to be inserted in the sinner's rectum.

<sup>71</sup> The church lacks a Last Judgement, and although two of the other scenes often found in combination with Hell, the Crucifixion and the Dormition of the Virgin, are both present, neither appears in the vicinity of the representation of Hell.

<sup>72</sup> Note that the Usurer is indicated by the proper Greek phrase.



## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.37 m |
| length with apse    | 7.22 m |
| width               | 3.19 m |
| height              | 3.97 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>             | <i>Iconography</i>          |                   | <i>Shape</i>                  |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| left reveal of north door:  |                             |                   |                               |
| top register                | <i>IS: incl. Usurer</i>     | (0.23) × (0.30) m | fragment, rectangle, portrait |
| 2nd register                | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i> | (0.33) × (0.39) m | fragment, rectangle, portrait |
| right reveal of north door: |                             |                   |                               |
| 2nd register                | <i>2 Individual Sinners</i> | (0.42) × (0.37) m | fragment, rectangle, portrait |

**Bibliography:** Spatharakis 2010, 9–10.

## 74. Ano Archanes (Temenos), Archangel Michael

1315/16



Fig. 96 Church of Archangel Michael, Individual Sinners, 1315/16, wall painting (west wall), Ano Archanes (Temenos), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church. At the time of our visit on 1 April 2013, the church was undergoing restoration; the below description records the condition of the church on that date.

The exterior is roughly plastered and whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frame of the entrance door and lateral window exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, and a modern window has been inserted off-centre (west) in the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are damaged but in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The portrait of a bearded donor, offering the church to the Archangel Michael, survives on the west wall, on the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has remnants of the Last Judgement, extending onto the adjacent north and south walls. The west wall is divided into several registers. The upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Deesis. In a lower register, halfway down the wall, on the far left, a fragment can be found including the figure of an angel, possibly a remnant of the Weighing of the Souls. The bottom register, to the left and right of the entrance, has the Earth and the bare-breasted Sea Giving Up their Dead (with the Earth positioned above the donor portrait). The adjacent north and south sides of the vault have the Apostle Tribunal. On the south wall, below the Apostle Tribunal, there are Choirs of the Elect.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, somewhat reduced in number, and a rich cycle of scenes related to the patron saint of church, the Archangel Michael; the cycle includes the Fall of Jericho in the bottom register of the south wall, underneath the Choirs of the Elect from the Last Judgement; the function of this scene as a prefiguration of the Last Judgement is underlined by the inclusion of an exceptionally large Archangel Michael.<sup>1</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, and the apse wall has remnants of Officiating Bishops. There are further Officiating Bishops in the bottom register of the south wall of the sanctuary. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The Sacrifice of Abraham is represented on the lower part of the triumphal arch, to the left of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Crucifixion on the south. The lower part of the north wall of the sanctuary features a unique scene, showing Christ's empty soudarion, left at His tomb after His Resurrection.<sup>2</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the west and north walls. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and a frame

<sup>1</sup> Compare Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16).

<sup>2</sup> The presence of this scene further highlights the dominant message of the Last Judgement that runs throughout the iconographic programme.

with Individual Sinners. Remnants of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, can be found on the north wall, underneath the Apostle Tribunal. A fragment of a frame with Individual Sinners can be found on the west wall, in an unusually high position – halfway up the wall, underneath the register with the Deesis, opposite the Weighing of the Souls(?), and above the Sea Giving Up her Dead.

What remains of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the north wall consists of two fragments, a smaller one on the far left of the scene and a larger one on the right. The representation is unusual in that the larger fragment on the right has a black background, faded to blue; the smaller fragment on the left has the customary red background. The large fragment on the right includes, in the centre, remnants of a group of sinners, one of whom is wearing a bejewelled imperial crown. The right side of the fragment shows a segment of Satan, accompanied by an inscription referring to ‘Devil . . . the Traitor and Despicable Judas’ (ΔΙΑΒ . . . ΤΩ ΠΡΟΔΟΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΙΩ ΙΟΥΔΑ, and below, Ο ΒΥΘΙΟC ΔΡΑΚΩΝ). Satan is represented holding Judas in his lap, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, of which only the forked tail remains, in the top right corner of the scene; each end of the fork finishes in a serpent’s head, the left one of which ingests a hand, the right one a foot.

What is left of the frame with Individual Sinners on the west wall includes the remnants of a row of four sinners, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a white background; they were accompanied by inscriptions, which have now disappeared or become illegible. They are, from left to right (Fig. 96):

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales(?); only a fragment remains, suggesting the sinner is shown in profile, standing bent over towards the right, his arms bound before him, a snake biting his head; he appears to be accompanied by a large pair of scales, possibly resting on his neck;
- The Woman Refusing to Nurse Infants ( . . . ΝΗΠΗΑ); she is shown frontally, standing, her arms bound behind her back, with two scaly grey snakes coiling around her body and biting her breasts;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; he is shown in three-quarters, standing bent over towards the right, his arms bound in front of him, with two scaly grey snakes coiling around his body; he has the blade of a plough inserted into his rectum;
- Unidentifiable; the faded figure is suspended upside down by his feet, with a snake coiling around him.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.13 m |
| length with apse    | 4.55 m |
| width               | 2.68 m |
| height              | 3.94 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>                      |                   | <i>Shape</i>                                    |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| west wall:            |   |                   |   |
| halfway up, far right | (4) <i>Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>     | (0.42) × (0.62) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape, curved on right |
| north wall:           |   |                   |   |
| halfway up, west end  | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (0.56) × 1.94 m   | fragments, rectangle, landscape                 |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 38); Chatzidakis 1952, 70–1 (no. 25); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 75–6 (no. 473); Bissinger 1995, 105–6 (no. 68); Spatharakis 2001, 44–7 (no. 14; with earlier bibliography).

## 75. Ano Symi (Viannos), Saint George

1453



Fig. 97 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, Communal Punishments and Those Who Sleep on a Sunday, 1453, wall painting (east wall, narthex), Ano Symi (Viannos), Herakleion, Crete





Fig. 98 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, 1453, wall painting (north wall, narthex), Ano Symi (Viannos), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, with a higher, elongated, transverse narthex, extending beyond the width of the church on both sides.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, the whitewash dirty and discoloured; the carved-stone frames of the entrances and the lateral

window of the church have been left exposed. The transverse narthex and the church are each covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the south wall of the narthex. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the west wall of the transverse narthex, and one in centre of the south wall of the narthex; each entrance has a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There is a modern window in the south wall of the nave.

In the interior, the transverse narthex and the church are each covered by a pointed barrel vault; the vault of the narthex has one transverse arch, and the vault of the church has no transverse arch. Narthex and church communicate internally via an open arch. In the church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a rudimentary modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are damaged and in part abraded, but otherwise in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconography:** Dedicatory inscriptions survive on the west and south walls of the narthex.

The north wall of the narthex has the Last Judgement, divided over multiple registers. The upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Great Deesis. The second register has the Apostle Tribunal, the third register, Choirs of the Elect on the left and the Earth and the bare-breasted Sea Giving Up their Dead on the right. Paradise appears in the fourth (bottom) register, on the left, next to Hell on the right.

The remainder of the narthex has scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, Saint George, scenes from the Christological cycle, and the Dormition of the Virgin on the south wall.<sup>3</sup> The nave of the church has further scenes from the Christological cycle, presenting a number of Christ's miracles; among these, in the second register of the north wall, appears a rare scene showing either the Raising of the Daughter of Jairus or the Raising of Peter's Mother-in-Law.<sup>4</sup> The Gallery of Saints in this church is exclusively male.

The reveals of the open arch between the narthex and the church have painted imitations of white, patterned fabric wall hangings. A similar, but

<sup>3</sup> It could be argued that the attending Apostles around the Virgin's bier in this scene mirror the Apostle Tribunal on the north wall.

<sup>4</sup> The paintings in this church are attributed to Manuel Phokas, a very skilled artist, whose work can also be found at Avdou, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 78) and at Embaros, Saint George (cat. no. 80). Phokas' close association with Constantinople may explain the inclusion of 'less important scenes', as Spatharakis 2001, 204 puts it, depicting Christ's Miracles; as is well known, the latter scenes feature prominently in the Chora Monastery; see Underwood 1966. On Phokas, see Gouma-Peterson 1983; Maderakis 2000.

much shorter imitation fabric wall hanging can be found all along the bottom of the walls of the church, including in the sanctuary and the apse.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Mandylion at the apex, above the apse. The bottom register of the triumphal arch has one Angel-Deacon and one Officiating Bishop on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side, the Pentecost on the south.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the north wall of the narthex, extending onto the east wall. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, a frame with Individual Sinners, and four compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, is possibly the largest representation of this subject on Crete; it occupies the right half of the fourth register of the north wall (next to Paradise on the left in this same register) and the adjacent east wall, up to the open arch between the narthex and the church (Figs 98, 97). The frame with Individual Sinners appears on the east wall, on the right, next to the open arch between the narthex and the church, below the section of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on this wall. The four compartments of Communal Punishments can be found in a continuous row on the north and east walls, two on each wall, below the sections of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on these walls.

The section of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the north wall is heavily damaged (Fig. 98). Only the contours of two vengeful angels pushing sinners into the fire can be distinguished on the left of the scene. The section of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the east wall (Fig. 97) is dominated by the large, black, hairy figure of Satan, shown frontally, holding Judas in his lap with both hands; he is enthroned, with his legs turned towards the left, upon the Dragon of the Depths, which is rendered as a double-headed monster with dogs' or wolves' heads, with its heads and claws extending symmetrically, in profile, on either side of Satan. Beardless heads of sinners are floating in the fire all around Satan. The group of sinners to the lower right of Satan is accompanied by a now illegible identifying inscription ('... γαρ').<sup>5</sup> The group of heads to the upper right of Satan are addressed by a little black devil. In the top right corner of the scene, the Rich Man can be seen, shown in three-quarters, facing left, towards Paradise on the north wall, seated, pointing at his parched mouth with the index finger of his right hand.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the full inscription identified the group as 'Saracens' (Αγαρηνοί); see Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70, 688 n. 59).

The frame with Individual Sinners, underneath the section of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the east wall, shows the sinners against a white background (Fig. 97). It is heavily damaged on the right side, leaving the sinners there unidentifiable. At the left of the frame, we find:

- Those Who Sleep on Sunday and do not go to Church (οι κοιμώμενοι τ[ην] αγίαν κυριακ[ήν] και μη ισερχόμενοι εν τ[η] εκκισίαν); they are shown as a couple lying in bed, with their heads, rendered in ochre, extending towards the right from under a red blanket, with a black devil bending over the bed.

Of the four compartments of Communal Punishments, the two on the north wall have become unidentifiable (Fig. 98); their inscriptions have disappeared. Of the two compartments on the east wall, the left represents Tartarus (Ο τάρταρος) (Fig. 97); it has barely discernible heads outlined in black on a dark brown background. The right compartment on the east wall shows the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο βριγμός των οδόντ[ον]); it contains six heads, divided into two rows of three, outlined in black on a dark grey background; each head has prominent bared teeth.

Measurements

|                      |   |               |                      |
|----------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Narthex</b>       |   |               |                      |
| length               |   | 5.77 m        |                      |
| width                |   | 3.09 m        |                      |
| height               |   | 4.67 m        |                      |
| <b>Church</b>        |   |               |                      |
| length without apse  |   | 3.86 m        |                      |
| length with apse     |   | 4.76 m        |                      |
| width                |   | 2.60 m        |                      |
| height (at west end) |   | 3.37 m        |                      |
| <b>Hell</b>          |   |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>      | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| north wall           |   |               |                      |
| lower right          | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.98 × 1.05 m | rectangle, landscape |
| bottom right:        |   |               |                      |
| left                 | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.38 × 0.62 m | rectangle, landscape |
| right                | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.38 × 0.60 m | rectangle, landscape |

(cont.)

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|              |  |               |  |
|--------------|--|---------------|--|
| east wall    |  |               |  |
| lower left   | <i>Hell Formed by the<br/>River of Fire</i>    | 1.72 × 1.42 m | rectangle,<br>landscape, curved<br>top right |
| bottom left: |  |               |  |
| left         | <i>CP: Tartarus</i>                            | 0.38 × 0.40 m | square, distorted                            |
| middle       | <i>CP: Gnashing of<br/>Teeth</i>               | 0.38 × 0.44 m | rectangle, landscape                         |
| right        | <i>IS: incl. Those Who<br/>Sleep on Sunday</i> | 0.38 × 0.84 m | rectangle, landscape                         |

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**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 101 (no. 741); Borboudakis 1974; Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 447–50; Bissinger 1995, 234 (no. 211), 237–8 (no. 218); Spatharakis 2001, 202–6 (no. 67; with earlier bibliography).



## 76. Ano Viannos (Viannos), Saint Pelagia

1360



Fig. 99 Church of Saint Pelagia, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1360, wall painting (west wall), Ano Viannos (Viannos), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frame of the entrance exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance located off-centre (west) in the south wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior arch above the lintel. There is a small window at the west end of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern carved wooden banister.

The wall paintings are darkened and affected by moisture, but they are in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives above the entrance, on the underside of the lintel above the door opening.





Fig. 100 Church of Saint Pelagia, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1360, wall painting (west wall), Ano Viannos (Viannos), Herakleion, Crete

The west wall has a very large Crucifixion, above the Hell scenes; it includes the Western elements of the Centurion on horseback and the fainting Virgin.<sup>6</sup>

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Pelagia of Jerusalem. The latter scenes appear on the north wall; the scene representing the saint distributing her wealth to the poor includes, on the right, a depiction of poor people, a rarity in Byzantine art.<sup>7</sup> The north wall also has a unique image showing the lay figure of a lute-player, placed directly underneath the transverse arch.<sup>8</sup> The scenes from the Christological cycle on the south wall include three post-Resurrection appearances of Christ: the Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers), Christ appearing to the Apostles and the

<sup>6</sup> For a colour plate, see Lymberopoulou and Duits 2013, Plate V.

<sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Dionysios Stathakopoulos for drawing attention to this iconographic detail.

<sup>8</sup> Lymberopoulou 2013, 65–70 and colour Plate VI. It may be worth noting that over a century later, the artist Dürer, while in Venice, commented on ‘good lute players’; see Richardson, Woods and Franklin 2007, 256.

Incredulity of Thomas. The south wall also has the Massacre of the Innocents, at the west end of the wall. The transverse arch has busts of the Ten Saints of Crete. The Gallery of Saints includes, on the south wall, to the right of the entrance, a full-length image of the Western Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child<sup>9</sup> and, on the north wall, an image of Saint Bartholomew depicted as a flayed figure holding his removed skin, in accordance with the Western tradition of his martyrdom.<sup>10</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, accompanied by Christ-Emmanuel and two busts of attending angels in medallions. The apse wall has the Melismos, flanked by Officiating Bishops; the naked Christ Child is lying on a paten placed on the altar, making a gesture of blessing with His right hand – a literal interpretation of the Holy Communion. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Pentecost and the Sacrifice of Abraham, the south wall, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and, among the saints, Saints Constantine and Helena with the Cross.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, underneath the Crucifixion. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over two registers (Figs 99, 100). The upper register, directly underneath the Crucifixion, has a frame of Individual Sinners stretching across the entire width of the wall. The second register, at the bottom of the wall, has one lost scene on the left (possibly another frame with Individual Sinners), a row of three small compartments of Communal Punishments in the centre, and a further frame with Individual Sinners on the right.

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners in neat rows, rendered in ochre on a white background, each with a black snake coiling around their body; they were accompanied by inscriptions, which are now largely lost. The frame in the upper register has exclusively male sinners, and the surviving frame in the lower register on the right exclusively female sinners. The original number of sinners in the frame in the upper register can no longer be established. The left half of the frame is heavily damaged. Remnants of three sinners can still be distinguished amongst the damage, and several figures are completely lost. The largely intact right half of the

<sup>9</sup> See also cat. no. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Xyngopoulos 1958. See also Vassilakis Mavrakakis 1982, 304. For a colour plate, see Lymberopoulou and Duits 2013, Plate IV.

scene has (fragments of) a total of eight sinners. The three sinners in the damaged left half of the scene are, from left to right:

- The (livestock) Thief; he is carrying a black goat on his shoulders;
- Unidentifiable;
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales; he is carrying a large pair of scales.

The (fragments of) eight sinners in the right half of the frame are, from left to right:

- Unidentifiable; only a fragment survives;
- Unidentifiable; the figure is rendered in three-quarters, seemingly suspended in a half-seated position, with bent knees, facing left, with his arms bound behind his back; the snake coiling around him appears to bite his face;
- Unidentifiable; the figure is rendered frontally, suspended upside down by his feet, his hair hanging down in accordance with the laws of gravity; his arms are bound behind his back;
- The (cheating) Tailor (Ο ράπτης); rendered frontally, suspended upside down by his feet, his hair hanging down in accordance with the laws of gravity; his arms are bound behind his back, and a large pair of scissors is depicted next to his head on the left;
- The male Fornicator(?); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing left, his arms bound behind his back, his feet extending onto the border of the frame; the snake coiling around him is biting his genitals;
- A male sinner accompanied by a partially surviving inscription, perhaps the male Perjurer(?) (‘Ο φιλ . . . ος’); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing right, with his arms bound behind his back and slightly bent knees, his left foot extending onto the border of the frame;
- The Notary Who Falsified Documents(?) (ο φ[αλσογράφος]); rendered in three-quarters, hung by the neck, facing right, with his arms bound behind his back and his legs pulled up;
- The Usurer (ο ζουράρης), identified by the Greek transliteration of the Latin term; rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing left, with a noose around his neck, and his arms bound behind his back.

The surviving frame with Individual Sinners on the right in the second register contains six female sinners. They are, from left to right:

- The Fortune Teller (lit.: the woman who reads the future from the grain, η κρηθαρήστρα);<sup>11</sup> she is rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing

<sup>11</sup> The root of the Greek name of this sinner is κριθάρι, ‘barley’.

- right, with her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her appears to bite her genitals;
- The female Slanderer (η καταλαλλού); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing left, with her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her appears to bite her left breast, which would not be in accordance with her sin;
  - Unclear (η παραυκρατρέα); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing left, with her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her appears to bite her genitals;
  - The Woman Who Rejects Babies (η απωστρέφουσα τα νίπια); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing right, with a double noose around her neck, and her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her is biting her left breast;
  - The Witch (η μάγισσα); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing right, with a double noose around her neck, and her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her is biting her genitals;
  - The female Fornicator (η πόρνησσα); rendered in three-quarters, standing, facing left, with a double noose around her neck, and her arms bound behind her back; the snake coiling around her is biting her genitals.

Gerola records among the sinners in this church also an avaricious man and a glutton.<sup>12</sup> The row of three small compartments of Communal Punishments in the centre of the second register bears no inscriptions. The left compartment has a black background (it could represent Outer Darkness, Tar or Tartarus). The second compartment shows outlines of sinners on an ochre background. The third compartment has heads, with prominent bared teeth, on a black background; it can be identified as the Gnashing of Teeth.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.86 m |
| length with apse    | 5.49 m |
| width               | 2.63 m |
| height              | 4.01 m |

<sup>12</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 47).

(cont.)

| <b>Hell</b>               |                                    |               |                      |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>Position</i>           | <i>Iconography</i>                 |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
| west wall, upper register | (11) <i>Individual Sinners (m)</i> | 0.48 × 2.53 m | rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, lower register |                                    |               |                      |
| centre:                   |                                    |               |                      |
| left                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>         | 0.22 × 0.45 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 2nd                       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>         | 0.19 × 0.45 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| 3rd                       | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>       | 0.19 × 0.45 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| right                     | <i>6 Individual Sinners (f)</i>    | 1.08 × 0.45 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 47); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 100 (no. 734); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 450–3; Bissinger 1995, 164 (no. 135); Theocharopoulou 1995; Spatharakis 2001, 111–14 (no. 39; with earlier bibliography).

## 77. Arkalochori (Pediada), Archangel Michael

14th century



Fig. 101 Church of Archangel Michael, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 14th century, wall painting (south wall, transept), Arkalochori (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, intersected by a higher transept; it is preceded by a square, domed narthex on the west side. The building as a whole is unusually large for a regional church on Crete.

The exterior has exposed masonry. The nave and the high transept are covered by tiled gable roofs, the narthex by a conical cement dome. The walls of the narthex have a blocked-up arcade of masonry pillars supporting pointed arches, suggesting it may originally have been a portico. There are two entrances, both in the narthex: one in the northern blocked-up arch in the west wall, and one in the western blocked-up arch in the south wall, each entrance with a pointed-arch carved-stone frame. There is a large modern window in the south wall of the transept, and small square windows high up in the north and south walls of the transept and at the apex of the east wall, above the apse.

The interior of the narthex is covered by spandrels and an articulated circular dome. In the interior, the two blocked-up openings in the north wall are not flush with the wall, resulting in two shallow blind arches. The eastern blocked-up opening in the south wall is similarly not flush with the wall, resulting in a shallow blind arch (to the east of the south-wall entrance).

Narthex and nave communicate internally via an open arch in the dividing wall. The nave and the high transept are each covered by a pointed barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden bannister.

The interiors of both the narthex and the church have been largely whitewashed, but fragments of wall painting remain throughout, darkened and in a poorly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The distribution of the iconographic programme in the narthex and the church is unusual. The transept may have had an eschatological theme. The fragments in the upper register of the south wall of the transept suggest that the Crucifixion was represented here, above the surviving Hell scenes. More Hell scenes may have appeared in the north arm of the transept, where the remaining fragments indicate the former presence of the Last Judgement. Remnants of the Apostle Tribunal can be seen on the north wall, and remnants of the Sea Giving Up her Dead, possibly Choirs of the Elect, and the Weighing of the Souls on the east wall of the north arm.

The remnants of painting in the narthex indicate scenes that are normally shown in the sanctuary, e.g. the Hospitality of Abraham on the north

wall and the Pentecost on the east wall. The dome of the narthex has a bust of Christ, and the spandrels must have had the four Evangelists, of whom only Mark and John survive. The nave has fragments of scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, the Archangel Michael, including the Fall of Jericho, a prefiguration of the Last Judgement.<sup>13</sup>

The sanctuary is largely whitewashed. The north wall of the sanctuary has remnants of the Ascension and perhaps the Washing of the Feet.

**Hell:** What remains of the representation of Hell can be found on the south wall of the transept, underneath the Crucifixion at the top of this wall. It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners and two compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over four registers, with only fragments of each register surviving on the right side of the wall (Fig. 101). The upper register and the second register each have a fragment of a frame with Individual Sinners, the third and the fourth register each, a compartment of Communal Punishment.

The remnants of the two frames with Individual Sinners each show a naked man on all fours, facing left, without identifying attributes or inscriptions.

The surviving segment of the compartments of Communal Punishments in the third register bears an inscription confirming that it shows the Gnashing of Teeth ([Ο ΒΡΥ]ΓΜΟC ΤΟΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ), in the form of round skulls on a dark background. Of the compartment of Communal Punishment in the fourth register, only small fragments of a red background remain.

Measurements

Narthex

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 3.53 m |
| width  | 3.59 m |
| height | 5.78 m |

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.05 m |
| length with apse    | 8.02 m |
| width               | 3.53 m |
| height              | 4.40 m |

<sup>13</sup> Compare Kamiliana, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 16).

(cont.)

**Transept**

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 5.25 m |
| width  | 1.67 m |
| height | 5.18 m |

**Hell**

| <i>Position</i>         | <i>Iconography</i>               |            | <i>Shape</i>    |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| south wall of transept: |                                  |            |                 |
| top register            | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>      | ? × 0.30 m | fragment        |
| 2nd register            | <i>Individual Sinner(s)</i>      | ? × 0.33 m | fragment        |
| 3rd register            | <i>CP: Gnashing of<br/>Teeth</i> | ? × 0.37 m | fragment        |
| 4th register            | <i>Communal<br/>Punishment</i>   | ? × ? m    | small fragments |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lasithiotakis 1961, 98 (no. 711); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 59, fig. 35, 386–7; Bissinger 1995, 110 (no. 79).

## 78. Avdou (Pediada), Saints Constantine and Helena

1445



Fig. 102 Church of Saints Constantine and Helena, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1445, wall painting (west wall), Avdou (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed and covered by a tiled gable roof. Indentations suggest that four glazed bowls were once inserted in the plaster at

the top of the west facade. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The wall paintings are damaged and abraded, but in a legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives to the right of the entrance on the west wall; it includes a reference to the reign of John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48).<sup>14</sup>

The west wall also has the Dormition of the Virgin, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, including the Crucifixion on the north wall, close to the Hell scenes on the west wall. There are also scenes from the life cycles of the patron saints, Saints Constantine and Helena. The scenes from the life of Saint Helena include the Finding of the True Cross and the Elevation of the True Cross, opposite each other, on the north and south sides of the vault, respectively. The Gallery of Saints, moreover, includes an image of Saints Constantine and Helena on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ Pantokrator, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops, possibly with the Melismos in the centre. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Pentecost on the south side. The bottom register of the north wall of the sanctuary and of the adjacent northern section of the triumphal arch (to the left of the apse) has a painted imitation of a white patterned fabric wall hanging.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the dedicatory inscription and the Dormition of the Virgin. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners and a compartment of Communal Punishment, divided over two registers. The upper register contains a frame with Individual Sinners, the second register, a further small frame with one Individual Sinner on the left, and a larger compartment of Communal Punishment on the right (Fig. 102). Both registers have sustained damage.

The frame with Individual Sinners in the upper register contains a row of four naked sinners, rendered frontally, in ochre on a white background,

<sup>14</sup> For the relation between reference to the reign of Palaiologan emperors in inscriptions in churches in Venetian Crete and the Last Judgement, see Volan 2011. See also cat. nos 32, 80, 82, 83. For a list of all the Cretan inscriptions referencing Palaiologan emperors, see Lymberopoulou 2006, 195–8.

accompanied by inscriptions. They are suspended from the upper edge of the frame by chains, have their arms bound behind their backs, and have black snakes coiling around their bodies; red fires are lit underneath their feet. They are, from left to right:

- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟ[P]ΝΟ[C]); only the lower body of the sinner survives; the snake coiling around his body is biting his genitals;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟ[P]ΝΗ); only the lower body of the sinner survives; the snake coiling around her body is biting her genitals;
- The Thief (Ο κλέπτις); only his lower legs survive;
- Unidentifiable.

The frame with the Individual Sinner in the lower register on the left is too damaged to distinguish anything but a chain hanging from the upper edge of the frame and the vague ochre contours of a body in the lower part of the frame. The sinner is:

- The Sorcerer (ὁ μάγος).

The compartment of Communal Punishment in the lower register on the right is no longer identifiable. It has a red background.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.59 m |
| length with apse    | 6.13 m |
| width               | 3.13 m |
| height              | 3.55 m |

Hell

| Position                  | Iconography                | Shape         |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall, right of door: |                            |               |                      |
| upper register            | 4 Individual Sinners (m/f) | 0.59 × 0.92 m | rectangle, landscape |
| second register:          |                            |               |                      |
| left                      | IS: Murderer               | 0.48 × 0.20 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| right                     | Communal Punishment        | 0.48 × 0.69 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1952, 65–6 (no. 12); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 81 (no. 530); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 410–11; Bissinger 1995, 233–4 (no. 210); Spatharakis 2001, 197–9 (no. 65; with earlier bibliography).



## 79. Avdou (Pediada), Saint George

End of the 14th to beginning of the 15th century



**Fig. 103** Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, end of the 14th to beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Avdou (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners; it is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch frame. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. The north wall has a blind arch at the centre. The south wall has a blind arch at the west end.

The wall paintings are damaged and darkened; they are legible only with difficulty.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west end of the church has remnants of the Last Judgement. The paintings in the upper register of the west wall have become illegible, but in a lower register, on the right, the Weighing of the Souls can be discerned. The west end of the vault has the Adventus, flanked by Choirs of the Elect on the north and south walls.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle as well as an extensive cycle of scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The blind arch in the north wall has Saints Joachim and Anne with the Virgin; it has the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian on its reveals. The blind arch in the south wall has Saints Constantine and Helena with the Cross between them. The Gallery of Saints includes images of Saint Paraskevi and Saint Marina on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin and Child enthroned flanked by angels. The apse wall has the Melismos, flanked by Officiating Bishops. The upper register of the triumphal arch has become illegible, but may have shown the Hospitality of Abraham. The Annunciation appears in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Pentecost, the south wall, the Lamentation.

**Hell:** Hell is depicted as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Weighing of the Souls. Exceptionally, the scene, which is heavily damaged and darkened, combines the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire with Individual Sinners (Fig. 103).

Remnants of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appear on the damaged left part of the scene. This part shows the outlines of a crowd of sinners, descending towards Satan at the bottom of the scene. Their number includes, close to Satan, at least two Western bishops wearing mitres and one

tonsured and clean-shaven Western monk or friar.<sup>15</sup> Satan is holding Judas in his lap; he is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, the latter represented facing left, with a serpentine, coiling tail pointing right.

Numerous Individual Sinners can be seen on the right of the scene, outlined in black and shaded in light brown against a black background, accompanied by inscriptions in white. They are depicted naked, with their arms bound behind their backs and snakes coiling around their bodies. Only a few of them can be identified:

- (upper right corner) The (cheating) Miller(?) (Ο ΜΗ[ΛΟΝΑC]); he is suspended upside down by his feet; a round object (millstone or grindstone?) is hanging from a cord around his neck;
- (centre) The Woman Who Rejects Infants (Η [Α]ΠΟCΤΡΕΦ[ΟYCA ΤΑ] ΝΥΠΟΙΑ); rendered frontally, with her head turned towards the left; the snake coiling around her body is biting her left breast;
- (left) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (?); he is shown lying on his back, with his limbs spread wide, wrist tied to ankle on each side; an object resembling a plough appears above him.

Surviving inscriptions show that the following were also included in the scene:

- (below the Miller on the right) The Usurer (Ο ΖΟYΠ[ΑPHC]), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name;
- (lower left) The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕYC)
- (lower right corner) Those Who Sleep on Sunday ([ΟΙ ΚΟΙΜΟYΝΤΕC ΤΗΝ Α]ΓΙΑΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚ[ΗΝ]).

Measurements

|                          |                    |                 |                                  |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Church</b>            |                    |                 |                                  |
| length without apse      |                    | 7.31 m          |                                  |
| length with apse         |                    | 8.30 m          |                                  |
| width                    |                    | 3.73 m          |                                  |
| height                   |                    | 4.58 m          |                                  |
| <b>Hell</b>              |                    |                 |                                  |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i> |                 | <i>Shape</i>                     |
| west wall, right of door | <i>HFRF; IS</i>    | 1.51 × (1.00) m | fragment, rectangle, portrait(?) |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 41); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 81 (no. 528).

<sup>15</sup> For Western clergy in Cretan Hell, see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 133–4.

## 80. Embaros (Pediada), Saint George

1436–7



**Fig. 104** Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, 1436–7, wall painting (west wall), Embaros (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the north wall.



The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings, of exceptional quality, are damaged, but the remaining parts are mostly in a good condition and clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, above an image of the Archangel Michael to the left of the entrance. The inscription refers to the reign of the Palaiologan emperor John VIII (1425–48).<sup>16</sup>

The west wall also has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, extending onto the vault of the south wall. The composition on the west wall has sustained damage, but the remaining sections show an angel holding the Scroll of Heaven in the upper register on the right, and the Apostle Tribunal in the register underneath. Paradise appears on the adjacent vault of the south wall, with Choirs of the Elect waiting outside its walls in the register below.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, including some that are relatively rare in Byzantine art, such as the Prayer in the Garden and Pilate Washing his Hands on the north wall, and Peter's Denial on the south wall. There are also scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The Gallery of Saints shows each saint standing under an arch.<sup>17</sup> The consoles of the transverse arches on both the north and south sides bear coats of arms – a Western feature.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The vault of the sanctuary has the Ascension and the Pentecost, each centred on the apex of the vault. The sanctuary also includes post-Resurrection appearances of Christ: the Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers) on the north wall, and the Incredulity of Thomas on the south wall.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance. The wall paintings are heavily damaged in this area, but what remains reveals the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners, divided over three registers (Fig. 104). The upper register has the Place of Hell

<sup>16</sup> For the relation between reference to the reign of Palaiologan emperors in inscriptions in churches in Venetian Crete and the Last Judgement, see Volan 2011. See also cat. nos 32, 78, 82, 83. For a list of all the Cretan inscriptions referencing Palaiologan emperors, see Lymberopoulou 2006, 195–8. On the painter, Manuel Phokas, mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, see Gouma-Peterson 1983; Maderakis 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Compare cat. nos 81, 84, 91 and 92.

Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene within its own separate frame. The second and third registers have fragments of frames with Individual Sinners; the fragments demonstrate there must have been six frames in total, divided into two registers of three. It is likely that there was once another register underneath the fragments that survive today.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire has become virtually illegible. The left half of the scene is completely destroyed, the remaining right half abraded and practically reduced to a red background. At the irregular left edge of the surviving half, the contours of the black figure of Satan can be discerned, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths. The surviving part of the Dragon of the Depths has a right-facing head, devouring a naked soul, which is being ingested feet first.<sup>18</sup> In the upper part of the red background of the remaining right half of the scene, a little black devil can still be seen.

The six frames with Individual Sinners appear to have contained one sinner per frame, shown against a black background. Only the upper right frame remains intact to the degree that it reveals almost the complete contours of a standing, naked figure, shown in three-quarters, facing right, with their arms bound behind their back and a snake coiling around their body. No identifying characteristics or inscriptions survive on any of the frames.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.25 m |
| length with apse    | 8.43 m |
| width               | 3.65 m |
| height              | 4.68 m |

Hell

| Position                  | Iconography                             | Shape                             |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door: |   |                                   |
| top register              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | ? × 1.18 m fragment               |
| 2nd register, right       | <i>Individual Sinner</i>                | 0.40 × 0.53 m rectangle, portrait |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 82 (no. 543); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 456–8; Bissinger 1995, 232–3 (no. 209); Spatharakis 2001, 185–9 (no. 61; with earlier bibliography).

<sup>18</sup> The fact that a right-facing head of the dragon survives suggests that it was a double-headed dragon (with another head facing to the left, now destroyed). See Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 219–20.



## 81. Episkopi (Pediada), Saint Paraskevi

First half of the 16th century<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 105 Church of Saint Paraskevi, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, first half of the 16th century, wall painting (north wall), Episkopi (Pediada), Heraklion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework and is covered by a tiled gable roof. The base of a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the west wall, and one off-centre (west) in the north wall, each with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There is a small modern window in the centre of the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

<sup>19</sup> The date is based on the headdress (*balzo*) worn by two female sinners in Hell; see below, n. 27. Chatzidakis 1998, 178, suggests 1516, which would mean that the Cretan murals would be among the earliest representations of the *balzo* in art.



**Fig. 106** Church of Saint Paraskevi, Communal Punishments, first half of the 16th century, wall painting (north wall), Episkopi (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

The walls are largely stripped of plaster, and fragments of wall painting survive mainly on the vault and in the sanctuary; they are damaged, faded and abraded, and legible only with difficulty.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall had the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the western entrance, extending onto the

north and south sides of the vault. Today, only a small fragment of the Apostle Tribunal survives on the west wall. Paradise can still be seen on the south side of the vault, Hell on the north side.

The remainder of the nave has only scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Paraskevi.<sup>20</sup> The Gallery of Saints, as far as can be established, consists only of male saints, including, on the south wall, the Embrace of Peter and Paul, a theme that carries a political connotation on Venetian Crete;<sup>21</sup> the saints are shown standing under arches.<sup>22</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features a bust of Christ as the High Priest, an iconography introduced during the 14th century in Byzantine art.<sup>23</sup> The apse wall has Officiating Bishops expanding into the lower register of the triumphal arch on either side of the apse, and from there into the lower register of the south wall of the sanctuary. The triumphal arch also has the Hospitality of Abraham, on the upper part of the wall, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension on the north side and the Pentecost on the south.

Along the bottom of the sanctuary walls, including the triumphal arch and the apse, the painted imitation of a short, white, patterned fabric wall hanging can be found.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the vault of the north wall, at the west end, above the entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and four compartments of Communal Punishments, shown together in a large frame, which is subdivided into one large section on the left, and four smaller sections on the right, the latter stacked in two registers. The large section on the left has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 105), and the four smaller sections on the right each contain a compartment of Communal Punishment (Fig. 106).

The section with the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is damaged in the lower left corner. The scene has a red background, on which flames have been painted in a darker shade of red, surrounded by fine hatching in white. In the centre, the contours of a large, black, horned and winged Satan can still be discerned.<sup>24</sup> On the red background

<sup>20</sup> This is an exceptionally extensive cycle, including twenty scenes from the life of Saint Paraskevi; see Koukariis 1994, 58–62.

<sup>21</sup> Lymberopoulou 2007c, 196; see also cat. no. 90.

<sup>22</sup> Compare cat. nos 80, 84, 91 and 92. <sup>23</sup> Vokotopoulos 1990, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Satan is rendered frontally; in analogy with certain other representations of Satan on Crete, he may have been enthroned on a symmetrical two-headed Dragon of the Depths.

surrounding Satan, several heads of sinners have been depicted, outlined in dark red and highlighted in white.

On the far left, there is a head wearing a chequered cap. To his right, there are two moustachioed men with exotic hats, one (left) shaped like a helmet decorated with a long, thin ornament or plume, the other (right) a tall hat that looks as if it is folded over backwards at the top.<sup>25</sup> At centre-left, above Satan's right wing, is a clean-shaven man wearing a broad-brimmed hat.<sup>26</sup> At centre-right, above Satan's left wing, are two ladies wearing the early 16th-century Northern Italian headdress known as the *balzo*.<sup>27</sup> In the top-right corner, there is a pair of bald, clean-shaven men, possibly wearing hooded garments, with the hoods lowered and draped around their necks.<sup>28</sup> Slightly lower on the right, there are three men with the insignia of three different faiths: a bearded man (left) with a turban, a bearded Orthodox bishop (centre) wearing an omophorion decorated with crosses, and a clean-shaven Western bishop wearing a mitre. Remnants of two or three more heads can be discerned underneath Satan's left wing. In the lower right corner of the scene, finally, we find the Rich Man (inscribed [Ο Π]ΛΟΥΤΙΟC), shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated, pointing at his mouth with his right hand.

The four compartments of Communal Punishments on the right are each identified by an inscription. The one in the upper register on the left has the Sleepless Worm (CΚΟΛΥΞ Ο [ΑΚΟΙ]ΜΗΤΟC), showing outlines of rows of heads on a brown background, with pairs of white, wriggly worms crawling over them. The one in the upper register on the right has Tartarus ([ΤΑΡΤΑ]ΡΟC), showing three grey snakes on a dark red background that may once have contained heads. The compartment in the second register on the left has the Gnashing of Teeth (ΒΡΙΓΜ[ΟC ΤΩΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ]), of which only a fragment of dark red background remains. The one in the second register on the right has become unidentifiable; its inscription has disappeared and only a fragment of ochre background survives.

<sup>25</sup> For the helmet with the long, thin ornament or plume, see also the 'Ishmaelites' or Muslims at Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70); this type of helmet is also reminiscent of Ottoman military headgear. The hat folded over backwards is characteristic of the janissaries. See the famous 1479–80 drawing of a janissary by Gentile Bellini in the British Museum (BM object no. Pp.1.19).

<sup>26</sup> It is conceivable that this is a representation of a Western cardinal with a flat, broad-brimmed hat.

<sup>27</sup> They could be Venetian ladies or Cretan ladies following Venetian fashion; in either case, their condemnation to Hell is probably connected to the association of this type of headwear with luxury and extravagance. On the *balzo*, see Herald 1980, 105.

<sup>28</sup> These two men may be Western clerics with a tonsure and a hooded habit; see Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 133–4.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.17 m |
| length with apse    | 6.79 m |
| width               | 3.46 m |
| height              | 4.23 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>                     | <i>Iconography</i>                                |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| south wall, west end,<br>above door | <i>compound scene,</i><br><i>including:</i>       | 0.98 × 1.88 m | rectangle, landscape |
| (left 2/3)                          | <i>Hell Formed by the</i><br><i>River of Fire</i> | 0.98 × 1.25 m | rectangle, landscape |
| (right 1/3: top left)               | <i>CP: Sleepless Worm</i>                         | 0.49 × 0.30 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| (right 1/3: top right)              | <i>CP: Tartarus</i>                               | 0.49 × 0.33 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| (right 1/3: bottom<br>left)         | <i>CP: Gnashing of</i><br><i>Teeth</i>            | 0.49 × 0.30 m | rectangle, portrait  |
| (right 1/3: bottom<br>right)        | <i>Communal</i><br><i>Punishment</i>              | 0.49 × 0.33 m | rectangle, portrait  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 78 (no. 499); Koukariis 1994, 58–62.



## 82. Hagios Ioannis (Pyrgiotissa), Saint Paul

1303–4



Fig. 107 Church of Saint Paul, Individual Sinners, 1303–4, wall painting (west wall, lunette), Hagios Ioannis (Pyrgiotissa), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A square, domed church; it has a square portico on the west side, and the sanctuary is located in a square chapel on the east side.

The exterior has exposed stonework. The church is covered by a tiled pyramidal roof, with the raised drum of the dome in the centre, covered by a low tiled conical roof. The front portico has a flat roof, and the sanctuary chapel is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance, inside the portico, in the centre of the west wall of the nave, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There is a small modern window in the centre of the north wall of the nave, and there are tall narrow windows on the four main compass points in the drum of the dome.

The interior is covered by spandrels and the raised circular dome. Each of the four walls has a blind arch; the western blind arch accommodates the



entrance, the eastern blind arch, the passage to the sanctuary chapel. The interior of the sanctuary chapel is covered by a low dome; the interior is roughly circular in shape, with shallow blind arches on the north and south sides and a deeper blind arch on the east side; the lunette of this latter arch has been broken through to form a semicircular window.

Fragments of wall painting survive throughout the church and the sanctuary chapel. They are faded and show traces of moisture damage; most fragments are barely legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives along the circular base of the dome in the nave; it mentions the name of the Palaiologan emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328).<sup>29</sup>

The outer rim of the dome, around the large central circle featuring Christ, has remnants of a Last Judgement, including the Deesis, the Apostle Tribunal and Choirs of the Elect.

The central circle of the dome features Christ Pantokrator, the spandrels, the four Evangelists. The nave has the remains of scenes from the Christological cycle, including the remnant of a Crucifixion in the lunette of the eastern blind arch, above the passage to the sanctuary chapel, directly facing the Hell scenes. There are also fragments of scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Paul. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint Theopisti on the north wall.

The centre of the sanctuary dome has the Virgin Platytera with Christ in a medallion. The sanctuary dome also has remnants of scenes from the Christological cycle. The sanctuary walls have fragments of images of bishops, in bust form on the upper parts of the walls, and full-length underneath.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement. What remains of it appears in the lunette of the blind arch in the west wall, above the entrance. It consists of two frames with Individual Sinners: one large frame with multiple sinners occupying most of the lunette, and one small rectangular frame showing the Rich Man, set at bottom-centre into the large frame (Fig. 107).

The small in-set frame shows the Rich Man, painted in brown against a black background. He is shown in three-quarters, facing right, seated amidst flames, looking up and pointing at his parched mouth with his left hand. He is accompanied by the customary (partially surviving) inscription

<sup>29</sup> For the relation between reference to the reign of Palaiologan emperors in inscriptions in churches in Venetian Crete and the Last Judgement, see Volan 2011. See also cat. nos 32, 78, 80, 83. For a list of all the Cretan inscriptions referencing Palaiologan emperors, see Lymberopoulou 2006, 195–8.

from Luke 16:24 ( ... ΑΥΤΟΥ ΥΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΨΗΞΗ ΤΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΜΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕ ΥΠΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΦΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ).

The larger frame occupying the rest of the lunette around the in-set includes eleven naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in brown, irregularly dispersed across a black background. They are suspended by chains from the upper edge of the frame, in a variety of positions, and have grey, scaly snakes coiling around their bodies. They are accompanied by inscriptions. They are, following the curvature of the lunette from left to right:

- The Priest's Wife Who is a Fornicator (ΠΑΠΑΔΙΑ Η ΠΟΡΝΕΒΟΥΣΑ) – a unique sin in Cretan representations of Hell;<sup>30</sup> she is shown in profile, suspended at a forty-five degree angle by her neck and her ankles, with her arms bound in front of her; three snakes coil around her, the first biting her neck, the second her right wrist, the third her right ankle;
- The Bad Judge (Ο ΚΑΚΟΣ ΚΡΙΤΗΣ), another unique sin in Cretan representations of Hell; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, and appears to be suspended by a hook piercing his nose, with his arms bound in front of him and his legs slightly bent; two snakes coil around him, one biting his right shoulder, the other his left;
- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΖΥ[ΓΙΑΚΤΗΣ]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound in front of him, pulled away from his body by a separate chain; a large pair of scales is balancing on his chin, with a weight attached to the horizontal bar; two snakes coil around him, one biting his right shoulder, the other his left foot;
- The Farmer Who Reaps over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΘΕΡΙΚΤΗΣ); the figure is largely destroyed, and only the head and torso remain visible; he is shown frontally, suspended by the neck; of the snakes coiling around him, one bites his neck;
- Unidentifiable; very little remains of the figure and the inscription has disappeared;
- Unidentifiable; little remains of the figure, and the inscription has disappeared; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound behind his back; a snake is biting his left ear, which might indicate a sin with an auditory connotation, probably eavesdropping;
- The male Fornicator and Adulterer (Ο ΠΟΡ[ΝΟΣ] ΚΑΙ ΜΟΙ[Χ]ΟΣ) – a unique amendment to the regular nomenclature of this sin, demonstrating that the Fornicator may on occasion be one who commits

<sup>30</sup> This could also identify priests' widows who remarry; see Baun 2007, 355–7.

adultery; the figure is damaged, but he is suspended quasi-horizontally by his chest(?) and his ankles, which are pulled up behind him;

- (directly underneath the previous sinner) The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (his inscription has vanished); he is shown in profile, suspended horizontally, in a bent-over position, facing down, by hooks that appear to pierce his ears and further chains attached to other areas of his body; a plough appears above him with the blade inserted in his rectum;
- The Woman Who Rejects and Refuses to Nurse Children ([Η ΑΠ]ΟΣΤΡΕΦΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ Β[ΥΖΑ]ΝΟΥ[CA ΤΑ ΝΗΠΙΑ]); she is shown frontally, suspended by her raised and bound arms; two snakes are coiling around her body, biting her breasts;
- The female Slanderer ([KA]ΤΑΛΑ[ΛΟΥ]); she is shown in three-quarters, suspended at a forty-five-degree angle, facing right, by her hair and her ankles, with her arms bound behind her back and her left leg pulled up at a sharp angle to her body; two snakes are coiling around her, one biting her mouth, the other the calf of her outstretched right leg;
- (in the bottom corner, to the right of the in-set frame with the Rich Man) Unidentifiable; the figure is heavily damaged and the inscription has disappeared.

## Measurements

### Church

#### Nave

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 2.77 m |
| width  | 2.78 m |
| height | 4.20 m |

#### Sanctuary Chapel

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| length | 1.98 m |
| width  | 2.04 m |
| height | 3.17 m |

### Hell

| Position              | Iconography                        | Shape   |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| west wall, above door | 11 <i>Individual Sinners (m/f)</i> | c. 1.06 × c. 2.40 m pointed arch, fitted in lunette |
| in-set, above door    | IS: <i>Rich Man</i>                | 0.53 × 0.42 m rectangle, landscape                  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 44); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 87 (no. 585); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 325–8; Bissinger 1995, 105 (no. 66); Spatharakis 2001, 29–30 (no. 9).

### 83. Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Saint John the Baptist

1291



**Fig. 108** Church of Saint John the Baptist, Individual Sinners, 1291, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete





**Fig. 109** Church of Saint John the Baptist, Communal Punishments, 1291, wall painting (west wall), Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and painted yellow. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between the nave and the sanctuary.

The wall paintings are heavily damaged and faded; they are legible only with difficulty.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance, above the Hell scenes that appear on this side; the inscription refers to the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).<sup>31</sup>

The west wall also has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance, the inscription and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has a few scenes from the Christological cycle and a large number of scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint John the Baptist. The Gallery of Saints includes an image of Saint John the Baptist, on the south wall, on the pilaster supporting the transverse arch. The saint is shown in three-quarters, facing left, with his severed head and an axe at his feet.<sup>32</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans with Christ in a medallion, the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The painting on the upper part of the triumphal arch, above the apse, is destroyed, but the Annunciation can still be seen in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The north and south walls of the sanctuary each have full-length images of bishops in the lower register and busts of bishops in medallions in the register above.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, on either side of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion and the dedicatory inscription. It includes frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. There are three frames of Individual Sinners, divided over three registers of one frame each, to the right of the entrance (Fig. 108). There are also three compartments of Communal Punishments, arranged in two registers to the left of the entrance, with one larger compartment in the upper and two smaller ones in the lower register (Fig. 109).

The three frames with Individual Sinners to the right of the entrance are damaged and only partially legible (Fig. 108). The frames contain four

<sup>31</sup> For the relation between reference to the reign of Palaiologan emperors in inscriptions in churches in Venetian Crete and the Last Judgement, see Volan 2011. See also cat. nos 32, 78, 80, 82. For a list of all the Cretan inscriptions referencing Palaiologan emperors, see Lymberopoulou 2006, 195–8.

<sup>32</sup> An iconography related to that of Saint John the Baptist with Wings, which was developed during the post-Byzantine era. See Lymberopoulou 2003.



sinner each, the majority of the surviving figures being female. They are shown naked, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a black background (partially discoloured to blue); they have grey, scaly snakes coiling around their bodies, and are accompanied by inscriptions.

The sinners are, from left to right, top to bottom:

#### Upper register

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales; he must have been suspended upside down: only his head is still visible, near the bottom of the frame, with remnants of a large pair of scales that may have been balancing on his chin;
- Unidentifiable; only the lower part of a leg survives, near the bottom of the frame;
- Unidentifiable; the inscription has become indecipherable (‘Η ΠΡΑΓ . . . ΠΙΑ’); probably female; she is shown frontally, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with arms bound behind her back and a snake coiling around her body;
- The (female) Usurer (with long hair); the inscription has become indecipherable; she is shown frontally, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound above her head; the two snakes coiling around her bite her face or her mouth, and her left elbow; a large, white purse hangs from a cord around her neck;<sup>33</sup>

#### Second register

- Destroyed;
- Destroyed except for: a raised leg(?) chained to the top of the frame; a foot(?) near the bottom of the frame, with a chain attached that connects the figure to the next sinner on the right; and a mass of red hair hanging down near the bottom of the frame, suggesting the sinner is female and is suspended horizontally or at a downward angle;
- The female Eavesdropper Who Gossips in Church (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΟΥΟ΄ΥCΑ Κ’Ε ΕΝ Τ’Η ΕΚΛΙΣ΄ΙΑ C’ΗΝΤΗΧ’ΑΝΟΥCΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her back, standing on her right leg, with her left leg raised at a sharp angle and chained to the upper edge of the frame; the snake coiling around her raised left leg is biting her genitals;
- The Woman Who Drinks Potions in Order Not to Conceive (Η ΠΙΟΥ΄CΑ ΒΟΤΑΝΟΝ ΠΡΟC Τ’Ο ΜΗ ΠΕΔΟΠΟΙ΄ΗCΑ) – a unique sin among the

<sup>33</sup> This would be a unique example. However, women are known to have been involved with moneylending and other financial activities; see Panopoulou 2019, 214 and 219. See also Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 147 (no. 28), 151–2.

representations of Hell on Crete;<sup>34</sup> she is shown frontally, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by three chains, one of which appears to be attached to her head; her legs are pulled up and spread wide in a grotesque parody of the position for giving birth; a snake coiling around her right leg appears to bite her genitals;

### Third register

- Unidentifiable; the figure appears to have been shown in three-quarters, facing right, in a sitting position near the bottom of the frame, with the right leg bent and the left leg stretched out;
- Female; the inscription has become indecipherable (‘Ι ΠΑ ... ΚΡ ... ΟΜ ... ΥCΜ’); she is shown upside down at a forty-five-degree angle, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by chains attached to her bent legs and her neck; her arms are bound behind her back;
- The Procureess (Bawd; Madam) (Η ΜΑΥΛΙCΤΡΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended from the upper edge of the frame by chains attached to her neck and to her ankles, which have been pulled up behind her; her arms are bound behind her back and the snake coiling around her is biting her genitals;
- Unidentifiable male; only his lower body survives, and the inscription has become indecipherable (‘Ο ΚΟ ... ΑΦΡ ... ΜΟ ΕΚΚΑ ΜΙ ΟΚ ...’); he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, suspended upside down from the upper edge of the frame, with his right leg stretched out in front of him and his left leg bent behind him; part of his body has a reddish skin colour (possibly owing to local discoloration of the paint, as his outstretched left leg is light brown).

The three compartments of Communal Punishments to the left of the door are identified by inscriptions on the upper border of each compartment (Fig. 109). The larger compartment in the upper register shows Tar (Η ΠΙCΑ). It has a black background, discoloured to blue, without further remaining features. The left compartment in the lower register shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο ΚΟ[ΛΗΞ Ο ΑΚΟΙΜΗΤΟC]). It has five rows of heads rendered in dark brown on a dark grey background, with white, wiggly worms crawling over them. The inscription of the right compartment in the lower register does not survive, but it likely represents the Gnashing of Teeth, showing rows of white skulls on an ochre background.

<sup>34</sup> See Gerstel 2015, 87–8.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.30 m |
| length with apse    | 6.36 m |
| width               | 3.42 m |
| height              | 4.25 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                   |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |                                      |                 |                                |
| top register             | 4 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(m/f) | (1.03) × 0.59 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register             | 4 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(f?)  | (0.83) × 0.58 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register             | 4 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(m/f) | (1.00) × 0.57 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| west wall, left of door  |                                      |                 |                                |
| top register             | CP: <i>Tar</i>                       | 0.61 × 1.07 m   | rectangle, landscape           |
| 2nd register:            |                                      |                 |                                |
| left                     | CP: <i>Sleepless Worm</i>            | 0.69 × 0.60 m   | rectangle, portrait            |
| right                    | CP: <i>Gnashing of Teeth</i>         | 0.69 × 0.43 m   | rectangle, portrait            |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 39); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 77 (no. 489); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 382–3; Bissinger 1995, 72 (no. 19); Spatharakis 2001, 14–15.

## 84. Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Archangel Michael

c. 1430(?)



Fig. 110 Church of Archangel Michael, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, c. 1430(?), wall painting (west wall), Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, relatively large by the standards of Cretan village churches.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frames of the entrances exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof, with two lower, narrow, tiled lean-to roofs along the north and south walls. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the west wall, and one off-centre (west) in the south wall, each with a pointed-arch frame containing a niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with three transverse arches; unusually, the vault and transverse arches rest upon two protruding architraves along the full length of the north and south walls. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden banister.

The wall paintings are severely damaged, and the remaining fragments heavily abraded and legible only with difficulty.



**Fig. 111** Church of Archangel Michael, Communal Punishments, c. 1430(?), wall painting (west wall), Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete

**Iconographic Programme:** Part of a dedicatory inscription survives on the south wall, above the entrance.

The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the south side of the vault. The west wall is arranged in separate registers. The upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Adventus. The second register has the Deesis, the Apostle Tribunal and Choirs of the Elect. The heavily damaged third register appears to have further Choirs of the Elect on the left and Hell on the right. The south side of the vault has Paradise.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, including two of Christ's miracles on the south wall, and scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, the Archangel Michael. The Gallery of Saints includes the Communion of Saint Mary of Egypt at the west end of the north wall,<sup>35</sup> and an image of the Archangel Michael, also on the north wall, with a halo rendered in relief.<sup>36</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features an imposing Christ enthroned,<sup>37</sup> flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of

<sup>35</sup> See Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1).

<sup>36</sup> Compare Kakodiki, Archangel Michael (cat. no. 13); Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48); Axos, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 50).

<sup>37</sup> The figure has similarities to the type of the Enthroned Christ created by the famous Cretan icon painter Angelos; see Lymberopoulou 2007c, 182–5.



Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension at the apex, and two representations of the Communion of the Apostles underneath, on the north and south sides of the vault. The south wall of the sanctuary has bishop saints standing under arches.<sup>38</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, halfway up the wall, on the far right. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and (remnants of) four compartments of Communal Punishments, divided over three registers. The upper register has the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (Fig. 110); the second and third registers each have two compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 111).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is damaged. The scene shows figures outlined in black on a red background. On the left, vengeful angels pushing sinners into the fire with long, five-pronged forks can be distinguished, accompanied by an inscription (ΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟΙ]). Below these angels in the lower left corner, a queue of at least three sinners can be seen, rendered in ochre; they are advancing towards the right, possibly led on a rope by a little black devil, who appears at a slight distance to their right. At the top centre of the composition, two figures appear side by side, accompanied by an inscription (Ο ΙΟΥΔΗ[ΑΝΟC]) that may be referring to Julian the Apostate, even though the figures do not wear imperial insignia. A group underneath these two, which is largely erased by damage, is labelled 'The Heretics' (ΟΙ ΕΡΕΤΙΚΙ). On the right of the scene, the contours of a black Satan, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, can still be discerned; it looks as if this figure has been deliberately scratched out.

The compartments of Communal Punishments in the second and third registers lack identifying inscriptions. In the second register, the compartment on the left shows the Gnashing of Teeth; it contains rows of heads with prominent bared teeth, outlined in black (with the teeth accentuated in white) on a red background. The compartment on the right has a black background, but no other distinctive characteristics. In the third register, only a tiny fragment of white background remains of the compartment on the left; this may have been the Everlasting Fire.<sup>39</sup> The compartment on the right has rows of heads outlined in black on a red background.

<sup>38</sup> Compare cat. nos 80, 81, 91 and 92.

<sup>39</sup> In analogy with Apostoloi, Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 48). Another option is the Rich Man, who is included among the compartments of Communal Punishments at Voukolies, Saints Constantine and Helena (cat. no. 41).



## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 9.33 m  |
| length with apse    | 10.88 m |
| width               | 4.33 m  |
| height              | 5.40 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>                      |               | <i>Shape</i>                          |
|-----------------------|---|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| west wall, far right: |   |               |                                       |
| top register          | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.86 × 1.46 m | rectangle, landscape, curved on right |
| 2nd register:         |   |               |                                       |
| left                  | <i>CP: Gnashing of Teeth</i>            | 0.42 × 0.33 m | rectangle, portrait                   |
| right                 | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | 0.42 × 0.35 m | rectangle, portrait                   |
| 3rd register:         |   |               |                                       |
| left                  | <i>Individual Sinners(?)</i>            | ? × ? m       | small fragment                        |
| right                 | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × 0.35 m    | fragment                              |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 45); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 95 (no. 674); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 329; Bissinger 1995, 229 (no. 206); Andrianakis and Tzachili 2010, 63 (no. 3).

## 85. Kassanoi (Monofatsi), Christ the Saviour

End of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century<sup>40</sup>



Fig. 112 Church of Christ the Saviour, Individual Sinners, end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Kassanoi (Monofatsi), Herakleion, Crete

<sup>40</sup> The wall paintings of the church have two further phases: an earlier phase dated to the 13th century, and a later phase dated to the 15th century: Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 453.

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners; it is covered by a tiled gable roof. A large pointed-arch stone frame, possibly the remnant of another, more extensive structure, protrudes from the west facade. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, positioned within the faux blind arch created by the protruding frame; the entrance has its own carved-stone frame, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern carved wooden banister.

The wall paintings have sustained damage, especially along a continuous fault line leading up the centre of the west wall, along the apex of the vault, down the centre of the triumphal arch and into the apse. The remaining paintings, however, are in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Crucifixion, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, extended here because of the dedication of the church. The cycle includes the Baptism of Christ, with Christ blessing a personification of the Sea riding on a beast and holding a ship, reminiscent of the Sea as represented Giving Up her Dead. The cycle also includes the Last Supper, highlighting the importance of the Eucharist. The Gallery of Saints includes the Communion of Saint Mary of Egypt, another Eucharistic theme,<sup>41</sup> as well as Saint Constantine on horseback on the north wall, and four female saints grouped together on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features a bust of Christ, of which only fragments survive. The upper register of the apse wall has the Communion of the Apostles, with the Melismos in the centre, showing the Christ Child lying on the paten – yet another Eucharistic subject. The lower register of the apse wall has Officiating Bishops, accompanied by Archangels as deacons (the one on the right identified by an inscription as the ‘Archangel Raphael’). The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, and the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

<sup>41</sup> See Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1).

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the left of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion. It consists of a single (partially destroyed) frame with Individual Sinners (Fig. 112).

The frame contains two rows of sinners. Each row has remnants of two sinners on the left side of the frame, but there were likely more on the destroyed right side. The figures are unusually large and detailed. They are naked, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, with reddish brown hair, against a dark grey background with black lines hatched on it in irregular patterns; they are accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right, top to bottom:

Upper row

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line ([ο παραβλακιστής]); only the upper part of his body remains; he is shown frontally, standing, with his hands bound behind his back; the handle of a plough can be seen in front of his chest;
- Unidentifiable; only a few small fragments survive;

Lower row

- Unidentifiable female; she is shown frontally, standing, chained by the neck, with her arms bound behind her back;
- Unidentifiable; only a small fragment remains.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.61 m |
| length with apse    | 7.35 m |
| width               | 2.82 m |
| height              | 3.96 m |

Hell

| Position                | Iconography   | Shape   |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| west wall, left of door | (4) IS: incl. Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line | (1.81) × (0.33) m fragment, rectangle, portrait |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 82 (no. 538); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 453; Mylopotamitaki 1985.

## 86. Kera Kardiotissa (Pediada), Virgin

First half of the 14th century



**Fig. 113** Church of the Virgin Kera, Individual Sinners and the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins, first half of the 14th century, wall painting (south wall), Kardiotissa (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** The katholikon of the convent of Kera Kardiotissa<sup>42</sup> is a compound structure, the result of four building phases,<sup>43</sup> expanding from an original single-nave church. The church has three aisles; it has a transverse narthex on the west side, along the full width of all three aisles, and the sanctuary is situated in a lower chapel extending from the east side of the central aisle.

The exterior has exposed stonework. The transverse narthex, the nave and the sanctuary chapel are each covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the east end of the south wall of the nave. There are two entrances: one in the centre of the west wall of the transverse narthex, and one in the centre of the south wall of the narthex. The north and south walls of the nave each have one large modern window; the north and south walls of the transverse narthex each have a row of three narrow arched windows in the upper part of the wall; the south wall of the nave also has two narrow arched windows in the upper part of the wall.

Owing to the fact that the church is part of an active convent, access to its interior is limited. The interior of the transverse narthex is covered by a pointed barrel vault. The narthex communicates with the three aisles of the nave via two open arches in the dividing wall: a narrow arch for the south aisle, and a wide arch for the combined central and north aisles. Each of the three aisles of the nave is covered by a barrel vault. The three aisles communicate internally via open arches in the dividing walls. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. The central aisle of the nave and the sanctuary chapel communicate via an open arch in the dividing wall. The interior of the sanctuary chapel is covered by a barrel vault.

Throughout the nave and the sanctuary chapel, there are fragments of wall painting, with various degrees of legibility.

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives in part, accompanied by a portrait of a female donor wearing prominent earrings.<sup>44</sup>

The south aisle includes a representation of the Last Judgement, divided into separate scenes. The east wall has the Deesis, with Christ the Judge enthroned. The north and south sides of the vault have the Apostle Tribunal and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead, separated by an ornamental band at the apex of the vault. Underneath the Sea Giving Up her Dead, the south wall has the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins. On the lower part of the wall towards the right, below the Parable, there is a large image of an angel.

<sup>42</sup> Psilakis 1994, 43–6; Gratziou 2010, 211–13. <sup>43</sup> Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 414.

<sup>44</sup> Psilakis 1994, 45, fig. 54.



The remainder of the church contains scenes from the Christological cycle, Eucharistic scenes, scenes from the life of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated, and a Gallery of Saints. Among the noteworthy scenes is the unusual Vision of Peter of Alexandria.<sup>45</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the south wall of the south aisle. What remains of it consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and three frames with Individual Sinners (Fig. 113). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate (partly destroyed) frame, appears high up the wall on the left, directly below the vault, to the left of the modern window. The three frames with Individual Sinners are arranged in three registers down the centre of the wall, to the right of the modern window. Unusually, the (fragmentary) upper frame continues seamlessly into the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins on the right.

The remaining fragments of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire show a vengeful angel, identified by an inscription as the Angel of the Lord (ΑΓΓ[ΕΛΟC] ΚΥ[ΠΙΟΥ]), pushing sinners away towards the right.

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners naked, rendered in brown, against a black background, with grey, scaly snakes coiling around their bodies; they are accompanied by inscriptions. The surviving fragment of the frame in the upper register (continuing into the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins on the right) contains three male sinners. They are, from left to right (Fig. 113):

- Unidentifiable; only his upper body survives; he appears suspended upside down at a forty-five degree angle, with his arms spread wide;
- The livestock Thief; only part of his upper body survives; he is bound in a strappado position, bent over to the left, weighed down by a goat sitting on his back;
- The male Fornicator(?); the figure survives from the groin up; he is shown frontally, leaning at a thirty-degree angle into the back of the virgins to his right (an ironic touch?), with his hands bound behind his back; the snake coiling around his body is biting his genitals.

The frame in the second register also contains three male sinners. They are, from left to right:

- The cheating Miller(?); he is suspended upside down by his left leg, with his arms dangling free, tied together at the wrist; a scoop and a grindstone are hanging from cords around his neck;

<sup>45</sup> Compare cat. nos 53, 62 and 91. For the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria, see Tsamakda 2012, 155–6.

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ); he is suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound behind his back; a large pair of scales balances on his chin;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; only his legs survive; he is shown in profile, facing left; a plough appears behind him, with the blade inserted in his rectum, and a snake coils around his body.

The frame in the third register contains two female sinners. They are, from left to right:

- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, making a rhetorical gesture with her raised right hand; one of the snakes coiling around her appears to bite her genitals;
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟΣΤΡΕΦΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΝΗΠ[ΙΑ]); she is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, with her arms bound behind her back; the two snakes coiling around her are biting her breasts.

Measurements

Church

|                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| length of south aisle | 4.59 m |
| height of south aisle | 4.54 m |

Hell

| Position                   | Iconography                       |                 | Shape  |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| south wall of south aisle: |                                   |                 |  |
| left, below vault          | Hell Formed by the River of Fire  | ? × (1.40) m    | fragments, rectangle, landscape              |
| centre:                    |                                   |                 |  |
| top register               | 3 IS: incl. Thief; Fornicator (m) | ? × ? m         | fragment, continuing in other scene on right |
| 2nd register               | 3 Individual Sinners (m)          | (0.60) × 0.81 m | fragment, square(?)                          |
| 3rd register               | 2 Individual Sinners (f)          | 0.83 × 0.81 m   | square                                       |

**Bibliography:** Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 414–18; Psilakis 1994, 43–6; Bissinger 1995, 144–5 (no. 109), 179–80 (no. 148); Borboudaki 2011.

## 87. Larani (Monofatsi), Saint Paraskevi

### Date unclear

**Note:** The interior of this single-nave church is completely whitewashed and none of the Hell scenes recorded here by Gerola<sup>46</sup> are currently visible.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 46); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 93 (no. 651).

<sup>46</sup> Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 46).

## 88. Mathia (Pediada), Virgin (Dormition) and Saint John the Baptist

14th century



Fig. 114 Church of the Virgin (Dormition) and Saint John the Baptist, the Rich Man and Individual Sinners, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Mathia (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A double church, likely the result of two historical building phases; the older south church is dedicated to the Virgin, the later north church to Saint John the Baptist.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frames of the entrances exposed; at the time of our visit on 13 April 2011, the plaster was in a state of decay and the whitewash yellowed. Each church is covered by a tiled gable roof. Each church has its own entrance in the centre of its west wall, the entrance of the south church with a narrow pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Above each entrance, there is a small oculus.

The interior of each church is covered by a pointed barrel vault, the one in the south church with one transverse arch. The two churches communicate internally via two open arches in the dividing wall: a wide arch between the naves and a narrow arch between the sanctuaries. In each church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

Wall paintings survive in the south church; they are damaged, but otherwise in a clearly legible condition. The north church is devoid of wall paintings.

**Iconographic Programme:** Among the paintings in the south church, a dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The west wall also has, on the upper part of the wall, the Dormition of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, the latter above the entrance and the Hell scenes.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and a large number of scenes from the life of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated; the extensive cycle includes the Seven First Steps of the Virgin on the south wall.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Platytera, with Christ-Emmanuel in a medallion, flanked by two busts of angels, also in medallions. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops, with an elaborate Melismos in the centre, showing the Christ Child lying on a paten that has been placed underneath a ciborium from which six censers are suspended. The scene on the upper part of the triumphal arch, above the apse, does not survive, but the Annunciation can still be seen in the register below, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall of the south church, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the Crucifixion. It consists of frames with Individual Sinners. There are likely to have been eight frames in total, divided over four registers of two frames each. Today, only fragments of three frames survive: one fragment showing part of the

frame in the top register on the right, and one fragment showing parts of the frames in the third and fourth registers on the right (Fig. 114).

The remaining fragments show the sinners naked, outlined in black and shaded in light brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The fragments contain the following sinners:

- (top register, right) The Rich Man, erroneously identified as the Rich Lazarus (Ο ΠΛΟΫΓΙΟΣ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ), shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand;
- (third register, right) The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝΕΙΚΤΗΣ); only a large pair of scales survives, with the inscription, in the lower left corner of the frame; part of a grey snake can be seen towards the right;
- (fourth register, right) The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΥΡΑΦΗΣ), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended by chains from the upper edge of the frame at a forty-five-degree angle, with his hands bound behind his back and a grey, scaly snake biting his neck; two purses are hanging from cords around his neck.

Measurements

South Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.85 m |
| length with apse    | 5.93 m |
| width               | 3.36 m |
| height              | 4.04 m |

Hell

| Position                  | Iconography                      |               | Shape                           |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| west wall, right of door: |                                  |               |                                 |
| top register, right       | IS: Rich Man                     | 0.40 × 0.57 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape  |
| 3rd register, right       | IS: Man Who Cheats at the Scales | 0.48 × ? m    | fragments, rectangle, landscape |
| 4th register, right       | IS: Usurer                       | 0.48 × ? m    | fragment, rectangle, landscape  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 40); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 82 (no. 537).



## 89. Mpentenaki (Bentenaki) (outside Herakleion), Saint Catherine<sup>47</sup> (Santa Catarina Ruinata)

### End of the 13th to beginning of the 14th century

**Note:** This church was inaccessible during the research phase of the project. Until recently, it was known solely from a reference on a map by Domenico Rossi da Este, dated 1567, which mentions the church of Santa Catarina Ruinata at Mpentenaki.<sup>48</sup> The actual remnants of the church were discovered during excavations in 2008. Published descriptions of the surviving iconographic programme indicate the presence of the Last Judgement on the west and south walls. It includes the Apostle Tribunal, personifications of the Earth and of the Sea Giving Up their Dead, Choirs of the Elect, Paradise, and Hell, the last consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and three compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire includes the Dragon of the Depths, and Herod and Herodias.<sup>49</sup> The three compartments of Communal Punishments are: the Sleepless Worm, the Gnashing of Teeth, and either Outer Darkness or Tar.

**Bibliography:** Andrianakis and Tzachili 2010, 56–7 (no. 3) and 404; Kanaki and Papagiannakis 2012 (esp. figs 7–8).

<sup>47</sup> This is one of the five churches in the catalogue that were not visited and documented during the research phase of the Leverhulme International Networks Project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)*.

<sup>48</sup> Kanaki and Papagiannakis 2012, 361.

<sup>49</sup> Herod is also included in Cretan Hell at Kavousi, Saint Geroge (cat. no. 96). See also Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 122, n. 18, 135–6.

## 90. Potamies (Pediada), Christ the Saviour

Last quarter of the 14th century



Fig. 115 Church of Christ the Saviour, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, last quarter of the 14th century, wall painting (west and north walls), Potamies (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete



Fig. 116 Church of Christ the Saviour, Individual Sinners, last quarter of the 14th century, wall painting (north wall), Potamies (Pediada), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior has exposed stonework, with reinforced masonry corners. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There is a small oculus in the upper part of the west wall, above the entrance.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings have sustained significant damage, but the remaining parts are clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the south wall. The west wall is divided into several registers. The upper register, at the apex of the wall, has the Scroll of Heaven. The second register has the Deesis, with Choirs of the Elect. The third register has the Hetoimasia of the Throne, flanked by the Apostle Tribunal. Paradise appears on the adjacent south wall.

The remainder of the nave, due to the dedication of the church, has a large number of scenes from the Christological cycle, including a selection of Christ's miracles, among which the rare Christ Healing the Dropsical Man on the south wall stands out.<sup>50</sup> The Gallery of

<sup>50</sup> This scene is included in the extensive programme in Valsamonero, Saint Phanourios (cat. no. 91).

Saints includes, on the south wall, Saints Peter and Paul Embracing, an iconographic subject that had political connotations on Venetian Crete.<sup>51</sup> To the left of Saints Peter and Paul, there is an image of a saintly Bishop with a halo in relief.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ; the apse wall has been whitewashed. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the entrance, extending onto the lower part of the adjacent north wall. It is a 'full' Hell, consisting of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, a frame with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, appears on the west wall, to the right of the entrance (Fig. 115). The frame with Individual Sinners can be found along the bottom of the western half of the north wall, underneath the Gallery of Saints on this section of the wall (Fig. 116). The compartments of Communal Punishments were shown at the bottom of the west wall, in a register underneath the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire; only a fragment of one compartment survives on the right (Fig. 115).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, to the right of the entrance, has sustained damage (Fig. 115). The top left corner of the scene has angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ) prodding the sinners to the right of them with tridents. The sinners are shown descending from the top right corner towards Hell, in a procession that follows an S-shaped curve, rendered in foreshortening.<sup>52</sup> It is striking that the majority of the sinners in the procession have ashen faces.

In the top right corner, the procession starts with a small group wearing bejewelled imperial crowns, identified as Iconoclast Emperors (ἡ ΒΑCΙΑΕΙC . . . Νῆ ἡΚ . . . ΜΟΝΤ). They are preceded on the left by a group of bearded clerics, walking directly next to the prodding angels on the left, and the prime victims of their prodding. They are wearing Orthodox liturgical vestments, partly decorated with crosses, and are identified by an inscription above them as Arians, Sabellians and Nestorians (ΑΡΕΙΑΝΟΙ, ΟΙ CΑΒΕΛΕΙΑΝΟΙ and ΝΕCΤ . . . ΟΥ). These heretics are preceded in their

<sup>51</sup> See cat. no. 81, n. 21.

<sup>52</sup> A procession of sinners rendered similarly in foreshortening can be found in Kritsa, Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 99); the latter procession, too, starts with emperors and heretics, and includes Western clerics.

turn by a group of soldiers wearing extravagantly pointed helmets.<sup>53</sup> To the right of the soldiers, a figure wearing a red hat and two further figures with bejewelled imperial crowns appear. The soldiers are preceded, at the point where the S-shaped procession takes a turn to the right, by a bearded bishop wearing a Western mitre.<sup>54</sup> To his right appears a woman with uncovered blonde hair, wearing a Western-style dress with a low neckline; she is the only figure in the procession whose skin tone is not rendered in grey, but in ochre. In front of her to the right, the procession is interrupted by the coiling tail of the Dragon of the Depths. The procession continues in the lower right corner of the scene with a group of nuns (OI MON[AXEC]) in black habits. The procession ends before Satan, at the bottom of the scene in the centre, where the head of a tonsured and clean-shaven Western cleric can be discerned.

The large, black, winged figure of Satan can still be distinguished emerging from the damaged lower left corner of the scene. He holds Judas in his lap. Satan is enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths, of which only the long, coiling, scaly grey tail remains, pointing towards the right; it ends in a serpent's head, devouring a naked soul.

The frame with Individual Sinners along the bottom of the north wall is damaged and abraded (Fig. 116). It has unusual proportions, with a low height and elongated width. It contains a row of at least twelve naked sinners, outlined in black and shaded in ochre, against a white background. They were once identified by inscriptions, which are now no longer legible. The sinners can be described (and partially identified) as follows, from left to right:

- A woman, shown frontally; she is seated, with her hands folded in her lap; she wears a white cap and looks towards the lower left;
- A woman, shown frontally; she is suspended from the upper edge of the frame by ropes, with her arms spread wide in a posture that seems a parody of the Crucifixion; a snake coils around her body;
- The Woman Who Cheats at the Scales(?); she is shown frontally, seated, looking towards the left; she carries a large pair of scales on her shoulders, which is shown out of balance as she places an object in the right scale with her left hand;
- A woman, shown frontally; she is seated, with a serpent coiling around her;
- A man(?); he is shown in three-quarters, from the back, facing right; he is suspended upside down from the upper edge of the frame by his bent legs, with his arms bound behind his back;

<sup>53</sup> Possibly a reference to Ottoman or general Muslim military headgear. Compare the 'Ishmaelites' in Selli, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 70) and the later representation of a helmet in Episkopi, Saint Paraskevi (cat. no. 81).

<sup>54</sup> See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 133–4.



- A man(?), shown in three-quarters, facing right, in a seated position with his arms bound behind his back;
- A figure suspended upside down;
- A man(?), shown from the back, suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound behind his back and his head pulled backwards to reveal his face to the viewer;
- A figure shown in three-quarters, facing right, in a seated position;
- A bearded man, shown from the back, suspended upside down by his feet, with his arms bound behind his back and his head pulled backwards to reveal his face to the viewer;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line; he is shown in profile, facing right, crouching on all fours, with a black devil pushing the blade of his plough into his rectum;
- A man(?), shown in profile, suspended horizontally by his bound arms and legs.

The compartment of Communal Punishment below the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the west wall is poorly preserved (Fig. 115). It shows rows of heads or skulls on a black background.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.60 m |
| length with apse    | 7.62 m |
| width               | 3.41 m |
| height              | 4.35 m |

Hell

| Position                 | Iconography                             | Shape                      |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| west wall, right of door |   |                            |
| top register             | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (1.12) × (1.25) m fragment |
| 2nd register             | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | (0.36) × (0.33) m fragment |
| north wall, west half    |   |                            |
| bottom of wall           | <i>12 Individual Sinners (m/f)</i>      | (0.25) × 2.00 m fragment   |

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1952, 65 (no. 11); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 407–8; Ranoutsaki 1992, esp. 27, 107–8, 113–15, 144, figs. 36–7, 41; Bissinger 1995, 180–1 (no. 149).



## 91. Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Saint Phanourios

1431



Fig. 117 Church of Saint Phanourios, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1431, wall painting (west wall), Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Herakleion, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** The katholikon of the monastery of Saint Phanourios is a compound structure, the result of several documented historical building phases. It consists of a double church with a transverse chapel on the west side, and a transverse narthex to the west of the transverse chapel. The oldest part of the structure is the north church, dedicated to the Virgin – the original katholikon of the Saint Phanourios monastery, founded in the late 14th century. The lower and narrower south church, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, was added in the very early 15th century. The transverse chapel on the west side, dedicated to Saint Phanourios, was added in 1426, stretching across the width of both churches. Later in the 15th century, the high transverse narthex, of the same length as the transverse chapel, was added to the west of the latter.

The exterior of the current structure has exposed stonework, with reinforced masonry corners. The north church is covered by a tiled gable roof, the south church, by a tiled lean-to roof; the transverse chapel also has



Fig. 118 Church of Saint Phanourios, Communal Punishments, 1431, wall painting (west wall, north door reveal), Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Herakleion, Crete

a tiled lean-to roof, the high transverse narthex, a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the west end of the south wall of the south church, against the higher east wall of the transverse chapel. There are three entrances: one in the centre of the south wall of the south church, and one each in the centre of the north and south walls of the narthex; each

entrance has a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There are modern windows in the north wall of the north church, the north wall of the transverse chapel, the south wall of the south church and the south wall of the transverse chapel.

The interior of the north church is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches, the interior of the south church by half a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. The interior of the transverse chapel is covered by half a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch, the interior of the narthex, by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. The north and south church communicate internally via two open arches in the dividing wall, the eastern arch wider than the western one. The north church communicates with the transverse chapel on the west side via an open arch in the dividing wall, the south church, via a door. The transverse chapel and the transverse narthex communicate internally via a door and a small open arch above floor level in the dividing wall. A continuous modern wooden iconostasis separates the naves and sanctuaries of both the north and the south churches. A second modern wooden iconostasis is inserted to create a sanctuary at the south end of the transverse chapel.

The north and south churches, the transverse chapel and the transverse narthex each have wall paintings, ranging in date from the late 14th to the later 15th century; those in the south church are securely dated to 1407, those in the transverse chapel, to 1431.<sup>55</sup> The dedicatory inscription in the transverse chapel states that the paintings here were executed at the expense of the priestmonk Ionas Palamas, who was the abbot of the monastery at that time.<sup>56</sup> The cycle of wall paintings of the church is well known in the literature; already in the late 1960s, Charles Delvoye characterised it as ‘influenced by Constantinopolitan elegance’.<sup>57</sup> The wall paintings survive in various conditions: those of the north and south churches are damaged, but otherwise in a good, clearly legible state; those of the transverse chapel have been reduced to fragments, faded but legible; and those in the narthex are heavily damaged and faded, but legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The iconographic programme of the complex is very rich. The transverse chapel, dedicated to Saint Phanourios, has the

<sup>55</sup> For the various dating see Bissinger 1995, 122–4 (no. 90); 181–2 (no. 150); 231 (no. 207). See also Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 313–21 Abb. 95, 110–11, 275–81.

<sup>56</sup> The inscription refers only to the nave (σηκός) of Saint Phanourios, as clearly stated at the end. On this and other inscriptions in the church, see Gerola 1932 (vol. 4), 539–40 (nos 1–4). On other inscriptions in the katholikon, see Patedakis 2011, 218.

<sup>57</sup> Delvoye 1967, 352.

Last Judgement, at the north end of the west wall and the half vault. The Deesis and the Apostle Tribunal appear at the top of the half vault, Choirs of the Elect, the Weighing of the Souls, and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead on the lower part of the vault. The central section of the half vault, above the arched opening between the Saint Phanourios chapel and the narthex, has the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins. The north reveal of the arched opening in the west wall of the Saint Phanourios chapel, between the chapel and the narthex, has Abraham and the Good Thief, Dymas, in Paradise.<sup>58</sup>

The remainder of the Saint Phanourios chapel has scenes from the Christological cycle (with a focus on the Miracles of Christ, including Christ Healing the Dropsical Man<sup>59</sup>); Eucharistic scenes; scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint Phanourios; and an image of the Holy Trinity.

The original north church has scenes from the Christological cycle (including the Entry into Jerusalem with a figure based on the Spinario<sup>60</sup>), Eucharistic scenes (e.g. the Sacrifice of Abraham; the Communion of Saint Mary of Egypt<sup>61</sup>), scenes from the life of the Virgin (to whom the church is dedicated), an Akathistos cycle,<sup>62</sup> and Prefigurations of the Virgin. Throughout the church, a number of haloes are rendered in relief.

The south church has scenes from the Christological cycle, scenes from the life of the Virgin, scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint John the Baptist, and Eucharistic scenes in the sanctuary.

The narthex has scenes from the Christological cycles, scenes from the life of Saint Phanourios, scenes from the life of Saint Mary of Egypt, the Ecumenical Council, the Vision of Peter of Alexandria,<sup>63</sup> and the Tree of Jesse. Along the bottom of the east wall, the painted imitation of a low, white, patterned fabric wall hanging can be found. In Galleries of Saints throughout the complex, saints are shown standing underneath arches.<sup>64</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement in the transverse chapel dedicated to Saint Phanourios. It includes the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and four compartments of Communal Punishments. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is shown in the lower right

<sup>58</sup> For other depictions of the Good Thief in Paradise, compare cat. nos 32, 98, 100.

<sup>59</sup> This scene is included at Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90).

<sup>60</sup> See Lymberopoulou 2018b, 121–6. <sup>61</sup> See Achladiakes, Saint Zosimas (cat. no. 1), n. 3.

<sup>62</sup> For the iconography of the Akathistos, see, indicative, Spatharakis 2005.

<sup>63</sup> On Mary of Egypt, see cat. no. 1, n. 3. For the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria, compare cat. nos 53, 62 and 86, and see Tsamakda 2012, 155–6.

<sup>64</sup> See also cat. nos 80, 81, 84 and 92.



corner of the Last Judgement composition, halfway up on the far right of the west wall of the chapel (Fig. 117). The four compartments of Communal Punishments are arranged in four registers on the north reveal of the west wall door between the transverse chapel and the transverse narthex, underneath the Last Judgement composition (Fig. 118).

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is defined as a rectangular area with a red background emerging from the River of Fire that flows from the Throne of Christ in the upper registers of the Last Judgement composition (Fig. 117). The area is identified by an inscription, placed centrally along the upper edge, as the Eternal Fire (ΤΟ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΥΡ). The scene has sustained significant surface damage, particularly along the left edge and in most of the right half. It is dominated by the large, black, hairy and horned figure of Satan in the centre. The figure is too damaged to be described in detail, but it can still be discerned that he is holding Judas in his lap. Satan is surrounded by four little black devils, one either side of his head, another to the right of his legs, and the fourth below him to the left.

On what remains of the left half of the scene, a number of other figures, outlined in black, can be observed. In the top left corner, there is a vengeful angel wielding a trident. Directly to the right of this angel appears a group of three men with moustaches and beards, wearing broad-brimmed hats. The man at the front is rendered frontally, in bust form; he is wearing a cloak with a collar and buttons down the front.<sup>65</sup> Further to the right from this group, and just to the left of Satan's head, the head of an emperor wearing a bejewelled crown can be seen. Above Satan's head in the centre, there are remnants of another head with a broad-brimmed hat. Lower in the scene, to the left of Satan, we see a naked, balding man and a woman; they are rendered in three-quarters, facing right, walking towards Satan, with their arms bound behind their backs; they appear to be prodded by the trident of the angel in the top left corner. Between this couple and Satan, there is the head of a bearded bishop wearing a Western mitre; he is directly attached to Satan by a thick chain.<sup>66</sup>

The four compartments of Communal Punishments on the north reveal of the door between the transverse chapel and the narthex are each identified by an inscription on the upper border of their frame (Fig. 118). The inscription of the compartment in the top register has become

<sup>65</sup> It is unclear who this figure represents. The broad-brimmed hats could refer to Western cardinals, but the moustaches and beard and the outfit of the man in front contradict this interpretation.

<sup>66</sup> It is possible that this bishop with Orthodox bearded face and Roman Catholic mitre is a Unionist. See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 133 and n. 68.

illegible; the compartment itself is heavily damaged and only has remnants of a greenish background. The inscription of the compartment in the second register is also illegible; this compartment has a black background, discoloured to dark blue, without further identifying features. The compartment in the third register shows the Gnashing of Teeth (Ο ΒΡΙΓΜΟC Τ[ΩΝ] ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ); it has heads with open mouths and prominently displayed teeth, irregularly dispersed on an ochre background. The fourth compartment shows the Sleepless Worm (Ο CKΩΛΗΞ Ο AK[OI]MHTOC]); it has a black background, on which white, wriggly worms can be distinguished.

Measurements

| Transverse Chapel               |                                  |                   |   |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| length                          |                                  | 6.94 m            |   |
| width                           |                                  | 2.33 m            |   |
| height                          |                                  | 3.76 m            |   |
| Hell                            |                                  |                   |   |
| Position                        | Iconography                      |                   | Shape                                     |
| west wall, middle, right        | Hell Formed by the River of Fire | (0.74) × (0.89) m | irregular                                 |
| north reveal of west wall door: |                                  |                   |   |
| top register                    | Communal Punishment              | 0.34 × 0.43 m     | rectangle, landscape., expanding on right |
| 2nd register                    | Communal Punishment              | 0.40 × 0.43 m     | rectangle, landscape                      |
| 3rd register                    | CP: Gnashing of Teeth            | 0.40 × 0.43 m     | rectangle, landscape                      |
| 4th register                    | CP: Sleepless Worm               | 0.45 × 0.43 m     | square                                    |

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1952, 72–5 (no. 28); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 87–8 (no. 590); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 313–21; Bissinger 1995, 122–4 (no. 90), 181–2 (no. 150), 231 (no. 207); Ranoutsaki 2019.



## 92. Voroi (Pyrgiotissa), Virgin Kardiotissa

Beginning of the 15th century<sup>67</sup>



Fig. 119 Church of the Virgin Kardiotissa, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, beginning of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Voroi (Pyrgiotissa), Herakleion, Crete

<sup>67</sup> Maderakis 2005, 247 suggests 1380–1400.

**Structure and Condition:** A double church, relatively large by the standards of Cretan regional churches. The south church is the original structure, the north church a modern addition. A modern portico, now in a semi-ruinous state, has been added on the west side.

The exterior has exposed stonework with reinforced masonry corners. Broad buttresses have been erected against the south wall. Indentations suggest four glazed bowls were once inserted in a cross-shaped pattern at the top of the east wall of the south church, above the apse. The south church is covered by a gable roof, the north church, by a gambrel roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the south end of the east wall. There are three entrances: one in the west wall of the south church, with a narrow carved-stone pointed-arch frame, including a niche in the exterior wall above the lintel; one off-centre (west) in the north wall of the north church; and one off-centre (west) in the south wall of the south church, with an ornamental carved-stone pointed-arch frame, including a painted niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. There are modern windows in the north wall of the north church and the south wall of the south church.

The interiors of the north and the south church are each covered by a pointed barrel vault, each with three transverse arches. The two churches communicate internally via two wide, open arches in the dividing wall. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary in either church.

The wall paintings in the south church are damaged and affected by moisture; they are partially covered in sediment and poorly legible. The north church is entirely devoid of wall paintings.

**Iconographic Programme:** The paintings in the south church include, on the west wall, fragments of a Last Judgement, represented in a single composition. At the apex of the wall, two angels with the Scroll of Heaven can be discerned. Underneath them to the right, Choirs of the Elect and part of the Apostle Tribunal can be seen. Below the Apostle Tribunal, the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead appear. Paradise is depicted on the lower part of the adjacent south wall, with Choirs of the Elect waiting to enter.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle (including Christ and the Samaritan Woman on the north wall), the cycle of the Akathistos hymn,<sup>68</sup> the Dormition of the Virgin on the south wall, and other scenes of interest, e.g. Anothēn oi Prophētai,<sup>69</sup> Saint John

<sup>68</sup> For the iconography of the Akathistos, see, indicatively, Spatharakis 2005.

<sup>69</sup> For this iconographic subject, see Vokotopoulos 1990, 25.

the Evangelist dictating the Gospel to Prochoros, and the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. The south wall has an image of the Virgin and Child enthroned under an arch. The saints in the Gallery of Saints on the south wall are also shown standing under arches.<sup>70</sup> The Gallery of Saints furthermore includes the Western Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child, on the east reveal of the eastern open arch between the north and south churches.<sup>71</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans, with Christ in a medallion and a bust of an angel in a medallion on the left. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops, who are represented frontally rather than in three-quarters facing towards the altar.<sup>72</sup> The triumphal arch has the Pentecost on the upper part, above the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The sanctuary walls have scenes from the life of the Virgin.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the west wall, on the lower part of the wall, to the right of the west-wall entrance. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 119). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is rendered as a mere widening of the River of Fire flowing from the Throne of Christ. It is damaged on the left side and in the centre, and the paint surface is abraded and covered in graffiti.<sup>73</sup> Underneath the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, on the far right of the wall, remnants of three compartments of Communal Punishments can be found, arranged in a single register.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire has a red background, with the contours of waves painted on it in white. Few details can still be discerned on the damaged paint surface. Shapes around the damaged patch in the centre of the river suggest Satan may have been depicted here, enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths. To the right of this damaged patch, in the far right stretch of the river, a number of busts and heads, rendered in white, can be detected. The first two of these, furthest to the left, are busts of a bishop wearing a Western mitre and a Western cleric with a tonsure; both are clean-shaven and wear habits or

<sup>70</sup> The arches feature a downward pointed arrow on either side of the arch; they resemble those in cat. no. 91. See also cat. nos 80, 81 and 84.

<sup>71</sup> See also cat. no. 76.

<sup>72</sup> The frontal representation of the Officiating Bishops is frequently found in examples dated to the late 11th to early 12th century. From the mid-12th century they are mostly depicted turned towards the altar; see Lymberopoulou 2006, 39–40. This would suggest that the artist at Voroi opted for an older iconographic type for this particular scene.

<sup>73</sup> On the graffiti referring to Hell which can be seen dispersed over the composition, see Xanthoudidis 1903, 147; Tsougkarakis and Aggelomati-Tsougkaraki 2015, 213 (nos 16–21).

cloaks with folded-down hoods. The contours of at least two more heads appear behind them. To their right, there are two busts of bearded figures, probably heretics, heading a slightly larger group of at least four more figures. To the lower right of this group are two heads with turban-like headwear, possibly women wearing *phakiolia*,<sup>74</sup> with the contours of a third head behind them.

The three compartments of Communal Punishments are largely destroyed. Of the compartment on the left, only the top right corner survives; it appears to have had a light background. The second compartment has a black background, discoloured to dark blue, on which heads can be distinguished with difficulty. The third compartment, on the right, also has a black background, discoloured to dark blue; it has no other distinctive features, but is identified by an inscription as Tar (Η ΠΙCΑ).

Measurements

South Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 8.76 m |
| length with apse    | 7.62 m |
| width               | 3.80 m |
| height              | 4.85 m |

Hell

| Position                  | Iconography                             | Shape             |                        |
|---------------------------|---|-------------------|------------------------|
| west wall, right of door: |   |                   |                        |
| top register              | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | (1.06) × (1.37) m | irregular fragment     |
| 2nd register:             |   |                   |                        |
| left                      | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | ? × ? m           | fragment               |
| 2nd                       | <i>Communal Punishment</i>              | (0.19) × 0.36 m   | fragment, rectangle(?) |
| 3rd                       | <i>CP: Tar</i>                          | (0.19) × 0.31 m   | fragment, rectangle(?) |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 86 (no. 581); Borboudakis 2004.

<sup>74</sup> Compare, for example, the female donors at Kavalariana, Archangel Michael, dated 1327/8; see Lymberopoulou 2006, figs 28 and 29. On *phakiolia*, see Spatharakis 2001, 75.

93. Chandras (Panteli, Siteia), Transfiguration (Christos Afentis)

First half of the 15th century



Fig. 120 Church of the Transfiguration (Christos Afentis), the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, first half of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Chandras (Panteli, Siteia), Lassithi, Crete



**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered, with the carved-stone frame of the western entrance and the lateral windows left exposed. The church does not have an exterior roof cover. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a framed pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. Modern windows have been inserted in the centre of the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings have suffered extensive damage, but the surviving parts are clearly legible.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, on the upper part of the wall, above the entrance. It includes, at the apex of the wall, the Deesis, the Apostle Tribunal, Choirs of the Elect, Paradise, and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The remainder of the nave contains an extensive Christological cycle, including less common scenes, e.g., on the north wall, Judas Receiving Thirty Pieces of Silver, the Suicide of Judas, the Mocking of Christ and the Flagellation of Christ,<sup>1</sup> and on the south wall, Christ led to Pilate(?) and Peter's Denial. There are also scenes from Genesis, e.g., on the north wall, the Seduction of Eve and the Expulsion from Paradise, and on the south wall, the Creation of Adam. The western transverse arch has seven medallions with busts of female saints.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin and Child enthroned with attending angels, the apse wall, two rows of Officiating Bishops, with the Melismos (with the Christ Child lying on the paten) in the centre. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. To the left of the apse, the Man of Sorrows is depicted. The north wall of the sanctuary has three registers: the Ascension and the Pentecost, the Holy Women at the Tomb and the Chairete (Hail of the Myrrh-Bearers) – two scenes referring to the Resurrection – and the Apostles Receiving the Body of Christ (Holy Communion). The south wall also has three registers: the Nativity and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism and the Transfiguration, and the Apostles Receiving the Blood of Christ (Holy Communion).

<sup>1</sup> The Flagellation of Christ is also found in the area of Chania, at Temenia, Transfiguration, 14th century; see Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2018, 40–4, Fig. 3.4b. See also cat. no. 36.



**Hell:** Hell was represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, possibly on either side of the entrance; very little survives of it at present. It may have been a ‘full’ Hell, including the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, frames with Individual Sinners, and compartments of Communal Punishments (Fig. 120). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (only fragments of the red background remain), was shown in the upper of two registers to the right of the entrance. Frames with Individual Sinners may have existed in the missing section of wall painting to the left of the door. Compartments of Communal Punishments were shown in the second register to the right of the entrance (again, only fragments remain).

### Measurements

#### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.13 m |
| length with apse    | 7.96 m |
| width               | 3.90 m |
| height              | 4.54 m |

#### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>             |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| west wall, right of door | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 1.26 × (0.90) m fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 106 (no. 801); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 461–4; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 2001–4, 594–5.

## 94. Fourni (Merambello), Saint George

### 15th century(?)

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with a modern narthex.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, leaving the modern carved-stone frames of the western entrance and lateral windows exposed. Church and narthex are covered by separate tiled gable roofs. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall of the narthex. Modern windows have been inserted off-centre (west) in the north wall of the church, and in the centre of the south wall of the church.

The interiors of narthex and nave are covered by pointed barrel vaults, with one transverse arch in the church. Nave and narthex communicate internally via an open arch in the dividing wall, in the location of the original western entrance of the church. In the church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The majority of the interior wall surface is whitewashed, and little of the iconographic programme survives.

**Iconographic Programme:** Parts of the Last Judgement survive on the north wall: the Apostle Tribunal and, in the register underneath, part of the Earth Giving Up her Dead.

What is left of the wall paintings on the north wall includes scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George. The Gallery of Saints includes Saints Constantine and Helena.

The triumphal arch has fragments of the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse. The sanctuary vault has remnants of the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell was represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance (now the open arch between the narthex and the church). Fragments of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and possible compartments of Communal Punishments can still be seen. The remains of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire include a partially surviving large black figure of Satan.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.20 m |
| length with apse    | 7.93 m |
| width               | 3.34 m |
| height              | 3.72 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                      | <i>Shape</i>             |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| west wall, right of arch | <i>Hell Formed by the River of Fire</i> | 0.95 × (0.49) m fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 83 (no. 556).

## 95. Kavousi (Ierapetra), Holy Apostles

First decade of the 15th century



Fig. 121 Church of the Holy Apostles, Last Judgement, first decade of the 15th century, wall painting (wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry has been installed against the north wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with a pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel. A modern window has been inserted off-centre (west) in the north wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch (largely destroyed). Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The church has at least two superimposed layers of wall paintings; the older layer is exposed in several places, especially on the north wall, where a female donor is portrayed. The paintings on the west wall are heavily damaged; the other wall paintings survive in a legible condition.



Fig. 122 Church of the Holy Apostles, Individual Sinners, first decade of the 15th century, wall painting (west wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

**Iconographic Programme:** Little survives of the painting on the west wall, but the south wall has remains of the Last Judgement at the west end. It includes the Hetoimasia of the Throne, the River of Fire, the Weighing of the Souls, the Apostle Tribunal and a large Paradise, with a queue of the Elect waiting to enter the gates, which Saint Peter is shown unlocking.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, as well as the Dormition of the Virgin, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and Joachim in the Wilderness.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, on part of the older layer of wall paintings that is exposed here. The apse wall has the Communion of the Apostles as part of the later (top) layer of wall painting (there is some confusion between the two superimposed layers here). The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse. The north wall of the sanctuary shows Saint John Kalyvitis among several Holy Bishops.<sup>2</sup> The south wall has the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is shown as part of the Last Judgement, on the south and west walls. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appears on the lower part on the west end of the south wall, as part of the larger Last Judgement composition (Fig. 121). The frames with Individual Sinners are located on the west wall, to the left of the entrance (Fig. 122). They survive only in part; remnants of two frames can be seen, arranged in two registers.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the south wall shows two vengeful angels on the left pushing sinners into the flames (Fig. 121). In the top left corner of the fire, facing the vengeful angels, the Rich Man (Ο Π[Α]ΟΥΛΟ[Σ]) can be seen, shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated, pointing at his tongue with the index finger of his right hand; he is accompanied by the customary inscription from Luke 16:24. A little black devil appears at the Rich Man's feet. To the right of the Rich Man, bishops in Orthodox vestments are depicted. The inscription that accompanies them is illegible, but in all probability this must be a group of heretics, e.g. Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius and their followers, as seen in other examples of Cretan Hell. The remainder of the scene is dominated by the large black figure of Satan, holding a barely visible Judas in his lap; he is enthroned upon a large brown Dragon of the Depths, accompanied by an illegible inscription.

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners outlined in brown, in a crude hand, shaded in ochre, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. What remains of the frame in the upper register includes (Fig. 122):

<sup>2</sup> Compare cat. nos 21 and 99.



- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο παραυλακ[ιστής]); he appears to be standing bent over to the left, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum.

The frame in the lower register appears to be divided into two halves by an ochre line in the centre. The frame has fragments of three sinners. They are, from left to right:

Left half of frame

- The Man Who Invokes the Name of the Devil ([Ο λέγων] συνεχώς το όνομα [του διαβόλου]);

Right half of frame

- Unidentifiable; a woman(?), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing on one leg amidst flames;
- The magistrate (Ο κουράτορας); he is shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs, with wrists and ankles tied together; a jug and a bucket are dangling from a cord draped across his body.<sup>3</sup>

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.34 m |
| length with apse    | 6.32 m |
| width               | 3.09 m |
| height              | 3.71 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>                                       |               | <i>Shape</i>          |
|-----------------------|--|---------------|-----------------------|
| south wall, far right | <i>Hell Formed by River of Fire</i>                      | 1.13 × 1.44 m | rectangle             |
| west wall             |  |               |                       |
| top register          | (1) <i>IS: Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line</i> | 0.39 × ? m    | fragment of rectangle |
| 2nd register          | (3) <i>Individual Sinners</i>                            | 0.39 × 0.96 m | fragment of rectangle |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 103 (no. 761); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 470–1; *Archaialogikon Deltion* 2001–4, 586–7.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that one of these is meant to depict a grain measure; for an example see Petsopoulos 2016, 9.

## 96. Kavousi (Ierapetra), Saint George

Mid-14th century or 1410–20<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 123 Church of Saint George, Last Judgement, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (west wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

<sup>4</sup> Dating to the mid-14th century in *Archaologikon Deltion* 2001–4, 587–9; Maderakis 2005, 247 suggests 1410–20.



Fig. 124 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with two modern side chapels added on the north and south sides at the west end. The original church is relatively long compared to other regional churches on Crete.



Fig. 125 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (west and south walls), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frames of the entrances and the lateral window exposed. The church and the two side chapels are covered by a tiled cross-gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the north wall of the north side chapel. Indentations and one remaining fragment show that five glazed bowls used to be inserted in the plaster, in a cross-shaped pattern, on the upper part of the north wall of the north side chapel. There are three entrances: the main entrance, in the centre of the west wall of the church, and two secondary entrances, in the centre of the north and south walls of the north and south side chapels. The main entrance in the west wall of the church has a framed, pointed-arch niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches (the eastern one located within the sanctuary); the two side chapels are each covered by a pointed barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis. Internally, the nave and the side chapels communicate via two open arches. The iconography of the wall paintings on the reveals of these arches (including Hell scenes) suggests that they may originally have been blind arches.





Fig. 126 Church of Saint George, The female Gossiper, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

The wall paintings are damaged, but the remaining parts are in a clearly legible condition. The sanctuary is whitewashed, but a test patch on the north wall reveals possible remaining wall paintings underneath. In the nave, just before the modern iconostasis, there are indications that there may be an older layer of wall paintings underneath the one currently visible.



Fig. 127 Church of Saint George, The Woman Who Does Not Give Offerings to the Church, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, extending onto the north and south walls. The Great Deesis, with Christ in a mandorla, appears on the upper part of the west wall, above





Fig. 128 Church of Saint George, Individual Sinners, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (south wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

the entrance.<sup>5</sup> Choirs of the Elect are shown on the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance. The Apostle Tribunal, split into two parts, is depicted at the west ends of the north and south walls. Paradise appears

<sup>5</sup> For the significance of Christ presented in a mandorla, see Chookaszian 2011, 295–6; Maderakis 1991, 305, suggests that the life-size instruments of the Passion here may reflect Western influences.



Fig. 129 Church of Saint George, Those Who Sleep on Sunday, mid-14th century or 1410–20, wall painting (north wall), Kavousi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

on the south wall. The north wall has the Scroll of Heaven, the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead and the Weighing of the Souls.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle, scenes from the life of the patron saint, Saint George, and scenes from the life of the Virgin (e.g. on the north wall, the Annunciation to Saint Anne, the Birth of the Virgin, the Meeting of Saints Anne and Joachim at the

Golden Gate, and on the south wall, the Presentation of the Virgin). The south wall has the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The Gallery of Saints includes shepherd saints, probably Saints Vlasios and Mamas, and an image of the Archangel Michael appears on the north wall.

It is unclear what the iconography of the sanctuary used to be; note that the Annunciation, normally shown on the triumphal arch, appears in the nave as part of the cycle of the Life of the Virgin.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, on the west, north and south walls; this may well be the church in which Hell covers the greatest proportion of the interior surface. It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and frames with Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is shown as a 'diptych', with one half appearing on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, and the other half on the adjacent north wall (Figs 123, 124). The frames with Individual Sinners appear to have once formed a continuous frieze running along the bottom of the walls at the west end of the church (Figs 123–9). This frieze would have started on the east reveal of what was formerly the blind arch in the south wall (Fig. 123), and ended on the east reveal of what was formerly the blind arch in the north wall (Fig. 127). Both these blind arches have now been broken through to provide access to the north and south side chapels, interrupting the frieze.

The half of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the lower part of the west wall has a red background (Fig. 123). The scene is dominated by the figure of a large, black, winged Satan, holding Judas (ΙΟΥΔΑΣ) in his arms. He is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, rendered as a double-headed creature with the features of two white bulls joined mid-body, presented symmetrically, with one head facing left and the other right. Satan seems to be wearing earrings in both ears. Below his left wing, the head of Herod (ΗΡΩΔΗΣ) can be seen. In the top left corner of the scene, above Satan's left wing, the Rich Man appears, shown in three-quarters, facing left. His upper body is damaged and it can no longer be seen whether he is pointing at his parched mouth; the customary inscription from Luke 16:24 may have been present once, but does not survive.

The half of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire on the west end of the north wall includes, on the left, a black devil yanking the chain by which four naked, male souls are linked together at the neck (Fig. 124). The suggestion could be that this group has failed the Weighing of the Souls that takes place in the register above this scene and have entered the infernal domain, to join other

sinful souls depicted already floating in the River of Fire. The latter souls include heretical bishops, identifiable by their liturgical attire.

The frames with Individual Sinners show the sinners naked, outlined in black and shaded in brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right:

Frame on the east reveal of the open arch in the south wall – with a decorative floral border (Fig. 128)

- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡ[NOC]); shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, gesturing as if he is in conversation with his neighbour; the black-and-grey snake coiling around his body is biting his genitals;
- Unidentifiable; shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, gesturing as if he is in conversation with his neighbour; no identifying inscription survives, but the fact that the black-and-grey snake coiling around his body bites his mouth suggests a sin with an oral connotation (e.g. gossiping or slandering);

Frame on west reveal of the open arch in the south wall – with a decorative floral border (Fig. 129)

- Those Who Sleep on Sunday (ΚΙΜΟ . . . ΑΓΓΙΑΝ ΚΗΡΙΑ . . .); a couple lying in a bed with red cover, with fire burning underneath; two devils are waiting by their bedside on the right;

Frame on the west end of the south wall (Fig. 125)

- The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΥΡΑ . . . ΡΑΚ), identified by the Greek transliteration of the Latin term; he is shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing on his left leg, with the ankle of his raised right leg bound by a rope to the wrist of his extended left arm;
- Unidentifiable; shown frontally, standing, with his arms bound behind his back;

Frame on the left of the west wall, left of the entrance (Fig. 125)

- The Man Who Cheats at the Scales (Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΟΤΗΣ); shown frontally, standing on his left leg, with the ankle of his raised right leg bound by a rope to the wrist of his extended left arm; he has scales hanging from a cord around his neck;
- Unidentifiable (‘Ο ΠΑ . . . ΗΟΤΗΣ’); shown frontally, standing, with his arms placed across his chest;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΠΤΗΣ); shown frontally, standing, holding a little black goat in his arms;
- Unidentifiable, surviving only in part;



(Frame on the right of the west wall, to the right of the entrance – too damaged to identify any of the sinners (Fig. 123))

Frame at the west end of the north wall (Fig. 124)

- The Man Who – repeatedly – Invokes the Name of the Devil (Ο Λ'ΕΓΩΝ ΚΙΝΕΧ'ΟC ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΒ'ΟΛ(ΟΥ)), shown in profile, suspended by his arms and legs, with wrists and ankles tied together, and with three grey snakes coiling around his body; a black devil standing by his head to the left is supervising his torment;<sup>6</sup>

Frame on the west reveal of the open arch in the north wall (Fig. 126)

- The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘ'ΗCΤΡΙΑ); shown frontally, suspended upside down, with her arms bound behind her back; a brown snake is coiling around her body; two further snakes appear to the left and right;

Frame on the east reveal of the open arch in the north wall (Fig. 127)

- The Woman Who Does Not Give Offerings to the Church (Η ΜΗ ΠΡΟCΦ'ΕΡΟΥCΑΝ ΤΙ ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΠΡ'ΟCΦΟΡΑ); exceptionally, she is shown dressed (in red, the colour of Hell), in three-quarters, facing left, kneeling at a table(?) with a devil sitting on the left edge.<sup>7</sup>

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| length without apse | 9.49 m  |
| length with apse    | 10.13 m |
| width (nave only)   | 2.80 m  |
| height              | 3.70 m  |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>  | <i>Iconography</i>            |               | <i>Shape</i>         |
|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| south wall:      |                               |               |                      |
| inside arch east | 2 IS: incl. Fornicator        | 0.50 × 0.49 m | square               |
| inside arch west | IS: Those Who Sleep on Sunday | 0.49 × 0.48 m | square               |
| west end of wall | 2 IS: incl. Usurer            | 0.52 × 0.59 m | rectangle, landscape |

<sup>6</sup> The presence of this sinner makes it unlikely that the male sinner depicted on the east reveal of the open arch in the south wall, with a snake biting his mouth (Fig. 128), is a blasphemer.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps not coincidentally, in the register above this particular sinner, Saint Zosimas is represented, giving the Holy Communion to Saint Mary of Egypt (shown on the opposite side of the reveal).

(cont.)

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|                           |  |                   |                                 |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| west wall, left of door   | 4 <i>Individual Sinners</i>                            | (0.47) × (0.72) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape  |
| west wall, right of door: |  |                   |                                 |
| top register              | <i>HFRF: Satan</i>                                     | 1.30 × 0.80 m     | rectangle, portrait             |
| 2nd register              | <i>Individual Sinners</i>                              | 0.57 × 0.77 m     | rectangle, landscape            |
| north wall, west end:     |  |                   |                                 |
| top register              | <i>HFRF: Sinners</i>                                   | 0.66 × 1.06 m     | irregular, esp. towards top     |
| 2nd register              | <i>IS: Man Who Invokes the Name of the Devil</i>       | 0.58 × 0.62 m     | rectangle, landscape            |
| north wall:               |  |                   |                                 |
| inside arch west          | <i>IS: Gossiper</i>                                    | (0.49) × 0.53 m   | fragment of rectangle, portrait |
| inside arch east          | <i>IS: Woman Who Does Not Give Offerings to Church</i> | 0.63 × 0.50 m     | rectangle, portrait             |

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**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 346 (no. 48); Chatzidakis 1952, 62–3 (no. 2); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 103 (no. 763); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 468–70; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 2001–4, 587–9; Maderakis 2005, 247.



## 97. Kavousi (Avgos, Ierapetra), Saint Eirini<sup>8</sup>

1410/11<sup>9</sup>

**Note:** A single-nave church. The current condition of the wall paintings is poor. There are remnants of a Last Judgement at the west end of the church. The Deesis appears on the upper part of the west wall, the Apostle Tribunal, split in two, on the adjacent sections of the north and south walls; in the register below the Apostles on the north wall, are the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. A rare representation of the Ancient of Days can be seen at the west end of the vault.<sup>10</sup> The lower part of the west wall is whitewashed. Judging from the majority of the surviving examples, it is likely that the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, and possibly other scenes, were once represented here.

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 103 (no. 763); Maderakis 2004a, 64–72.

<sup>8</sup> This is one of the five churches in the catalogue that were not visited and documented during the research phase of the Leverhulme International Networks Project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)*. We would like to thank Mrs Marianna Katifori and Mrs Georgia Moschovi, who have kindly provided the information for this rudimentary catalogue entry.

<sup>9</sup> According to Maderakis 2004a, 64, 72, the church is dated by an inscription that remains unpublished.

<sup>10</sup> The representation of the Ancient of Days, unusual in Byzantine art, is based on Dan. 7:10: 'I beheld until the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool . . .'. See also Lymberopoulou 2018a, 64–7. Maderakis 2004b, 246–7 and fig. 1, interprets this as the Adventus.

## 98. Kritsa (Merambello), Christ the Lord (Afentis)

Late 14th century



Fig. 130 Church of Christ the Lord (Afentis), Last Judgement, late 14th century, wall painting (west end of the church), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A double-nave church, possibly the result of three building phases: there is evidence of two historical phases in the original south church, while the north church appears to be a modern addition.

The exterior is whitewashed, leaving the carved-stone frame of the western entrance exposed. The western section of the south church is covered by a tiled cross-gable roof, the east section by a tiled gable roof. The north church also has a tiled gable roof. There are two entrances: the main entrance, in the centre of the west wall of the south church, and a secondary entrance, in the west half of the north wall of the north church. A modern window has been inserted off-centre (east) in the south wall of the south church; the modern north church has a window off-centre (east) in the north wall.



Fig. 131 Church of Christ the Lord (Afentis), Last Judgement (detail with the Rich Man, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and the Weighing of the Souls), late 14th century, wall painting (north wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete

The interior of the south church has a single bay with a cross vault, to which a nave and sanctuary covered by a pointed barrel vault are attached; the north church has a pointed barrel vault. The two churches communicate internally via three open arches. In each church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern iconostasis.

The interior is largely whitewashed. Fragments of wall paintings are exposed in the cross-vaulted bay of the south church. These were treated by the Lassithi Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in the 2010s and are currently in a legible condition. A further section of damaged wall paintings can be seen in the sanctuary of the south aisle.

**Iconographic Programme:** The portrait of a donor named Choniatis survives on the west wall of the south church, to the right of the entrance, next to an image of Saint Paraskevi.

The surviving wall paintings in the cross-vaulted bay of the south church include the Last Judgement, divided into separate scenes in separate registers. The lunette of the south wall of the cross-vaulted bay has the Hetoimasia of the Throne in the upper register, at the apex of the lunette. The second register of the south wall lunette has, on the far right, the Weighing of the Souls. The lunette of the north wall of the cross-vaulted

bay has the Apostle Tribunal, together with Choirs of the Elect and the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead. The lunette of the west wall has Paradise, with the Virgin enthroned and the Good Thief, Dymas, holding the cross on her right.<sup>11</sup>

Part of the Gallery of Saints survives on the south and west walls of the cross-vaulted bay. It includes, on the south wall, the military saints, Saint George (killing the dragon) and Saint Theodore Teron (probably also killing a dragon), and a doctor saint, Saint Panteleimon.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement, in the lunettes of the south and west walls of the cross-vaulted bay in the south church. It includes the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Fig. 131) and three frames with Individual Sinners (Fig. 130). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame (heavily damaged, particularly in the centre), can be found in the second register of the south-wall lunette, below the Hetoimasia of the Throne and to the left of the Weighing of the Souls. One frame with a single Individual Sinner, the Rich Man, appears in the upper register of the south wall lunette, in the far right corner, to the right of the Hetoimasia of the Throne and above the Weighing of the Souls. Two further frames with Individual Sinners can be found in the second register of the west-wall lunette; together, the two frames cover the entire width of the lunette (Fig. 130).<sup>12</sup>

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire includes, on the left, vengeful angels pushing sinners into the fire (Fig. 131); these sinners are identified as the followers of the arch-heretics Arius and Sabellius (ΑΡΙΑΝ'Η ΣΑΒΕΛΙΑΝΗ(?)). Behind them, a third group is depicted, accompanied by an illegible inscription; they may represent the followers of another heretic, Macedonius. On the right (beyond the damaged area in the centre), part of Satan can be seen, here labelled as the Antichrist ([Ο ΑΝΤ'Ι]ΧΡΗΤΟC); he is holding Judas and is enthroned on the Dragon of the Depths. Of the latter, only a right-facing head on a long, grey, scaly neck survives, devouring a figure dressed in what seems to be Byzantine imperial attire.<sup>13</sup>

The frame with the Rich Man in the upper register of the south-wall lunette shows him in three-quarters, facing right (towards where Paradise

<sup>11</sup> For other depictions of the Good Thief in Paradise, compare cat. nos 32, 91, 100.

<sup>12</sup> Note that the row of sinners extends above the head of the donor Choniatis, who by making his donation probably sought to prevent being included among their ranks.

<sup>13</sup> The fact that a right-facing head of the dragon survives suggests that it was a double-headed dragon (with another head facing to the left, now destroyed); see Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 219–20.

is represented on the west wall), seated, pointing at his parched mouth with his right hand. He is accompanied by the customary inscription from Luke 16:24 (ΠΑΤΕΡ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΕΛΕΗC'ΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΨΟΝ Λ'ΑΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ Β'ΑΨΗ ΤΟ ΑΚΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΚΤ'ΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΥΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΨ'ΥΞΗ ΤΗΝ ΓΛΩCΣΣΑΝ ΜΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΔΗΝΟΜΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΛΟΓΗ ΤΑ'ΥΤΗ).<sup>14</sup>

Of the two frames with Individual Sinners in the second register of the west-wall lunette, the left frame contains six male sinners (Fig. 130); it survives in full. The right frame contains five female sinners and is largely obliterated by damage to the paint surface. The figures of the sinners are large compared to those in other Cretan churches. They are shown naked, shaded in flesh tones against a black background, accompanied by inscriptions.

The six male sinners in the left frame are all shown in three-quarters, facing right, except for the sixth sinner, who faces left; they are suspended by meathooks on chains from the upper edge of the frame, with their arms bound behind their backs.<sup>15</sup> They are, from left to right:

- The Notary Who Falsified Documents (Unjust Notary) (Ο ΝΟΤΑΡΙ'ΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΔΙΚΙΑC); a stylus and an inkpot are hanging from a cord around his neck; the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his left eye;
- The (cheating) Tailor (Ο ΡΑΠΤΙC); a large pair of scissors hangs from a cord around his neck; the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his lower lip;
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΤΤΗΣ); a white goat is draped across his shoulders; the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his upper lip;
- The Farmer Who Reaps over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΘΕΡΙCΤΗΣ); a scythe hangs from a cord around his neck; the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his lower lip;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΗΣΤΗΣ); he has a plough hanging from a cord around his neck, the blade of which rests between his legs (or is inserted in his rectum, with the point emerging from his body at the front); the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his lower lip;
- The male Fornicator (Ο ΠΟΡ[ΝΟC]) (the one sinner facing left); a snake is coiling around his body; the meathook by which he is suspended pierces his right eye.

<sup>14</sup> On this particular inscription, see Patedakis 2011, 220. See also Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 155.

<sup>15</sup> While the male sinners are depicted with specific instruments related to their sins, the punishments they suffer do not seem to target related parts of their bodies.

What remains of the five female sinners in right frame shows only their heads or bodies, rendered frontally, with their arms bound above their heads; they are either standing or suspended by their tied hands. They are, from left to right:

- The Procureess (Bawd; Madam)(?) (‘H MA . . . PEA’);
- Unidentifiable (‘H ΠΑΡΑΥ . . . ’); her left ear is bitten by a snake, which could suggest the Eavesdropper;
- The Woman Who Does Not Nurse Babies (H MH ΘΗ[ΛΑΖΟΥ]CΑ ΤΑ ΒΡΕΦΙ);
- Unidentifiable;
- The female Fornicator (H Π’ΟΡΝΗ).

Measurements

South Church

|                               |        |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| length without apse           | 6.90 m |
| length with apse              | 7.37 m |
| width of bay with cross vault | 2.72 m |
| height of cross vault         | 3.85 m |

Hell

| Position            | Iconography                         |                     | Shape                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| south wall, lunette | Hell Formed by the River of Fire    | 0.75 × 2.07 m       | rectangle, landscape, curved on left      |
| west wall, lunette  | Individual Sinners (m/f) (2 frames) | c. 0.49 × c. 2.65 m | rectangle, landscape, curved at both ends |

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 42); Chatzidakis 1952, 63 (no. 5); Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 84 (no. 563); Moschovi 2015.



## 99. Kritsa (Merambello), Saint John the Baptist

1389/90



Fig. 132 Church of Saint John the Baptist, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, 1389/90, wall painting (west wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete



Fig. 133 Church of Saint John the Baptist, Individual Sinners, 1389/90, wall painting (west wall), Kritsa (Merambello), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and covered by a tiled gable roof. A modern belfry is mounted on the west end of the south wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall. Small modern windows have been inserted off-centre (west) in the north and south walls.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. There is no physical separation between nave and sanctuary.

The vault is whitewashed. The surviving paintings on the walls and in the apse were being restored during our visit on 3 April 2012; they were in a clearly legible condition even at the time.<sup>16</sup>

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the left of the entrance. Another is found on the basis of the transverse arch on the south wall (above Saint Panteleimon).

<sup>16</sup> One of the restorers who were working in the church at the time informed us that two graves had been discovered in the middle of the church.

The upper part of the west wall is whitewashed, but it is likely to have contained the Last Judgement, as the Hell scenes include the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire, which is rarely represented outside the context of the Last Judgement, and the lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance, has the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead.

The rest of the visible wall paintings in the nave have scenes from the Christological cycle (e.g. the Anastasis, the Crucifixion) on the south wall, and scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, Saint John the Baptist, on the north wall. The Gallery of Saints includes Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, Saint Anthony, Saints Constantine and Helena holding the Holy Cross between them, and the Archangel Michael.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with Christ Pantokrator flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist; the apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, the Annunciation in the register below, on either side of the apse, and the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again to the left and right of the apse. The north wall of the sanctuary has the Pentecost, the south wall, the Ascension and the Lamentation. The saints in the sanctuary include Saint John Kalyvitis on the north wall,<sup>17</sup> and Saint Titus on the south wall, the latter popular on Crete.

**Hell:** Hell must have been represented as part of the now vanished Last Judgement; it appears on the lower part of the west wall, to the left and right of the entrance. It includes the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and a frame with Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appears to the right of the entrance, the frame with Individual Sinners, in the bottom register of the west wall, to the left of the entrance.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire has two angels in the top left corner of the scene, standing at the edge of a cliff, holding long tridents, with which they are prodding the figure of Satan in the bottom right corner (Fig. 132). An inscription in the top right corner refers to the Everlasting Fire (ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ 'ΑΒΕΚΤΟΝ). In between the cliff on which the angels stand and the inscription, the Rich Man can be seen, shown in three-quarters, facing left, seated among flames,

<sup>17</sup> Compare cat. nos 21 and 95.



pointing at his parched mouth with the index finger of his right hand. Below the inscription, near the right border of the scene, a procession of sinners descends towards Hell, rendered in foreshortening.<sup>18</sup> The rear of the procession is formed by figures wearing imperial crowns. They are preceded by figures in what appear to be Orthodox liturgical vestments; the fact that these vestments do not carry any insignia suggests that the figures are heretics, deemed unworthy of such distinction. The Orthodox clergy are preceded by Western clerics, among whom there are at least three, to the left, who are wearing bishop's mitres, and another three, to the right, with clean-shaven faces and tonsures; the latter group are wearing habits that have been interpreted as Franciscan.<sup>19</sup> At the lower edge of the scene, finally, the large, black figure of Satan can be seen. He is enthroned upon the Dragon of the Depths, depicted here as a black, double-headed dragon with long, coiling necks.<sup>20</sup>

The frame with Individual Sinners, to the left of the entrance, contains twelve naked sinners, shaded in light brown, irregularly dispersed across on a black background, accompanied by inscriptions. They are, from left to right, top to bottom (Fig. 133):

Top row

- The Perjurer (Ο ΦῖΩΡ[ΚΟC]); he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with his arms bound behind his back and a grey snake coiling around his body;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΩΡΝΗ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with her hands bound behind her back and a grey snake coiling around her body;
- The Priest Who Does Not Take Care of the Holy Church (Ὁ ῬΕΡΕΥC Ο ΜΗ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑΝ ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ); he has a beard and a hat; he is shown frontally, lying on his back, with his arms and legs tied ankle to wrist and spread wide by chains, and with a grey snake coiling around his body;
- The Murderer (Ο ΦΟΝΕΑC); he is shown frontally, lying on his back, with his arms and legs tied ankle to wrist and spread wide by chains, and with a grey snake coiling around his body;

<sup>18</sup> A procession of sinners rendered similarly in foreshortening can be found in Potamies, Christ the Saviour (cat. no. 90).

<sup>19</sup> Maderakis 1978, 215, suggests a pope is included among their ranks, but this is incorrect.

<sup>20</sup> Note that, unusually, a double-headed Dragon of the Depths is not rendered symmetrically; the two necks of the dragon are coiling in opposite directions, but both heads are facing right.

- Unclear (Η ΔΗΑΓΙΡΕΙΣΜ'ΕΝΗ<sup>21</sup>); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with her hands bound behind her back and an additional chain connected to her ankles; a grey snake coils around her body;
- The Woman Who Does not Nurse Babies (ΟΠΟΥ (?) ΔΕ ΒΗΖΑΝΗ ΤΑ [Ν'Η]Π[ΙΑ]); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with her hands bound behind her back and a grey snake coiling around her body, biting her left breast;

Second row, in the centre of the frame

- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΥΛΑΚ-ΕΙCΤ'ΗC); he is shown in profile, facing right, crouching, with the blade of a plough inserted in his rectum; he is chained by the neck and a grey snake is coiling around his body;
- The Usurer (Ο ΖΟΥΡΑΠΙC), identified by the Greek transliteration of his Latin name; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with his arms bound behind his back and a grey snake coiling around his body; a purse is hanging from a cord around his neck;
- The female Eavesdropper (Η ΠΑΡΑΦΟΥΚΡΑCΤΡ'ΕΑ); she is shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing, chained by the neck, with her arms bound behind her back and a grey snake coiling around her body, biting her right ear;

Bottom row

- The Thief (Ο ΚΛ'ΕΙΠΤΗC); he is shown in profile, on his hands and knees, facing right, with a snake coiling around his body;
- The Man Who Sleeps on Sunday and now has fire burning underneath him (ΟΠΟΥ ΚΙΜ'ΑΤΑΙ Τ'ΗΝ 'ΑΓ'ΙΑ ΚΙΡΙΑΚ'Η ΤΟ Π'ΥΡ ΑΙΠΤ'Η ΠΟΚ'ΑΤΟ ΤΟΥ);<sup>22</sup> he is shown lying on his back, with his head towards the right and a snake coiling around his body;
- The (cheating) Tailor (Ο Π'ΑΙΠΤ[ΗC]), represented on a much smaller scale than the other sinners, either because the painter ran out of space or because he wanted to suggest that this figure is in the background; he is shown in three-quarters, facing right, seated, chained by the neck, with his arms bound behind his back and a grey snake coiling around his body.

<sup>21</sup> The inscription could refer to a woman who is not a virgin, but the snake coiling around her body appears to bite her face rather than her genitals.

<sup>22</sup> Note that it is unusual that this sinner is alone and not part of a couple shown in bed. See Lymberopoulou in this publication, vol. 1, 152–3. For a comparable image see Weyl Carr in this publication, vol. 1, 404.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 5.84 m |
| length with apse    | 6.62 m |
| width               | 3.20 m |
| height              | 3.77 m |

Hell

| Position      | Iconography                      |               | Shape                |
|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| west wall:    |                                  |               |                      |
| left of door  | 12 Individual Sinners (m/f)      | 0.77 × 1.05 m | rectangle, landscape |
| right of door | Hell Formed by the River of Fire | 1.58 × 0.96 m | rectangle, portrait  |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 84 (no. 565); Maderakis 1978, 212–17 (date given, 1353/4); Maderakis 1979, 29–36; Maderakis 1980–1, 129 (here the author amends the date provided in his previous publication to 1359/60); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 434–5 (date given, 1370); Bissinger 1995, 177 (no. 145) (date given, 1370); Spatharakis 2001, 133–6 (no. 46); Ritzerfeld 2013, 343–4 (date given, 1370); Lymberopoulou 2013, 81–90; Katifori 2015.



## 100. Kritsa (Merambello), Virgin (Panagia Kera)

### End of the 13th to the beginning of the 14th century

**Note:** This is one of the larger and better-known Cretan churches, which presently functions as a museum.<sup>23</sup> It is a triple church, the result of several historical building phases, with the central church, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, being the oldest. The interior of each of the three churches is covered by a barrel vault; the central church has a small dome in the middle. The central church has at least two superimposed layers of wall painting. The later (top) layer includes scenes from the Christological cycle and a Gallery of Saints, among them Saint Francis. The south church is dedicated to the mother of the Virgin, Saint Anne, and includes scenes from her life as well as from the life of the young Mary. The north church is dedicated to Saint Antony. Dedicatory inscriptions are preserved in both the north and the south churches. On the north wall of the north church, there is a portrait of the donor with his wife and daughter.

The west wall of the oldest, middle church has the Crucifixion on the upper part. The west wall of the north aisle has the Last Judgement, with Paradise extending onto the west wall of the middle church, including Saint Peter with his key, leading the Good Thief, Dymas, by the hand.<sup>24</sup> The Last Judgement also includes the Apostle Tribunal, Choirs of the Elect, the Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead and the Weighing of the Souls.

Hell is represented on the west walls of the central and the north churches, in the form of frames with Individual Sinners and compartments of Communal Punishments. In the register underneath the Crucifixion on the west wall of the central church, there is a frame with Individual Sinners. It is likely that this was the first representation of Hell in the building, and that further representations were added when the Last Judgement was painted on the west wall of the later north church. The Last Judgement on the west wall of the north church includes two further frames with Individual Sinners, in two registers on the lower right part of the wall; more frames may have existed here, but they no longer survive owing to damage to the paint surface. The west wall of the north church also has three surviving compartments of Communal Punishments: two on the left of the wall, arranged in two registers, and a third to the right of these, underneath the window in the centre of the west wall.

<sup>23</sup> This entry is based on existing secondary literature. Because of its current function as a museum, we were not allowed to photograph, measure and catalogue this church.

<sup>24</sup> For other depictions of the Good Thief in Paradise, compare cat. nos 32, 91, 98.

The frame of Individual Sinners in the register underneath the Crucifixion on the west wall of the central church contains a row of seven naked sinners, four male sinners on the left, and three female sinners on the right. The first male sinner on the left is suspended from a hook by his arms and legs, with wrists and ankles tied together. The other six are standing with their arms bound behind their backs. They are, from left to right:

- The Man Who Disrespects the Church in which he works (Ο ΔΟΥΛΕΒΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΤΕ);<sup>25</sup>
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛΕΙΠΤΗC), with a white sheep draped across his shoulders;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΥΛΑΚΙCΤ[HC]), with a plough hanging from a cord around his neck, the blade inserted in his rectum;
- Unidentifiable, male, badly damaged;
- Unidentifiable, female (the surviving inscription reads ‘ΗΝΑ ... CΗΓΑ’), with a grey snake coiling around her body, biting her mouth; this would suggest a sin with an oral connotation – either the Gossiper or the Slanderer;
- The female Fornicator (Η ΠΟΡΝΗ), with a snake biting her genitals;
- The Procuress (Bawd; Madam)(?) (ΜΑΥΛΗCΤΡΑ(?)); the inscription is damaged and the snake tormenting her appears to be attacking either her left ear or her face.

In the surviving frames with Individual Sinners on the west wall of the north church, the sinners can no longer be identified. The frame in the lower register includes at least two sinners, the one on the left suspended by their arms and legs, the one on the right by their legs.

Among the surviving compartments of Communal Punishments on the west wall of the north church, the two on the left each have a red background. The compartment on the right contains a crowd of naked, standing people on a yellow background, comparable, to an extent, with Meskla, Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration) (cat. no. 26), Fig. 32 and Voutas, Virgin (cat. no. 44), Fig. 58.

**Bibliography:** Gerola 1908 (vol. 2), 344 (no. 43); Chatzidakis 1952, 59–62 (no. 1) and Plate E.3; Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 85 (no. 568); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 428–33; Bissinger 1995, 76 (no. 28), 107–8 (no. 73), 132–4 (no. 98), 137–8 (no. 105); Mylopotamitaki 2005; Borboudakis (n.d.).

<sup>25</sup> Another inscription can be seen to the left (ΟΥΤΟC Ο ΠΙΝΟΠΕΓΟΝ(?)). Gerstel 2015, 126, fig. 93, suggests that this is a miller. Neither inscription, however, corroborates this. Furthermore, the cheating miller is usually depicted with a large millstone around his neck.

# 101. Kroustas (Lakkoi, Merambello), Saint John the Evangelist the Evangelist

1347/8



Fig. 134 Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Individual Sinners and Communal Punishments, 1347/8, wall painting (west wall), Kroustas (Lakkoi, Merambello), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, and covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall, with an arched niche in the exterior wall above the lintel.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault without a transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a wall with a single, narrow arched door opening in the centre. The wall paintings extend onto this dividing wall.<sup>26</sup>

The paintings are in a clearly legible condition, due in part to the 2010 renovation of the church.<sup>27</sup>

**Iconographic Programme:** A dedicatory inscription survives on the west wall, to the right of the entrance.

The west wall also has the Crucifixion on the upper part, above the entrance and the Hell scenes. The lower part of the west wall, to the left of the entrance, has the Archangel Michael.

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle. The Raising of Lazarus, on the south wall, includes the detail of a man witnessing the scene from inside Lazarus' tomb. The Gallery of Saints appears to be divided into male saints on the north wall and female saints on the south. The male saints on the north wall include the shepherd saint Mamas.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist. The apse wall has Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch, unusually, has Christ Anapeson on the upper part,<sup>28</sup> above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse, and the deacon saints Stephen and Romanos in the bottom register, again on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension. The west wall of the sanctuary (the west side of the dividing wall between nave and sanctuary) has Prophets.<sup>29</sup>

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the lower part of the west wall, to the right of the entrance, underneath the dedicatory inscription and the Crucifixion. It consists of two frames of Individual Sinners and one compartment of Communal Punishment (Fig. 134). It is divided over three registers: the

<sup>26</sup> To the right of the door in the dividing wall, on the side of the nave, there is a section that has been over-painted in modern times, showing Christ and the Virgin, dated 1910.

<sup>27</sup> The Kroustas community bore the cost (€5,000) of the renovation, which included installing a new roof.

<sup>28</sup> See cat. no. 9, n. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Prophets would normally appear on a transverse arch in a Cretan church.

upper two registers each contain a frame with Individual Sinners, the third register, a compartment of Communal Punishment.

The two frames with Individual Sinners in the upper two registers each contain three sinners, outlined in black and shaded in brown, against a white background, accompanied by inscriptions. The frame in the top register contains, from left to right:

- The female Gossiper (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΘΗCTP'EA), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame, her arms bound behind her back; two scaled snakes, one grey and the other red, coil around her body, biting her ears;<sup>30</sup>
- The (livestock) Thief (Ο ΚΛ'ΕΠΤΗC), shown in three-quarters, facing right, suspended upside down from the upper edge of the frame by a chain around his ankles, with his knees slightly bent to the right; he appears to be wearing a hat; a white goat or ram is draped around his shoulders; a red, scaly snake coils around his body, biting his left shin;
- The Farmer Who Ploughs over the Boundary Line (Ο ΠΑΡΑΒΛΑΚΙCT'HC), shown in three-quarters, suspended upside down from the upper edge of the frame by a chain around his right ankle; his left leg is hanging free; his body is turned towards the left, but he looks over his shoulder to the right; the blade of a plough is inserted in his rectum; a grey, scaly snake coils around his body, biting the calf of his free left leg.

The frame in the second register contains, from left to right:

- The (cheating) Miller ([Ο ΜΥΛ]ΟΝΑ[С](?)), bearded and wearing a hat, shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing; a millstone is hanging from a cord around his neck; a grey and a red scaly snake coil around his legs, biting his upper arms;
- The Woman Who Rejects Babies (Η ΑΠΟCTP'ΕΦΟΥCΑ ΤΑ Ν'ΙΠΙΑ), shown in three-quarters, facing left, standing, chained by the neck to the upper edge of the frame; a grey and a red scaly snake coil around her legs, probably biting her breasts (the wall painting is damaged here);
- The Woman Who Cheats at the Scales (Η ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΤΙΝ ... ΝΙΤP'EA), shown in three-quarters, facing right, standing; a large pair of scales hangs from a cord around her neck; a red and a grey snake are coiling around her legs, biting her right shoulder and her left arm, respectively.

<sup>30</sup> The Gossiper in Voukolies (Vairaktariana), Saint Athanasios (cat. no. 42), 587 and Fig. 54, is shown suffering the same punishment. A gossip first would have to eavesdrop on a conversation before divulging a secret to other people.

The compartment of Communal Punishment in the third register shows the Sleepless Worm (Ὁ σκόληξ ο ἀκοίμητος), in the form of an elongated rectangle with a black background, filled with tiny, white, wriggly worms.<sup>31</sup>

Measurements

| Church                   |                                      |               |                      |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| length without apse      |                                      | 5.15 m        |                      |
| length with apse         |                                      | 6.07 m        |                      |
| width                    |                                      | 2.90 m        |                      |
| height                   |                                      | 3.41 m        |                      |
| Hell                     |                                      |               |                      |
| <i>Position</i>          | <i>Iconography</i>                   | <i>Shape</i>  |                      |
| west wall, right of door |                                      |               |                      |
| top register             | 3 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(m/f) | 0.56 × 0.94 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 2nd register             | 3 <i>Individual Sinners</i><br>(m/f) | 0.50 × 0.94 m | rectangle, landscape |
| 3rd register             | CP: <i>Sleepless Worm</i>            | 0.20 × 0.94 m | rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 85 (no. 571); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 436–8; Bissinger 1995, 109 (no. 75), 151–2 (no. 115); Spatharakis 2001, 94–6 (no. 32; with earlier bibliography); Volanakis 2011.

<sup>31</sup> The customary heads or skulls are omitted here.



## 102. Lithines (Siteia), Virgin

14th century



Fig. 135 Church of the Virgin, Last Judgement, 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Lithines (Siteia), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, originally dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, but rededicated to the Birth of the Virgin.<sup>32</sup>

The exterior (except for the south wall, which is shared with an adjacent modern church) has exposed stonework, with reinforced masonry corners. There is a single entrance in the west half of the south wall (one enters the church via the adjacent modern church); it has a carved-stone, pointed-arch frame in the exterior wall above the lintel. Eleven glazed bowls are inserted in the exterior wall surface above the door.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The surviving wall paintings are damaged and darkened, but otherwise in a legible condition.

<sup>32</sup> The local priest, Father Antonios, who was present on the day of our visit, 2 April 2013, informed us that once a church has been dedicated to a certain saint and/or feast, it cannot be rededicated, but the day of its celebration can change.

**Iconographic Programme:** The west wall has the Last Judgement, rendered as a single composition, extending onto the north and south walls. The lower part of the west wall is damaged. At the apex of the west wall, there is the Hetoimasia of the Throne, flanked by the Apostle Tribunal, which extends onto the north and south sides of the vault. Choirs of the Elect and an immured Paradise are shown on the left, Paradise extending onto the south wall. The Earth and the Sea Giving Up their Dead appear on the right. The River of Fire emanating from the empty throne in the centre flows between Adam (left) and Eve (right).

The remainder of the nave has scenes from the Christological cycle and scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The south wall has the Virgin and Child enthroned, flanked by full-size attending angels. The western transverse arch has the Ten Saints of Crete, and the eastern transverse arch has Prophets. There is an ornamental band along the apex of the vault, separating the paintings on the north and south sides of the vault.

The conch of the sanctuary apse features the Virgin Orans, in bust form, with Christ, flanked by busts of angels. The triumphal arch has the Hospitality of Abraham on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension; the north and south walls of the sanctuary have the Communion of the Apostles.

**Hell:** The Last Judgement on the west wall includes the River of Fire, broadening into the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire (Ο ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ Ο ΠΗΦΗΝΟΣ). Only the upper part of it survives, with some heads of sinners floating in the fire (Fig. 135). To the left (underneath Adam), a vengeful angel is shown, pushing sinners into the fire with a spear.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 7.38 m |
| length with apse    | 8.24 m |
| width               | 3.75 m |
| height              | 4.64 m |

Hell

| Position          | Iconography                      | Shape                                |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| west wall, centre | Hell Formed by the River of Fire | (1.15) × (1.05) m irregular fragment |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 105 (no. 792); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 464.

### 103. Lithines (Adromyloi, Siteia), Holy Apostles

1415

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church with a side chapel on the north side.

The exterior has exposed masonry. Church and side chapel are covered by a cross-gable roof. There are two entrances: the main entrance, in the centre of the south wall, and a secondary entrance, off-centre (south) in the east wall of the side chapel.

The interiors of church and side chapel are each covered by a pointed barrel vault; the vault in the church has one transverse arch. Church and side chapel communicate internally via an open arch. In the church, nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The surviving wall paintings are damaged (in places heavily) but in legible condition. The side chapel is largely devoid of decoration. It has, however, wall paintings on the south wall (around the open arch between the side chapel and the nave) and on a section of the east wall, to the right of the entrance.<sup>33</sup>

**Iconographic Programme:** A partially surviving dedicatory inscription can be seen above the open arch leading to the side chapel. The west wall has the Last Judgement, rendered as a single composition, extending onto the north and south walls. The west wall is heavily damaged. Its remaining parts include the Deesis, the Apostle Tribunal, extending onto the north and south sides of the vault, and the Earth Giving Up her Dead.

The remainder of the nave contains scenes from the Christological cycle. The south wall has the Deesis with Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. The east reveal of the open arch between the nave and the side chapel, in the north wall of the church, has Saint George killing the dragon. The north and south walls, at the east end of the nave, have the Communion of the Apostles (receiving Christ's Body on the north, and His Blood on the south wall), continuing on the north and south walls of sanctuary.<sup>34</sup>

The conch of the sanctuary apse features Christ, the surviving left section of the apse wall, Officiating Bishops. The triumphal arch has the

<sup>33</sup> The presence of these wall paintings indicates that the side chapel was raised in the 15th century and is not a modern addition to the main church.

<sup>34</sup> These scenes belong either to the nave, reflecting the dedication of the church, or to the sanctuary, as traditional sanctuary iconography, in which case the modern iconostasis has been put in the wrong place.

Ascension on the upper part,<sup>35</sup> with the Annunciation in the register underneath, on either side of the apse. The bottom register, to the right of the apse, has the Man of Sorrows. The north and south walls of the sanctuary have a Resurrection theme: the north wall has the Noli me Tangere (Touch Me Not), the south wall, the Holy Women at the Tomb. The bottom register on the south wall includes Saint Eleftherios, the bishop saint popular on Crete.

The section of wall painting on the east wall of the side chapel, to the right of the entrance, probably shows an abbreviated version of the Synaxis of the Asomatoi.<sup>36</sup>

**Hell:** In the Last Judgement on the west wall, in the lower right corner of the wall, only a small fragment of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire survives.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 4.80 m |
| length with apse    | 5.55 m |
| width               | 3.07 m |
| height              | 4.25 m |

Hell

| Position               | Iconography                      |               | Shape                 |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| west wall, lower right | Hell Formed by the River of Fire | 0.80 × 1.29 m | fragment of rectangle |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 105 (no. 793); Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel 1983, 464–6; Bissinger 1995, 224–5 (no. 199), 227 (no. 203); Spatharakis 2001, 167–9 (no. 55; with earlier bibliography); *Archaiologikon Deltion* 2001–4, 582–4 (inscription with date on 583).

<sup>35</sup> The Ascension is normally placed on the vault of the sanctuary; the deviation from the norm here may be related to the dedication of the church, giving emphasis to the Apostles, who appear as witnesses of the Ascension.

<sup>36</sup> For this scene, see Kalopissi-Verti 1975, 41–2, 188–95, Plate 22.

## 104. Meseleroi (Ierapetra), Saint George

15th century(?)



Fig. 136 Church of Saint George, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and Communal Punishments, 15th century(?), wall painting (north wall), Meseleroi (Ierapetra), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, with the modern carved-stone frames of the western entrance and the lateral window exposed. The church is covered by a tiled gable roof; a modern belfry is mounted on the apex of the west wall. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall. A modern window has been inserted in the centre of the south wall.

The interior is covered by a pointed barrel vault with one transverse arch. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

The wall paintings are severely damaged. At the time of our visit on 4 April 2012, most of the surviving wall paintings were covered in conservation gauze, suggesting the responsible Ephorate was undertaking restoration.

**Iconographic Programme:** It appears that the iconographic programme of the church included the Last Judgement, on the north wall, divided into separate registers, one of them including Christ enthroned, flanked by the Apostle Tribunal. Paradise may have been depicted on the south wall. The bottom register of the north wall, on the far right, has an image of

the Archangel Michael; his presence here might be connected to the Weighing of the Souls in the Last Judgement.<sup>37</sup>

The nave also includes scenes from the cycle of the patron saint, Saint George.

The triumphal arch has the Mandylion on the upper part, above the apse, with the Annunciation in the register underneath, of which only the Archangel Gabriel survives, to the right of the apse. A deacon saint can be seen in the bottom register below the archangel. The sanctuary vault has the Ascension.

**Hell:** Hell is represented as part of the Last Judgement on the north wall. It appears to have included The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and at least one compartment of Communal Punishment (Fig. 136). The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame, in the bottom left corner of the north wall; the compartment of Communal Punishment appears next to it on the right.

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is largely reduced to a red background, on which a number of heads of sinners can still be distinguished on the left, painted in flesh tones. The sinner in the top right corner of the group wears liturgical attire, the one below him, the bejewelled crown of an emperor.

The compartment of Communal Punishment has a black background, suggesting either Outer Darkness or the less common Tartarus.

Measurements

Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.98 m |
| length with apse    | 7.70 m |
| width               | 3.00 m |
| height              | 3.91 m |

Hell

| Position              | Iconography                  |                 | Shape                          |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| north wall, west end: |                              |                 |                                |
| left                  | Hell Formed by River of Fire | (1.00) × 1.31 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |
| right                 | CP: Outer Darkness(?)        | (1.00) × 0.42 m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 102 (no. 750).

<sup>37</sup> See Semoglou in this publication, vol. 1, 301 and n. 112.



## 105. Neapoli (Perichora, Merambello), All Saints and Saint Anne

**Date unclear**

**Note:** A double church. The south church is dedicated to All Saints, the north church to Saint Anne. The main entrance is situated off-centre (west) in the south wall of the south church. The church dedicated to All Saints has no wall paintings. There are a few fragments of surviving wall paintings in the church dedicated to Saint Anne, including Saint Anne Nursing the Virgin (the male saint depicted to her right could be Joachim, the father of the Virgin). There are currently no surviving Hell scenes in this church; the church dedicated to Saint Anne, however, includes remnants of Choirs of the Elect on the west end of the vault of the south wall, suggesting the erstwhile presence of a Last Judgement on the now blank west wall.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

## 106. Skopi (Siteia), Virgin (Monastery of Panagia Faneromeni)<sup>38</sup>

### 15th century

**Note:** The katholikon of the monastery is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin. It is a single-nave church with a double apse, an architectural type that may have accommodated the concurrent celebration of the Orthodox and the Catholic rite on Crete.<sup>39</sup> The iconographic programme includes scenes from the Life of the Virgin. It is covered in graffiti, the earliest of which is dated 1434.

The wall paintings include a Last Judgement on the south wall of the nave. It shows, at the top, Christ enthroned, with the River of Fire emanating from the throne. There are three frames with Individual sinners, both male and female, at the bottom of the south wall, arranged in three registers. Only eight sinners survive at present. They are naked, with snakes winding around their bodies, biting body parts relevant to their sins. Among them, according to Mari, is the female Fornicator.<sup>40</sup>

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 104 (no. 770); Mari 2016.

<sup>38</sup> This is one of the five churches in the catalogue that were not visited and documented during the research phase of the Leverhulme International Networks Project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-Dominated Crete (13th–17th Centuries)*. Mrs Georgia Moschovi has kindly provided the publication by Maria Mari (2016) on which this entry is based.

<sup>39</sup> Mari 2016, 100. On the subject in general, see Gratziou 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Mari 2016, 103. Mari also mentions a sinner who is spoiled/lazy (μαλακός) here. We have decided not to include this sinner in the list provided in Volume 1, Chapter 3, as it would be a unique sin (unlike the female fornicator), within a church that we were unable to visit to confirm this reading.

# 107. Voulismeni (Vigli, Merambello), Virgin<sup>41</sup>

Last quarter of the 13th to first half of the 14th century<sup>42</sup>



Fig. 137 Church of the Virgin, Hell, last quarter of the 13th to first half of the 14th century, wall painting (west wall), Voulismeni (Vigli, Merambello), Lassithi, Crete

**Structure and Condition:** A single-nave church, intersected by a higher transept.

The exterior is plastered and whitewashed, with the modern carved-stone frames of the western entrance and lateral windows left exposed. Five glazed bowls are embedded in the plaster, in a cross-shaped formation, on the north wall of the transept; a single glazed bowl has been embedded in the plaster on the south wall of the transept; five glazed bowls have been embedded in the plaster, in a cross-shaped formation, on the east wall, above the apse. Church and transept are each covered by a tiled gable roof. There is a single entrance in the centre of the west wall; the lintel bears an inscription on the exterior, which records that it was installed in the 16th century and mentions the nun Strianopoula. The original entrance of the

<sup>41</sup> In this church, the liturgy is performed annually on 8 September as well as on Mother's Day (celebrated in Greece on the second Sunday of May).

<sup>42</sup> Maderakis 2005, 330 and n. 150, suggests that it dates to the last quarter of the 13th century; it could be argued that, stylistically, the wall paintings are comparable to the later layer of the central church at Kritsa, Virgin (Panagia Kera) (cat. no. 100).

church was situated in the north wall; it has been closed off by one of two modern buttresses that have been placed against this wall. Modern windows have been inserted in the north and south walls of the transept.

In the interior, nave and transept are each covered by a barrel vault. Nave and sanctuary are separated by a modern wooden iconostasis.

Only fragments of the original wall paintings survive, but the surviving parts are in a clearly legible condition.

**Iconographic Programme:** The lunette of the west wall of the nave has the Crucifixion, with the Weighing of the Souls and Hell in the register underneath.

The decoration programme may have once included a Last Judgement, of which what appears to be the Apostle Tribunal on the east wall of the south arm of the transept might be a remnant.

The remainder of the decoration of nave and transept includes scenes from the Christological cycle, among them some that appear less frequently in Byzantine art (e.g. Christ and the Samaritan Woman, on the south wall of the transept). In the Nativity, on the north wall of the transept, there is the unusual detail of the Virgin holding a piece of cloth to her right cheek.<sup>43</sup> There are also scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The Gallery of Saints includes the Archangel Michael and the shepherd saint Mamas.

Very little survives of the sanctuary decoration; it is likely that the upper part of the triumphal arch, above the apse, had the Hospitality of Abraham.

**Hell:** Hell is represented on the west wall, underneath the Crucifixion (exceptionally, above the entrance). It consists of the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire and two Individual Sinners. The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is conceived as an independent scene in its own separate frame;<sup>44</sup> exceptionally, the two Individual Sinners are included in the same frame.<sup>45</sup>

The Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire is heavily damaged (Fig. 137). In what survives, a right-facing head of the Dragon of the Depths can

<sup>43</sup> The same detail can be found in the Church of the Virgin of the Two Rocks, dated to the 14th century, in the village of Fres in Apokoronas in Chania – hundreds of kilometres away. It forms part of what may be called ‘associative iconography’; see Lymberopoulou 2018b, 124–7 and Fig. 5.6.

<sup>44</sup> Exceptionally, the Place of Hell Formed by the River of Fire appears to be represented here without the direct context of the Last Judgement.

<sup>45</sup> Compare Asfentiles, Saint John the Evangelist (cat. no. 4). It should be noted, however, that at here the sinners are set against a black background; they do not share the red flames of Hell of the sinners seen to the left.

be discerned, devouring a soul.<sup>46</sup> To the right of the dragon, there is a group of sinners against a red background, accompanied by an inscription reading '[I] call upon my race into the outer fire' (ΔΕΦΤΕ Υ ΦΗΛΗ ΜΟΥ ΗC ΤΟ ΠΗΡ ΤΟ ΕΞΟΤΕΡΟ).

The two Individual Sinners appear at the right of the scene, against a black background. The one on the left is the Farmer Who Reaps over the Boundary Line (ΠΑΡΑΘΕΡΙCΤΗC); the one on the right is no longer identifiable.

## Measurements

### Church

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| length without apse | 6.90 m |
| length with apse    | 7.94 m |
| width of nave       | 3.61 m |
| width of transept   | 5.83 m |
| height of nave      | 4.67 m |
| height of transept  | 5.57 m |

### Hell

| <i>Position</i>       | <i>Iconography</i>                        |                 | <i>Shape</i>                   |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| west wall, above door | <i>Hell Formed by River of Fire; 2 IS</i> | 0.62 × (2.35) m | fragment, rectangle, landscape |

**Bibliography:** Gerola–Lassithiotakis 1961, 83 (no. 552); Pachygiannakis 2005, 52–92 (Hell in 79–83).

<sup>46</sup> The fact that a right-facing head of the dragon survives suggests that it was a double-headed dragon (with another head facing to the left, now destroyed). See Duits in this publication, vol. 1, 219–20.

## V | Chronological Arrangement of the Cretan Churches<sup>1</sup>

### Undated Churches

#### Chania

- Garipas (Kydonia), Saints George and John the Baptist, date unclear – too little survives (cat. no. 8)
- Kakopetros (Papadiana, Selino), Archangel Michael, date unclear – due to the very poor state of preservation of the wall paintings (cat. no. 14)
- Kandanos (Ellinika, Selino), Saint Catherine, date unclear – mostly destroyed (cat. no. 18)
- Koufalotos (Selino), Holy Apostles, date unclear – surface of wall paintings largely covered in salt deposits (cat. no. 23)
- Palaia Roumata (Kissamos), Saints Spyridon and John, destroyed (cat. no. 29)
- Stratoi (Selino), Saint Marina, whitewashed (cat. no. 37)
- Vouvas (Chora Sfakion), Christ the Saviour, largely whitewashed (cat. no. 45)

#### Rethymnon

–

#### Herakleion

- Larani (Monofatsi), Saint Paraskevi, whitewashed (cat. no. 87)

#### Lassithi

- Neapoli (Perichora Merambello), All Saints and Saint Anne, very little surviving (cat. no. 105)

#### Subtotal: 9

<sup>1</sup> Since, for the majority of churches, the date is approximate (see Introduction to this volume, 415), the chronological arrangement is based on century groupings; the churches are still provided in alphabetical order, following Catalogue Parts I–IV within these subgroups.



## 13th-century Cretan Churches

### Chania

Karydi (Karydaki), Vamos (Apokoronas), Virgin, 1270–90 (cat. no. 19)

### Rethymnon

–

### Herakleion

Hagios Vasileios (Pediada), Saint John the Baptist, 1291 (cat. no. 83)

### Lassithi

–

**Subtotal: 2**

## 13th- to 14th-century Cretan Churches

### Chania

–

### Rethymnon

Hagios Vasileios (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Paraskevi and Saint Basil, beginning of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. 56)

### Herakleion

Kassanoi (Monofatsi), Christ the Saviour, end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. 85)

Mpentenaki (Bentenaki) (outside Herakleion), Saint Catherine (Santa Catarina Ruinata), end of the 13th to beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. 89)

### Lassithi

Kritsa (Merambello), Virgin (Panagia Kera), end of the 13th to beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. 100)

Voulismeni (Vigli, Merambello), Virgin, last quarter of the 13th century to first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 107)

**Subtotal: 5**

## 14th-century Cretan Churches

### Chania

- Achladiakes (Selino), Saint Zosimas, early 14th century (sanctuary) and 1360s (nave) (cat. no. 1)
- Anisaraki (Selino), Virgin, end of the 14th century (c. 1380s) (cat. no. 2)
- Anydroi (Selino), Saint George, 1323, and Saint Nicholas, first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 3)
- Asfentiles (Selino), Saint John the Evangelist, second quarter of the 14th century (cat. no. 4)
- Deliana (Kissamos), Saint John the Baptist (Forerunner), c. 1300? (cat. no. 6)
- Fres (Tzitzifies, Apokoronas), Saint George Methystis, 14th century (cat. no. 7)
- Hagia Eirini (Selino), Christ the Saviour, 1357/8 (cat. no. 9)
- Hagia Eirini (Selino), Virgin, end of the 14th century (cat. no. 10)
- Kadros (Selino), Virgin, first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 12)
- Kakodiki (Selino), Archangel Michael, 1387 (graffiti – *terminus ante quem*) (cat. no. 13)
- Kalathaines (Kissamos), Virgin and Holy Trinity, late 14th century (1390s?) (cat. no. 15)
- Kandanos (Selino), Saint Nicholas, first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 17)
- Kato Prines (Selino), Virgin, early 14th century(?) (cat. no. 20)
- Kitiros (Voutas, Selino), Saint Paraskevi, 1372/3 (cat. no. 21)
- L(e)ivada (Selino), Saint Prokopios, late 14th century (1390s?) (cat. no. 24)
- Mertes (Selino), Saint Theodore, 1344 (cat. no. 25)
- Meskla (Kydonia), Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), 1303 (cat. no. 26)
- Moni (Selino), Saint Nicholas, 1315 (narthex) (cat. no. 27)
- Pemonia (Vamos, Apokoronas), Saint George, mid-14th century (cat. no. 30)
- Prines (Selino), Saint George, 1367 (cat. no. 33)
- Spaniakos (Selino), Saint George, first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 36)
- Strovles (Kalogero, Selino), Saint George, 14th century (cat. no. 38)
- Trachiniakos (Selino), Saint Paraskevi, 1362 (cat. no. 39)
- Voutas (Selino), Christ the Saviour, 1360s? (cat. no. 43)
- Vouvas (Chora Sfakion), Saint Paraskevi, 14th century(?) (cat. no. 46)
- Zymvragou (Kissamos), Saint Panteleimon, 14th century (1360?) (cat. no. 47)

## Rethymnon

- Apostoloi (Amari), Saint Nicholas, end of the 14th century (cat. no. 48)  
 Axos (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Baptist, late 14th century (1390s) (cat. no. 50)  
 Fourfouras (Amari), Virgin, late 14th century (cat. no. 54)  
 Kastri (Koukoum[n]os, Kastri) (Mylopotamos), Saint Stephen, 1396 (cat. no. 57)  
 Kissos (Hagios Vasileios), Virgin, 1320–30 (cat. no. 60)  
 Lambini (Hagios Vasileios), Virgin, beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. 61)  
 Margarites (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Evangelist, 1383 (cat. no. 62)  
 Melambes (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Paraskevi, c. 1320 (severely damaged) (cat. no. 63)  
 Mourne (Hagios Vasileios), Saint George, 14th century (cat. no. 65)  
 Roustika (Rethymnon), Virgin and Christ the Saviour, 1391 (cat. no. 68)  
 Saitoures (Rethymnon), Virgin, c. 1300 (cat. no. 69)  
 Spili (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour (Transfiguration), 14th century (cat. no. 71)  
 Vathiako (Amari), Saint George c. 1300 to third quarter of the 14th century (cat. no. 72)  
 Veni (Mylopotamos), Virgin, 1313 (cat. no. 73)

## Herakleion

- Ano Archanes (Temenos), Archangel Michael, 1315/16 (cat. no. 74)  
 Ano Viannos (Viannos), Saint Pelagia, 1360 (cat. no. 76)  
 Arkalochori (Pediada), Archangel Michael, 14th century (cat. no. 77)  
 Hagios Ioannis (Pyrgiotissa), Saint Paul, 1303–4 (cat. no. 82)  
 Kera Kardiotissa (Pediada), Virgin, first half of the 14th century (cat. no. 86)  
 Mathia (Pediada), Virgin (Dormition) and Saint John the Baptist, 14th century (cat. no. 88)  
 Potamies (Pediada), Christ the Saviour, last quarter of the 14th century (cat. no. 90)

## Lassithi

- Kritsa (Merambello), Christ the Lord (Afentis), late 14th century, with a modern extension (cat. no. 98)  
 Kritsa (Merambello), Saint John the Baptist, 1389/90 (cat. no. 99)

Kroustas (Lakkoi, Merambello), Saint John the Evangelist, 1347/8 (cat. no. 101)

Lithines (Siteia), Virgin, 14th century (cat. no. 102)

**Subtotal: 51**

## 14th- to 15th-century Cretan Churches

### Chania

Kopetoi (Selino), Holy Apostles, late 14th to early 15th century(?) (cat. no. 22)

Sklavopoula (Selino), Virgin, end of the 14th century to beginning of the 15th century (cat. no. 35)

Voutas (Frameno, Selino), Virgin, late 14th to early 15th century(?) (cat. no. 44)

### Rethymnon

Diblochori (Hagios Vasileios), Virgin, beginning of the 14th century and 1417 (cat. no. 51)

### Herakleion

Avdou (Pediada), Saint George, end of the 14th to beginning of the 15th century (cat. no. 79)

### Lassithi

Kavousi (Ierapetra), Saint George, mid-14th century or 1410–20 (cat. no. 96)

**Subtotal: 6**

## 15th-century Cretan Churches

### Chania

Chora Sfakion, Kastelli (Sfakia), All Saints, 15th century (1420/30s?) (cat. no. 5)

Kadros (Selino), Saint John Chrysostom, c. 1430 (cat. no. 11)

Kamiliana (Kissamos), Archangel Michael, 1439/40 (cat. no. 16)

Niochorio (Kydonia), Saint Nicholas, c. 1470s? (cat. no. 28)

Platanias (Drakiana, Kydonia), Saint George Methystis, 15th century (cat. no. 31)

Plemeniana (Selino), Saint George, 1409–10 (cat. no. 32)

Prines (Selino), Saints Peter and Paul, 15th century(?) (cat. no. 34)

Tsiskiana (Selino), Saint Eutychios, c. 1400–10 (cat. no. 40)

Voukolies (Kissamos), Saints Constantine and Helena, 1452–61 (cat. no. 41)

Voukolies (Vairaktairiana, Kissamos), Saint Athanasios, 15th century (cat. no. 42)

### **Rethymnon**

Artos (Hagios Konstantinos, Rethymnon), Saint George, 1401 (cat. no. 49)

Drymiskos (Hagios Vasileios), Saint Constantine, beginning of the 15th century (cat. no. 52)

Erfoi (Mylopotamos), Saint John the Baptist, 15th century (narthex) (cat. no. 53)

Hagios Ioannis Kaimenos (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour, c. 1400 (cat. no. 55)

Kato Valsamonero (Rethymnon), Saint John the Evangelist, c. 1400 (cat. no. 58)

Kissos (Hagios Vasileios), Saint John the Evangelist c. 1400 (cat. no. 59)

Meronas (Amari), Virgin at Sochora and Saints Constantine and Helena, beginning of the 15th century (cat. no. 64)

Myrthios (Hagios Vasileios), Christ the Saviour, c. 1400 (cat. no. 66)

Petrochori (formerly Aposeti, Amari), Holy Apostles, 15th century (cat. no. 67)

Selli (Rethymnon), Saint John the Evangelist, 1411 (cat. no. 70)

### **Herakleion**

Ano Symi (Viannos), Saint George, 1453 (cat. no. 75)

Avdou (Pediada), Saints Constantine and Helena, 1445 (cat. no. 78)

Embaros (Pediada), Saint George, 1436–7 (cat. no. 80)

Kapetaniana (Perichora, Monofatsi), Archangel Michael, c. 1430(?) (cat. no. 84)

Valsamonero (Vorizia, Kainourgio), Saint Phanourios, 1431 (cat. no. 91)

Voroi (Pyrgiotissa), Virgin Kardiotissa, beginning of the 15th century (cat. no. 92)

**Lassithi**

Chandras (Panteli, Siteia), Transfiguration (Christos Afentis), first half of the 15th century (cat. no. 93)

Fourni (Merambello), Saint George, 15th century(?) (cat. no. 94)

Kavousi (Ierapetra), Holy Apostles, first decade of the 15th century (cat. no. 95)

Kavousi (Avgos, Ierapetra), Saint Eirini, 1410/11 (cat. no. 97)

Lithines (Adromyloi, Siteia), Holy Apostles, 1415 (cat. no. 103)

Meseleroi (Ierapetra), Saint George, 15th century(?) (cat. no. 104)

Skopi (Siteia), Virgin (Monastery of Panagia Faneromeni), 15th century (cat. no. 106)

**Subtotal: 33**

**16th-century Cretan Churches****Chania**

–

**Rethymnon**

–

**Herakleion**

Episkopi (Pediada), Saint Paraskevi, first half of the 16th century (cat. no. 81)

**Lassithi**

–

**Subtotal: 1**

**Total: 107**



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